



ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ;
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
AND
OTHER WORKS,

OF THE
REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD;
AND AFTERWARDS RECTOR OF HEADBOURN WORTHY, AND HAVANT,
HAMPSHIRE.

WITH THE QUOTATIONS AT LENGTH, IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES,
AND A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

IN NINE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

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443, WEST STRAND;
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*With the Quotations, in the Original Languages, at length,
instead of merely the References, as originally given.*

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THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XII.

OF CONFIRMATION, AND OTHER CEREMONIES FOLLOWING
BAPTISM, BEFORE MEN WERE MADE PARTAKERS OF THE
EUCCHARIST.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE TIME WHEN, AND THE PERSONS TO WHOM,
CONFIRMATION WAS ADMINISTERED.

SECT. I.—*Confirmation anciently given immediately after
Baptism, if the Bishop were present.*

IMMEDIATELY after the persons came up out of the water, if the bishop was present at the solemnity, they were presented to him, in order to receive his benediction; which was a solemn prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon such as were baptized. And to this prayer there was usually joined the ceremony of a second unction, and imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross; whence the whole action many times took these names, *χρίσμα*, ‘the unction;’ *χειροθεσία*, the ‘imposition of hands;’ and *σφραγίς*, ‘the sign or seal of the Lord;’ which are names much more common among the ancients than that of ‘confirmation.’ But by all these names they understood one and the same thing, which was the bishop’s prayer for the descent of the Spirit upon persons

newly baptized. This was always administered, together with baptism, if the bishop, who was the ordinary minister of it, were present at the action; but if he was absent, as it usually happened to be in churches at a distance from the mother Church, or when persons were baptized in haste upon a sick bed, then confirmation was deferred till the bishop could have a convenient opportunity to visit them. This we learn from St. Jerom;^a who speaks of it as customary in the Church, for bishops to go and invoke the Holy Spirit by imposition of hands on such as were baptized by presbyters and deacons, in villages and places, remote from the mother Church. And it many times happened, that such persons died before the bishop could come to give them imposition of hands. To prevent which inconvenience, the canons, in some places, obliged bishops to visit their whole diocesses once every year: and if they were so large that they could not do so, then they were to divide their diocesses, and make them less, as we find it decreed and practised in some of the Spanish councils.^b But in case persons were baptized in the presence of the bishop, then, without any delay, they were immediately confirmed with imposition of hands and the holy unction. Tertullian says very plainly,^c “ That as soon as they came out of the water, they were anointed with the oil of consecration; and then received imposition of hands, inviting down the Holy

^a Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. ix. Non abhuc hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe a majoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat.—And a little after, In villulis, aut in castellis, aut in remotioribus locis, per presbyteros aut diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inuiserentur.—Vid. Conc. Illyber. can. lxxvii. Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet.

^b Conc. Lucens. (tom. v. Conc. p. 874.) Cupio, sanctissimi patres, ut provida utilitate decernatis, in provincia regni nostri, quia in tota Gallæiæ regione spatiosæ satis diocesses a paucis episcopis tenentur; ita ut aliquantæ ecclesiæ per singulos annos vix possint a suo episcopo visitari: insuper tantæ provinciæ unus tantummodo metropolitani episcopus est, et de extremis quibusque parochiis longum est singulis annis ad concilium convenire.

^c Tertul. de Bapt. cc. vii. viii. Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione.—Et, Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

Spirit by that benediction." And so Cyril of Jerusalem represents it, when he tells the neophytes,^d "That as soon as they come up out of the waters of the font, they received the chrism or unction; with the antitype of which, that is, the Holy Ghost, Christ was anointed when he came up out of Jordan." In like manner, the author of the Constitutions, describing the ceremonies of baptism, orders the priest,^e as soon as he has baptized any one, to anoint him with the holy chrism, and give him imposition of hands, saying a prayer which is there appointed. Thus we find, in the Life of St. Basil,^f how Maximinus the bishop, who baptized him and Eubulus together, immediately clothed them with white garments, and anointed them with the holy chrism, and gave them the communion. The same may be observed in the description of the ceremonies of baptism, given by the author under the name of Dionysius,^g St. Am-

^d Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iii. n. i. Κάκεινος μὲν ἱερδάνη λουθέντων ποταμῷ, καὶ τῶν φώτων τῆς θείας μυσταδὸς τοῖς ὕδασι, ἀνίστανται ἐκ τούτων καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐνσώματος ἐκφοίτησις αὐτῷ ἰγνίται, τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἱκαναπαυομένου τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως, ἀναβιβάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κολυμβήσεως τῶν ἱερῶν ναμάτων, ἰδίῃ χρίσμα, τὸ ἀντίτυπον, οὗ ἐκχρίσθη Χριστός· τοῦτο δὲ ἵσται τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

^e Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. cc. xliii. xlv. Μετὰ τοῦτο βαπτίσας αὐτὸν, χρίσάτω μύρον, ἐπιτίλινον, κ. τ. λ.

^f Amphiloch. Vit. Basil. c. v. Baptizavit Maximinus episcopus Basilium et Eubulum, et vestivit albis; atque ungens eos sancto chrismate, tradidit eis communionem.

^g Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. p. 260. Ἐξῆς δὲ φουδιῶς ἐσθῆτας ἐπιβάλλουσι τῷ τιλουμένῳ . . . Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μύρου τιλιωτικὴ χρίσις ἐνὸς ποιῶ τὸν τιτιλισμένον . . . Ἐν τίλει δὲ πάντων ὁ ἱερέρχης ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερωτάτην εὐχαριστίαν καλεῖ τὸν τιτιλισμένον, καὶ τῆς τῶν τιλιστικῶν μυστηρίων αὐτῷ μεταδίδωσι κοινωνίας. — Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iii. c. ii. Sequitur spiritale signaculum, quod audistis hodie legi, quia post fontem superest, ut perfectio fiat, quando, ad invocationem sacerdotis, Spiritus Sanctus infunditur. Post hæc quid sequitur? Venire habes ad altare, &c. — Optat. lib. iv. p. 81, (p. 94, edit. Paris. 1679.) Descendit (Christus) in aquam, non quia erat, quod in Deo mundaretur, sed venturum oleum aqua debuit antecedere, ad mysteria initianda, et ordinanda, et implenda baptismatis: lotus quum in Joannis manibus haberetur, sequutus est ordo mysterii; et complevit Pater, quod rogaverat Filius, et quod nuntiaverat Spiritus Sanctus: apertum est cælum Deo Patre ungente; spiritale oleum statim in imagine columbæ descendit, et insedit capiti ejus, et perfudit eum; unde cœpit dici Christus, quando unctus est a Deo Patre: cui ne manus impositio defuisse videretur, vox audita est Dei de nube dicentis, 'Hic est Filius meus, de quo bene sensi, hunc audite.' — Pacian. Sermon. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 77, (tom. iv. p. 318, h. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Hæc compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavacri,

brose, Optatus, Pacian, and all others amongst the ancients, who have made any mention of the time of administering confirmation.

SECT. II.—*And this as well to Infants as adult Persons ; which is evidenced, first, from some plain Testimonies.*

Nor was this only true with respect to adult persons, but also with respect to infants, who were anciently confirmed by imposition of hands, and the holy chrism or unction, as soon as they were baptized. Which, perhaps, will seem a paradox to many, who look no further than to the practice of later ages ; but it may be undeniably evidenced these two ways : 1. From plain testimonies of the ancients declaring it so to be ; and, 2. From that known custom and usage of the Church in giving the eucharist to infants, which ordinarily presupposes their confirmation. First, for the testimonies of the ancients, nothing can be plainer than those words of Gennadius :^b “ If they be infants that are baptized, let those that present them to baptism, answer for them according to the common way of baptizing : and then let them be confirmed with imposition of hands and chrism ; and so be admitted to partake of the eucharist.” In like manner, Pope Innocent, in one of his decrees, says,ⁱ “ Infants are not to be consigned or confirmed by any but the bishop.” And in the Collection of Canons made by Martin Bracarensis^k out of those of the Greek Church, this is one, “ That a presbyter may not consign infants in the presence of the bishop, except he be particularly appointed by the bishop to do it.” This practice continued in the Church for many ages : for it is mentioned by Pope Gregory both in his

et chris-matis, et anti-stitis sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur ; chris-mate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur ; utraque vero ista, manu et ore anti-stitis, impetramus ; atque ita totus homo renascitur et innovatur in Christo.

^b Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. c. lii. (apud Aug. tom. iii. opp. p. 204, c. d. edit. Basil. 1569.) Si parvuli sunt vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi : et sic manus impositione et chris-mate communiti, eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur.

ⁱ Innocent. ep. i. c. iii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1246.) De consignandis infantibus, manifestum est, non ab alio, quam ab episcopo fieri licere.

^k Martin. Bracar. Collect. Can. c. lii. Presbyter, præ-sente episcopo, non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum.

Sacramentarium and in his Epistles;¹ and, after him, by all the writers in the eighth and ninth centuries. Alcuin, who wrote about the Offices of the Church in the time of Charles the Great, speaking of infant-baptism, says,^m “After an infant is baptized, he is to be clothed, and brought to the bishop, if he be present, who is to confirm him with chrism, and give him the communion: and if the bishop be not present, the presbyter shall communicate him.” The same is in the *Ordo Romanus*, a book written and used as a liturgy about the same time; where, after the bishop has given the white garment to infants, he lifts up his hand and lays it upon their heads,ⁿ praying for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and signing them with the sign of the cross in the forehead, he says, “I confirm thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” Baluzius, in his Notes upon Rhegino,^o gives us two ancient manuscript pontificals of the ninth century, wherein this order for confirming infants is continued. And to these he adds^p an epistle of Jesse, bishop of Amiens, describing the order of baptism: where the rule is for the bishop, after the child has been baptized with three immersions, to confirm him with chrism in the forehead, and then to *confirm* him (for so it is worded), or communicate him with the body and blood of Christ. These testi-

¹ Gregor. lib. iii. c. ix. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1142, b.) Presbyteri baptizatos infantes signare non præsumant; sed presbyteri baptizatos ungant in pectore, ut episcopi postmodum ungere debeant in fronte.

^m Alcuin. de Offic. cap. de Sabbato Paschæ, Bibl. Patr. tom. x. p. 259, edit. Paris. 1654. Postea vestiatur infans vestimentis suis. Si vero episcopus adest, statim confirmari eum oportet chrismate, et postea communicari; et si episcopus deest, communicetur a presbytero.

ⁿ Ordo Roman. cap. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. tom. x. p. 63, edit. cit. Pontifex, elevata et imposita manu super capita omnium, dat orationem super eos cum invocatione septiformis gratiæ Spiritus Sancti. Et tincto pollice in chrismate, faciat crucem in frontibus singulorum, ita dicendo: ‘Confirmo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’

^o Baluz. Not. in Rheginon. lib. i. c. lxix. Statim autem confirmetur infans, et communicetur ab episcopo, ita dicente, ‘Corpus et sanguis Domini.’ — Item ex altero Pontificali: ‘Si episcopus adest, statim confirmari eum oportet chrismate, et postea communicari.’

^p Jesse Ambianens. Epist. de Ordine Bapt. ap. Baluz. ibid. Post trinationem episcopus puerum chrismate confirmet in fronte: novissime autem corpore et sanguine Christi confirmetur, seu communicetur, ut Christi membrum esse possit.

monies are so plain and convincing, that all learned men, who have exactly considered this matter, as well Papists as Protestants, are agreed, that this was the ancient and general practice of the Church, to confirm infants as soon as they were baptized; for so I find not only Baluzius, but Peter de Marca,^q Hugo Menardus,^r Maldonat,^s Estius,^t Galenus,^u among the Papists, and Bishop Taylor^x and Daillé,^y among the Protestants, readily consenting. And some^z tell us, the same practice continues among the Greeks to this day. The learned reader may add to the former testimonies the authority of St. Austin, who witnesses for this practice in his own person; "For," he says,^a "he himself was used

^q Marc. Not. ad Conc. Claramont. p. 312, edit. Paris. (Not. In edit. Francof. 1708, quæ una mihi ad manus est, locum diu quæsitum non inveni. Grischov.)

^r Menard. Not. ad Libr. Sacram. p. 144, (p. 357, a. edit. Paris. 1705.) Nec soli adulti, sed etiam ipsi infantes, simul cum baptismo sumebant eucharistiæ sacramentum, &c. Vid. ibid. d.

^s Maldonat. de Confirmat. quæst. ii. p. 115, edit. Lugd. 1614. Quando confirmari debeant baptizati, ea in re laudabilior consuetudo est ecclesiæ hodiernæ, quam veteris: nam in ecclesia veteri statim post baptismum confirmatio et eucharistia dabatur, etiam infantibus: nunc autem merito expectatur illud tempus, quo tempore possint baptizati confiteri fidem suam.

^t Estius Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. vii. n. xxiii. p. 101.

^u Galen. Catech. apud Dall. de Confirmat. p. 21. Debet hoc sacramentum etiam pueris, infantibusque conferri; de quibus pessime merentur, qui in septimum vel decimum annum differunt. Quum enim ea vis, quam diximus, exserat sese in eos omnes, qui non obturent rivos fluentis gratiæ; profecto iis omnibus chrismatibus infantes spoliât, tantumque cælestis gloriæ detrahit, quibus propter mortem præreptis noluit hoc dari sacramentum, quantum beneficiorum Christi per hoc labrum eis communicari vetuit.

^x Taylor's Worthy Communicant, chap. iii. sect. ii.

^y Dall. de Confirmat. lib. iii. c. xiii. p. 386. Apud istos veteres episcopus cujuscumque baptismo aderat, et eum extempore manus impositione et chrismate confirmabat: quo fiebat, ut plurimi in singulis parœciis confirmationem cum baptismo simul et semel acciperent. Solemne enim erat et adultos catechumenos, et parvulos etiam fidelium liberos (nisi imminentis a morbo mortis necessitas aliter fieri cogeret) omnes duobus tantum anni temporibus baptizari, Paschate et Pentecoste. Quod in episcopali ecclesia, nisi præsentem episcopum, non fiebat. Quum ergo quos baptizari fas erat, ii illuc ex civitate pene omnes concurrerent, plurimi, quod dixi, una cum baptismo chrismatis confirmationem accipiebant. Qui vero in remotioribus parœciæ ecclesiis, puta in vicis, et castellis, et pagis, a presbyteris solis baptizati et chrismati erant, ii quam primum ab episcopo confirmabantur, vel ad ipsos ea de causa excurrente, vel certe ad eum ipsi venientes, aut si parvuli essent, delati.

^z Pet. du Moulin's Buckler of Faith, p. 381.

^a Aug. Tract. vi. in Joan. iii. tom. ix. p. 254, (p. 621, edit. Basil. 1569.)

to give imposition of hands, or confirmation, to infants, that they might receive the Holy Spirit."

SECT. III.—*And, secondly, from the Custom of giving the Eucharist to Infants for many Ages.*

If this matter needed further proof, we might insist upon that known practice and custom in the ancient Church, of giving the eucharist to infants, which continued in the Church for several ages. It is frequently mentioned in Cyprian, Austin, Innocentius, and Gennadius, writers from the third to the fifth century. Maldonat confesses it was in the Church for six hundred years; and some of the authorities, just now alleged, prove it to have continued two or three ages more, and to have been the common practice beyond the time of Charles the Great. Now, all men know, that, in the common course of things, confirmation always preceded the eucharist, unless there was some special cause; as sometimes it happened in the case of clinic baptism, or the bishop's absence, to prevent it; for, in these two cases, the eucharist was, many times, given before confirmation, as now it is in our large dioceses; where the bishop's presence cannot always be had to give confirmation, in places at a great distance, before the communion. But, in all other cases, the usual way was to let confirmation usher in the communion. And, therefore, since it is evident that the communion itself was given to infants, and that immediately from the time of their baptism; it would be reasonable to conclude from hence, were there no other evidence, that confirmation also was given to infants together with baptism; because this rite, by all ordinary rule and custom, was prior and introductory to the communion.

Quando imposuimus manum istis infantibus, attendit unusquisque vestrum, utrum linguis loquerentur? Et quum videret eos linguis non loqui, ita perverso corde aliquis vestrum fuit, ut diceret, 'Non acceperant isti Spiritum Sanctum;' nam si acceperant, linguis loquerentur, quemadmodum tunc factum est,

SECT. IV.—*Whence it appears, that Confirmation was not esteemed a proper Sacrament distinct from Baptism.*

This observation may help us to understand some difficult passages in the ancients, and answer an objection which the Romanists draw from them, as if confirmation were a proper sacrament distinct from baptism. The ancients, it must be owned, sometimes gave it the name of a sacrament, and call baptism and confirmation two sacraments. But then, it is very evident, they take the word ‘sacrament’ in a large sense for any sacred ceremony, rite, or mystery, belonging to baptism. In which sense, they suppose two sacraments, or chief mysterious ceremonies to be in baptism; that is, the immersion in water, and the unction with the holy chrism; both which are spoken of as sacraments or ceremonies belonging to baptism. Thus, in the Council of Carthage, under Cyprian, Nemesianus à Tubunis says,^b “It was not sufficient for men to be regenerated only by imposition of hands, but they ought to be born again by both the sacraments in the Catholic Church; that is, as well by washing in water as imposition of hands;” both which he makes sacraments, that is, sacred rites of the same sacrament of regeneration. In the same sense, Cyprian himself says,^c “Both the sacraments of regeneration were required to complete men’s sanctification.” Which plainly shews, that by two sacraments, he means no more but two of the principal ceremonies that belonged to a complete and perfect baptism; because, he says, “Men were regenerated or born again by them both.” In like manner, Optatus^d makes

^b Conc. Carth. ap. Cyprian. n. v. p. 231, (p. 159, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Male sibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant, quod per manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum accipiant, et sic recipiantur; quum manifestum sit utroque sacramento debere eos renasci in ecclesia Catholica.

^c Cyprian. Epist. lxxii. ad Stephan. p. 196, (p. 305, edit. Amstelod. cit.) Parum est eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi et accipiant ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari, et esse Filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascentur, quum scriptum sit: ‘Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei.’

^d Optat. lib. iv. p. 81, Paris. 1631, (p. 94, edit. Paris. 1679.) Descendit in aquam, non quia erat quod in Deo mundaretur, sed venturum oleum aqua debuit antecedere, ad mysteria initianda, et ordinanda, et implenda baptismatis. Lotus

imposition of hands and unction to be only parts and ceremonies completing baptism. For, speaking of the baptism of Christ, he says, "He went not into the water, as if any thing in God could need cleansing; but it was necessary the water should go before the unction that was to follow after, to initiate, and order, and complete the mysteries or sacramental rites of baptism. When he was washed by the hands of John, the order of the mystery was settled: the Father fulfilled what the Son had asked, and what the Holy Ghost had foretold. The spiritual oil immediately descended in the image of a dove, and sate upon his head, and anointed him: from whence he began to be called 'Christ,' because he was anointed of God the Father. And that imposition of hands might not seem to be wanting, the voice of God was heard from the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'" Here Optatus professes to describe the order, and parts, and mysteries of baptism, from the similitude of the baptism of Christ. In each of these, he makes three sacraments, or principal mysteries; the washing, the unction, and imposition of hands; which are not properly three distinct sacraments, but three parts or rites of the same sacrament of baptism; which, according to Optatus, were ordered, and shadowed, and completed in the baptism of Christ. Unless we take sacrament in this large sense, we shall have three proper sacraments in baptism, which neither Optatus nor any of the ancients ever thought of, when they speak of the mysteries of baptism: but they allow both unction and imposition of hands to be sacraments, as they are parts or rites of the mystery of baptism. After this manner, Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, makes also three sacraments of the mystery of baptism, viz. the laver or washing of water, the unction of the Spirit, and the hand and mouth of the priest. For he says,* "The seed of

quum in Joannis manibus haberetur; secutus est ordo mysterii; et complevit Pater, quod rogaverat Filius, et quod nuntiaverat Spiritus Sanctus: apertum est cælum, Deo Patre ungente; spiritale oleum statim in imagine columbæ descendit, et insedit capiti ejus et perfudit eum: unde cœpit dici Christus, quando unctus est a Deo Patre. Cui ne manus impositio defuisse videatur, vox audita est Dei de nube dicentis, 'Hic est Filius meus, de quo bene sensi, hunc audite.'

* Pacian. Serm. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 77, (tom. iv. p. 318, h. edit.

Christ, that is, the Spirit of God, brings forth a new man, by the hands of the priest, out of the womb of the Church, which is the font, faith being the bridemaïd to all this. And without these three sacraments, the laver, the chrism, and the priest, this new birth is not effected. For by the laver, sin is purged away; by the chrism, the Holy Spirit is poured down upon us; and both these we obtain by the hand and mouth of the priest; and so the whole man is regenerated and renewed in Christ." Here we must of necessity say, either that the laver, the chrism, and words and action of the priest, are three sacraments; or else that they are but three parts or ceremonies of the same sacrament of baptism: which is what Pacian plainly intended. For he is speaking of the manner how men are regenerated in baptism; and he makes chrism to be one means of this regeneration; whence it is evident he had no other notion of it, but as of an integral part of baptism, though not absolutely essential to it. This, then, is one plain reason why the ancients sometimes call the immersion in the water, and the unction of chrism, 'two sacraments,' because they are parts, or rites, or ceremonies, of the mystery of baptism. And there is nothing more usual with the ancients than this way of speaking, to call every sacred rite or ceremony used in the Church, by the name of a 'sacrament' or 'mystery.' As St. Austin calls exorcism^f a 'sacrament.' And the salt which was given to the catechumens before baptism, is called the 'sacrament of the catechumens,' both by St. Austin^g and the third Council of Carthage:^h as has been observed in another place, where I speak particularly of this sacrament of the catechumens. Cyprianⁱ speaks of sacraments in the

Lugd. 1677.) Christi semen, id est, Dei Spiritus, novum hominem, alvo matris agitatum, et partu fontis exceptum, manibus sacerdotis effundit, fide tamen pronuba. . . . Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavacri, et chrismatis, et antistitis sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur; chrismate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur: utraque vero ista manu et ore antistitis impetramus; atque ita totus homo renascitur et innovatur in Christo.

^f Aug. Hom. lxxxiii. de Diversis. Exorcismi sacramento quasi molebamini.

^g Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. ii. c. xxvi. Vid supra, lib. x. c. ii. sect. xvi.

^h Conc. Carth. III. can. v. Vid. supra, lib. x. c. ii. sect. xvi.

ⁱ Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 142, (p. 101, lin. xv. edit. Amstelod.) Qualia sunt Orationis Dominicæ sacramenta, quam multa, quam magna, breviter in ser-

Lord's Prayer. And to insist no longer upon these, it is usual also with the ancients to divide the proper sacraments, baptism and the eucharist, each of them into two or more, meaning the several parts or rites belonging to them. Thus, Isidore^k speaks of four sacraments in the Church; which are, baptism, chrism, the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. As, therefore, the bread and wine are called two sacraments, though they be but two parts of the same eucharist; so the washing and the unction are called two sacraments, though they be but two rites of the same sacrament of baptism. The like style is used by Pope Innocent,^l when he calls the bread and wine 'sacraments,' in the plural. And Fulbertus Carnotensis^m is more express, when he says, "There are two sacraments of life, the body and blood of Christ." No wonder, therefore, the same authorⁿ should call the immersion in water, and the unction of chrism, conveying the spirit, by the name of the 'two sacraments of baptism.' For nothing can be plainer, than that immersion and chrism are not properly two sacraments of baptism, but only two rites of it; as the bread and wine are not strictly two sacraments of the eucharist, but only different parts of the same communion. It were easy to add abundance more of such expressions out of other authors,

mone collecta; sed in virtute spiritaliter copiosa, ut nihil omnino prætermisum sit, quod non in precibus atque orationibus nostris, cælestis doctrinæ compendio comprehendatur.

^k Isidor. Origin. lib. vi. c. xix. Sunt sacramenta, baptismus et chrisma; corpus et sanguis Christi.

^l Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. v. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1247.) De fermento, quod die dominica per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti, quum omnes ecclesiæ nostræ intra civitatem sint constitutæ. Quarum presbyteri, quia die ipsa propter plebem sibi creditam nobiscum convenire non possunt, idcirco fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt: — quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia nec longe portanda sunt sacramenta.

^m Fulbert. Epist. i. Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 434, Paris. 1654, (tom. xviii. p. 3, f. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Tria nobis sunt ad profectum Christianæ religionis proposita. . . . Horum primum est intelligere, et firmiter tenere mysterium Trinitatis et unius veritatem Deitatis; secundum, salutaris baptismi rationem nosse vel causam; tertium, in quo duo vitæ sacramenta, id est, dominici corporis et sanguinis, continentur.

ⁿ Fulbert. *ibid.* p. 436, (p. 4, e.) Requiritur sane in baptismatis sacramentis, aqua propter sepulturam, Spiritus Sanctus propter vitam æternam.

many of which the reader may find collected together by the learned Daillé.^o I shall only add the words of Haymo Halberstadiensis, where he expressly makes confirmation a rite or ceremony of baptism, always accompanying, and administered at the same time with it, as the consummating act and perfection of it: "The gift of the Holy Spirit (says he)^p is given in baptism by the imposition of the bishop's hands." So that when the ancients call confirmation a 'sacrament,' they always mean that it is a part or ceremony of the sacrament of baptism. In which sense, they give the name of sacraments to many other things, which were only parts, or ceremonies, or attendants on it; such as exorcism and the sign of the cross, which were sacraments in the same sense as confirmation.

SECT. V.—*No, not when it was separate from Baptism, as in the Case of Heretics, who were baptized out of the Church.*

But it may be said, "That confirmation, imposition of hands, or unction, was many times given to men at some years distance from baptism, as in the case of heretics and schismatics, who were baptized in infancy out of the Church, and were received by imposition of hands when they returned to the Church afterwards." To which I answer, that the imposition of hands which the Church gave in this case, separate from baptism, was what could not be avoided; because the Church had no opportunity of administering it before. And, therefore, no argument is to be drawn from what she was forced to do upon such an exigence, being only an exception to her ordinary practice. It is owned, that the Church gave imposition of hands to all heretics upon their return to the Church. And this, as I have shewed at large in another discourse,^q was to supply the deficiencies of that outward form of baptism, which could not grant them the graces of the Spirit whilst they remained

^o Dall. de Confirmat. lib. i. c. viii. — It. lib. iii. c. xiii.

^p Haymo in Hebr. xiii. extr. et ibid. c. vi. 2. Donum Spiritus Sancti datur in baptismo per impositionem manus episcoporum. Et alibi: Per impositionem manuum plenissime creditur accipi donum Spiritus Sancti, quod post baptismum ad confirmationem veritatis in ecclesia a pontificibus fieri solet.

^q Scholast. History of Lay-Baptism, chap. i. sect. xxi.

in heresy or schism. And there I also observed, that some heretics retained the unction and imposition of hands as well as baptism, and administered it to infants together with baptism; which was the practice of the Donatists, and, it may be, of several others. But yet the Church, though she neither repeated the outward form of baptism, nor always the unction of chrism, especially in the Western parts, where St. Austin, Optatus, Alcimius, and Avitus, lived, yet she always gave a new imposition of hands, with prayer, to implore the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. And though this was separating confirmation from baptism, yet it was only in an extraordinary case, when the Church was not capacitated to do otherwise. In other cases, she always joined these two ceremonies together, as well in infants as adult persons: as I suppose the allegations and proofs, alleged in this chapter, do abundantly shew to any candid reader, beyond possibility of contradiction.

SECT. VI.—*No Necessity of giving Confirmation to Infants now, any more than the Eucharist, from the Example of the Primitive Church.*

But some will be apt to object, that “If this were the case, then all Churches at present, as well Protestant as Popish, differ from the practice of the Primitive Church in this particular, that now they never administer confirmation to infants, but only to adult persons, who can confirm their baptismal vow in their own persons.” And this difference is readily owned, as to practice. But, then, if the question be about right, which is the more suitable and agreeable practice; and, whether we ought not to conform in every circumstance to the practice of the Primitive Church; I suppose every Church, in this case, is best judge for herself, what is most for the edification of her children. And as no Church now thinks herself under any obligation to give the eucharist to infants, because the Primitive Church for eight hundred years did so; so neither does any Church judge herself bound to give confirmation to infants from the same example: though some learned persons have pleaded for

both, as Bishop Bedel,^r among the Protestants, for the communion of infants, and Matthew Galen,^s among the Papists, for giving them confirmation. Whilst others judge the modern practice the more edifying way, and think there are no sufficient arguments to engage the Church to make an alteration.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MINISTER OF CONFIRMATION.

SECT. I.—*The Consecration of Chrism reserved only to the Office of Bishops by the Canons.*

NEXT to the persons to whom confirmation was given, we are to make inquiry about the ministry of it, and see by whom it was usually given. And here it will be necessary to distinguish the several parts and ceremonies of confirmation, and cases ordinary and extraordinary; as also the consecration of the chrism from the use of it, and the practice and custom of some Churches from others: for one rule was not precisely observed in all these. Confirmation consisted of several acts, as we shall see in the next chapter. There was first the consecration of the chrism, which was always the bishop's act; then there was the unction itself, or the use of it, with consignation, or the sign of the cross on the forehead or other parts of the body; then imposition of hands, with prayer. There were also cases ordinary, when the bishop was present at baptism; and cases extraordinary, when he was absent, and the party in danger of death. There were also different practices according to the rules of different Churches. And according to these distinctions, the answer must be given to this general question. The consecration of the chrism was generally reserved to the bishop in all Churches; and so the use of it was derived from his authority, in all cases whatsoever. The second

^r See Bishop Usher's Letters, ep. clxiii. p. 442.

^s Galen. Catech. ap. Dallæum de Confirmat. lib. i. p. 21.

Council of Carthage^a forbids presbyters to have any concern in it, and refers to a former Council, wherein the like prohibition was made before. The third Council of Carthage^b allows presbyters, by the commission of the bishop, to consecrate virgins, but never to consecrate the chrism. The fourth Council of Carthage^c obliges presbyters in country churches to go to the bishop yearly, before Easter, or else to send their sacrist to him for the chrism. In some churches of Spain, the presbyters took upon them to consecrate it themselves; which occasioned the first Council of Toledo^d to renew the decree against this as an usurpation, forbidding any beside the bishop to do it from that day forward; and obliging presbyters, as before, to go to their own bishop for it before Easter. The like injunctions are made in the first Council of Vaison,^e the Council of Auxerre,^f the Council of Barcelona,^g the first and second Councils of Bracara,^h and in the collection of Greek Canons made by

^a Conc. Carth. II. c. iii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1160.) *Memini præterito Concilio fuisse statutum, ut chrisma, vel reconciliatio pœnitentium, nec non et puellarum consecratio, a presbyteris non fiant.*

^b Ibid. III. can. xxxvi. (ibid. p. 1172.) *Ut presbyter, inconsulto episcopo, virgines non consecret; chrisma vero numquam conficiat.*

^c Ibid. IV. c. xxxvi. (ibid. p. 1203.) *Presbyteri, qui per diœceses ecclesias regunt, non a quibuslibet episcopis, sed a suis; nec per juniorem clericum, sed aut per ipsos aut per illum qui sacrarium tenet, ante Paschæ solemnitatem chrisma petant.*

^d Conc. Tolet. I. c. xx. (ibid. p. 1226.) *Quamvis pene ubique custoditur, ut absque episcopo chrisma nemo conficiat, tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel provinciis, presbyteri dicuntur chrisma conficere, placuit, ex hac die nullum alium nisi episcopum chrisma, conficere et per diœcesim destinare: ita ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum ante diem Paschæ diaconi destinentur aut subdiaconi, ut confectum chrisma ab episcopo, destinatum ad diem Paschæ, possint ad tempus deferre.*

^e Conc. Vasens. I. c. iii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1457.) *Per singula territoria presbyteri, vel ministri, ab episcopis, non, prout libitum fuerit, a vicinioribus, sed a suis propriis, per annos singulos chrisma petant, appropinquante solennitate Paschali, &c.*

^f Conc. Antissiodor. c. vi. (tom. v. Conc. p. 958.) *Ut a media quadragesima presbyteri chrisma petant.*

^g Conc. Barcinon. c. ii. (ibid. p. 1605.) *Simili statutum conditione est, ut quam chrisma presbyteris diœcesanis pro neophytis confirmandis datur, nihil pro liquoris pretio accipiatur.*

^h Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxvii. (in edit. Labb. Conc. II. c. xix. tom. v. p. 842.) *Placuit, si quis presbyter, post hoc interdictum, ausus fuerit chrisma benedicere, aut ecclesiam aut altarium consecrare, a suo officio deponatur. — Ibid. II.*

Martin Bracarenis;ⁱ as also in the Roman Decrees made by Pope Innocent,^k Leo,^l and Gelasius,^m which I need not repeat at length upon this occasion. So that, by this means, the bishop's authority was secured, even in such cases, where presbyters were allowed to have their share in this holy unction.

SECT. II.—*The Use of the Chrism divided between the Office of Bishops and Presbyters.*

Now, this unction or consignation, in many Churches (particularly in the Roman Church), was distinguished into two sorts; the consignation of the forehead, and the consignation of the other parts of the body. And the former, in such Churches where this distinction was made, was generally reserved to the bishop, to be administered with imposition of hands; but the latter was given by presbyters also. All Churches did not allow of this distinction of chrism into two sorts: but such as did allow of two, granted authority to presbyters to administer the one, but not the other. The double chrismation was first brought in by Pope Innocent; and he thus divides the office between bishops and presbyters. “A presbyter,” says he,ⁿ “baptizing either

(al. III. *ibid.* p. 897), c. iv. Placuit, ut modicum balsami, quod benedictum pro baptismi sacramento per ecclesias datur, &c.

ⁱ Martin. Bracar. Collect. Can. c. li. (ap. Justell. in Append. tom. i. Bibl. Juris Canon. Vet. fol. 25.) Omni tempore episcopo liceat chrisma conficere, et per suas dioceses destinare; ita ut ad dirigendum chrisma diaconus, aut subdiaconus, ante diem Paschæ, de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum destinetur.

^k Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1246.) Presbyteris, . . . chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum.

^l Leo, Epist. lxxxviii. ad Gallos, (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1395, d.) Nec erigere eis (presbyteris ac diaconis) altaria, nec ecclesias vel altaria consecrare licet, nec per impositiones manuum fidelibus baptizandis, vel conversis ex hæresi, Paracletum Spiritum Sanctum tradere, nec chrisma conficere, &c.

^m Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episcopos Lucaniæ, c. vi. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1189.) Presbyteros ultra modum suum tendere prohibemus: nec episcopali fastigio debita sibi met audacter adsumere: non conficiendi chrismatis, non consignationis pontificalis adhibendæ, sibi met arripere facultatem.

ⁿ Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1246.) Presbyteris, seu extra episcopum, seu præsentem episcopum, baptizant, chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum; non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, quum tradunt Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum.

in the bishop's presence or absence, may anoint the baptized party with chrism, provided it be consecrated beforehand by the bishop: but he may not sign him in the forehead with the same oil; because it belongs to bishops only, when they give the Holy Ghost." And so it is in the Decrees of Gelasius* and Pope Gregory,^p his successor in the Roman see. But this double chrismation was not received in France, nor in any of the Eastern Churches. In France, it was the office of presbyters; and the imposition of hands was only reserved to the bishop. This is undeniably evident from the Council of Orange,^q which orders every minister, who had received the office of baptizing, wherever he went, to have the chrism with him, because it was agreed, that chrism should only be once used in baptism. But if, by any necessity, it had been omitted in baptism, then the bishop should be put in mind of that omission in confirmation. For it was agreed to have only one chrismation. This canon is repeated and referred to again in the second Council of Arles;^r and Valesius^s adds to them an inscription in Gruter, confirming the same thing, "That the bishop did not minister the chrism, except it had been omitted by the presbyter before." In the Eastern Churches, they had but one unction after baptism, and that performed by the bishop, except in some particular and extraordinary

* Gelas. ep. ix. c. vi. Vid. sub litt. (m).

^p Gregor. ep. ix. lib. iii.

^q Conc. Arausic. I. can. ii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1447.) Nullus ministrorum qui baptizandi recipit officium, sine chrismate usquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel in baptismate chrismari. De eo autem, qui in baptismate, quacumque necessitate faciente, non chrismatus fuerit, in confirmatione sacerdos ammonetur. Nam inter quoslibet chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio est.

^r Conc. Arles. H. e. xxvii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1014.) Nullum ministrum, qui baptizandi recipit officium, sine chrismate usquam debere progredi: quia inter nos, juxta synodi constitutionem, placuit semel chrismari.

^s Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xlili. p. 135. (m. p. 130.) Hæc baptizatorum consignatio interdum fiebat cum chrismate: quoties scilicet aliquis, urgente morbi necessitate, baptizatus fuerat a minoribus clericis, nec chrismatus. Tunc enim episcopus, qui baptismi solennia postmodum supplebat, chrismare simul et manus imponere necesse habebat: qui vero perfectum baptismum acceperant, iis manus tantum imponebatur ab episcopo sine chrismatione, ut docet canon Arausicanus. Qua pertinet vetus epigramma apud Gruterum, p. 1177, de Maro:

Tuque sacerdotes docuisti, chrismate saneto

Tangere bis nullum iudice posse Deo.

cases. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions^t makes this the office of the bishop, to anoint those that were baptized with the holy chrism. "And this," he says, "was the confirmation of the professions which they had made in baptism."^u The author, under the name of Dionysius, says the same; ^x "That after the presbyters have baptized a man, they bring him to the bishop, and he anoints him with the divine chrism, and pronounces him capable of partaking of the holy eucharist." Now, this episcopal unction was not only in the forehead, as was usual in the Roman Church, but in all other parts of the body; for, as Cyril of Jerusalem^y tells those that were baptized, "They were first anointed in the forehead, to wipe away that shame which the first man, by his transgression, had contracted; and that they might now, with open face, behold the glory of the Lord. Then they were anointed on the ears, that they might have ears to hear the divine mysteries. After that, on the nose and breast; that they might be a sweet savour unto the Lord; and being armed with the breastplate of righteousness, might be able to withstand all the insults of the devil." Thus,^z also, all such heretics as were to be received into the Church without rebaptization, as having been baptized in

^t Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xvi. Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χρίτω τοὺς βαπτισθέντας τῷ μύρῳ.

^u Ibid. c. xvii. Τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας. — Ibid. lib. vii. c. xliii. Βαπτίσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, χρίσάτω μύρῳ.

^x Dionys. Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. p. 254. Ἐπὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην αὐθὺς ἀπάγουσιν· ὁ δὲ τῷ Διουργικωτάτῳ μύρῳ τὸν ἄνδρα σφραγισάμενος, μίτοχον ἀποφαίνει λοιπὸν τῆς ἱεροκληρικωτάτης ἐνχαριστίας.

^y Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iii. n. iii. Πρῶτον ἰχρίσθῃ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἣν ὁ πρῶτος παραβάτης ἄνθρωπος πανταχοῦ περιέφιρι, καὶ ἵνα ἀνακαλυμμένη προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κατοπτρίζησθ· ἵτα, ἐπὶ τὰ ὦτα, ἵνα προσλάβῃ τὰ ἀκουστικά τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ὧτα, περὶ ὧν Ἡσαΐας ἔλεγε, Καὶ προσέθηκε μοι Κύριος ὥτιον τοῦ ἀκούειν· ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ, Ὁ ἔχων ὧτα ἀκούειν, ἀκούτω· ἵτα, ἐπὶ τὴν ὀφρην, ὥπως τοῦ θείου ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι μύρου, λίγητι. Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἰσμὶν τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις· μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπὶ τὰ στήθη, ἵνα ἰδυσάμενοι τὸν θῶρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης, στήτι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδίας τοῦ διαβόλου.

^z Conc. Constant. I. c. vii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 951, a. b.) Τοὺς προστιθίμενους τῇ ἐκδοξίᾳ καὶ τῇ μερίδι τῶν σωζομένων ἀπὸ αἰρετικῶν, διχομήθε . . . σφραγίζομένους, ἥτοι χριστούς πρῶτον τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ τὸ, τι μέτωπον, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ τὸ στόμα, καὶ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ σφραγίζοντες αὐτοὺς λίγμιν· Σφραγὶς δωρεῆς Πνεύματος ἁγίου.

due form before, are appointed to be received by consignation or unction of the holy chrism ; first on the forehead, then on the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, with this form of words ; “ the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit.” But though this whole ceremony of unction, in the Eastern Church, was ordinarily to be performed only by the bishop, and not divided, as in the Roman, between the bishops and presbyters ; yet in some special cases, in some particular Churches, this office devolved upon the presbyters. For at Alexandria, if the bishop was absent, it was usual for the presbyters to give this consignation at the same time that they baptized. As I think the words of the author, under the name of St. Ambrose,^a are to be understood, when he says, “ In Egypt, the presbyters consign in the bishop’s absence.” And this, another author, under the name of St. Austin,^b calls ‘ consecration :’ which some learned persons, I know, take for the consecration of the eucharist. But that was nothing singular, but common to all the world, for presbyters to consecrate the eucharist in the bishop’s absence, in all churches ; and therefore needed not to be noted as a peculiar custom in Egypt. Therefore, I rather judge it to mean some consecration, which presbyters, in many other Churches, were not allowed, in the absence of the bishop, as the consecrating or consigning such as were baptized, with the chrism of confirmation, which a presbyter might not do in the Roman Churches. But in some of the Eastern Churches this was allowed : for the author of the Constitutions, speaking of the celebration of baptism, addresses himself both to bishops and presbyters, telling them in what order they should perform it : “ Thou bishop, or presbyter, shalt first anoint the party to be baptized, with the holy oil : then thou shalt baptize him with water : and, last of all,^c thou shalt sign him with the holy chrism.” Where we see not only the unction preceding baptism, but that which followed after, which was

^a Ambros. in Ephes. iv. 11. Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus.

^b Aug. Quæst. in Vet. et Nov. Test. quæst. ci. In Alexandria et per totam Ægyptum, si desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter.

^c Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxii. ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, πρῶτον χρίσας ἰλαίῃ ἁγίῃ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσας ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσας μύρον.

the unction of confirmation, is commanded to the presbyter as well as the bishop : which must, at least, be interpreted to mean his doing it in the absence of the bishop ; or in his presence, if he has a particular command and delegation. So that as to what concerned this first ceremony of confirmation, the unction of chrism, the practice of different churches varied much upon it. Some Churches, as the Roman, divided the office between bishops and presbyters. Others, as those of France, committed it wholly to presbyters, reserving to the bishop only the consecration of the oil, and imposition of hands in confirmation. Others, as those of the East, reserved not only the consecration of the chrism, but the use of it, to the bishop entirely, when he was personally present, and in all ordinary cases ; only allowing it to be used by presbyters in his absence, or some such extraordinary cases.

SECT. III.—*The other Ceremony of Imposition of Hands reserved more strictly to the Office of Bishops.*

As to the other ceremony of ‘imposition of hands’ in confirmation, we find that more universally and strictly reserved to the office of bishops ; yet not so absolutely and entirely, but that the canons authorized presbyters to do it, in subordination to their bishop, in some certain cases. It is certain Cyprian^d speaks of it as the ordinary office of bishops, or chief ministers of the Church. For, mentioning the imposition of hands, given by the apostles, to those whom Philip had baptized (Acts, viii.), he says, the same custom was now observed in the Church, that those who were baptized, were presented to the governors of the Church, that, by their prayer and imposition of hands, they might receive the Holy Ghost, and be consummated with the seal of the Lord. In like manner, Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, who was cotemporary with Cyprian, makes bishops the ordinary ministers of this office,^e whilst he draws a compa-

^d Cyprian, Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. p. 202, (p. 308, edit. Amstelod. 1700.) Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut, qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, et, per nostram orationem. ac manus impositionem, Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico consummentur.

^e Firmil. Epist. lxxv. ap. Cyprian. p. 221, (p. 322, edit. Amstelod.) Nisi si his episcopis, de quibus nunc, minor fuit Paulus ; ut hi quidem possint per osquam

riſon between St. Paul giving impoſition of hands to thoſe whom he baptized at Ephesus (Acts, xix.), and the biſhop's giving impoſition of hands to ſuch as returned from heresy or ſchiſm to the unity of the Catholic Church. So likewise the anonymous^f author, who writes of the baptism of heretics, at the end of St. Cyprian's works, makes impoſition of hands the office of biſhops, in imitation of the apoſtles giving impoſition of hands to thoſe who were baptized by Philip the deacon (Acts, viii.) And, in another place,^g he ſays, "If biſhops were preſent at baptism, they gave impoſition of hands together with baptism; but if any were baptized by the inferior clergy, in time of neceſſity, then the biſhops ſupplied this afterwards; or elſe the Lord ſupplied it as he ſaw fit." The Council of Eliberis, not long after, made two canons to this purpoſe. In one of which^h it is ordered, "That if a layman baptized a catechumen, when he was dangerously ſick at ſea, or where there was no church near at hand, he ſhould afterward bring him to the biſhop, that he might perfect his baptism by impoſition of hands." And in the other canon, it is alſo ordered,ⁱ "That in caſe a deacon, governing a country people, where there is no biſhop or preſbyter preſent, ſhall baptize any of them, the biſhop ſhall

manus impoſitionem venientibus hæreticis dare Spiritum Sanctum; Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit, qui ab Joanne baptizatis Spiritum Sanctum per manus impoſitionem daret, niſi eos prius etiam eccleſiæ baptiſmo baptiſſet.

^f Anonym. de Bapt. Hæretic. ap. Cyprian. p. 23, in Appendice, (p. 21, b. cit. edit.) Per manus impoſitionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, ſicut apoſtoli circa Samaritanos poſt Philippi baptiſma manum ei imponendo fecerint.

^g Ibid. p. 26, (p. 24, b.) Et ideo quam ſalus noſtra in baptiſmate ſpiritus, quod plerumque cum baptiſmate aquæ conjunctus ſit, conſtituta, ſi quidem per nos baptiſma tradetur, integre et ſolemniter et per omnia, quæ ſcripta ſunt, adſignetur, atque ſine ulla ullius rei ſeparatione tradatur: aut ſi a minore clero per neceſſitatem traditum fuerit, eventum exſpectemus, ut aut ſuppleatur a nobis, aut a Domino ſupplendum reſervetur.

^h Conc. Illiber. c. xxxviii. (tom. i. Conc. p. 974.) Peregre navigantes, aut ſi eccleſia in proximo non fuerit, poſſe fidelem, qui lavacrum ſuum integrum habet, nec ſit bigamus, baptizare in neceſſitate infirmitatis poſitum catechumenum: ita, ut ſi ſupervixerit, ad episcopum eum perducat, ut per manus impoſitionem proficere poſſit.

ⁱ Ibid. c. lxxvii. Si quis diaconus, regens plebem, ſine episcopo vel preſbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet. Quod ſi ante de ſæculo reſceſſerint, ſub fide, qua quis credidit, poterit eſſe juſtus.

afterwards perfect them by his benediction." Or if they chanced to die before this could be done, they were to be reputed in a salvable condition by the faith in which they were baptized. We have heard St. Jerom^k before testifying of this, as the general practice of the Church, for bishops to go about the country villages, and remoter places in their diocesses, to give imposition of hands to such as were baptized by presbyters and deacons. And some of these died before the bishop could come to them; which implies, not only that it was the bishop's ordinary office, but that presbyters and deacons did not administer imposition of hands, even in such cases of necessity; otherwise the party who wanted it, could not have died without it. This was evidently the practice of the Roman Church, where, though the office of chrismation was in part allowed to presbyters, yet the consignation in the forehead with imposition of hands, was still reserved to the bishop, as his peculiar office in confirmation: as we learn from the letters of Pope Innocent,^l Gelasius,^m and Gregory the Great;ⁿ which have already been mentioned in the last section. To which we may add the testimony of Cornelius, who lived before all these in the time of Cyprian, as it is recorded by Eusebius. He there, speaking^o of Novatian, who was baptized only with clinic baptism upon a sick bed, says, "When he recovered from his distemper, he never received those things, which, by the laws of the Church, he was obliged to receive, to wit, consignation by the hands of the bishops," &c. All those testimonies likewise, which require heretics to have imposition of hands from the bishop, in order to obtain the gift of the Holy Ghost, are a further evidence of this practice. To which purpose, we have the decrees of Pope Leo^p and Siri-

^k Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. Vid. c. i. sect. i. litt. (*).

^l Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. Vid. sect. ii. litt. (k).

^m Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episcop. Lucan. c. vi. Vid. sect. ii. litt. (m).

ⁿ Gregor. lib. iii. ep. ix. Ibid. litt. (p).

^o Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. Οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱσχυεῖ, διαφυγὼν τὸν νόσον, ὃν χρεὶ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

^p Leo, Epist. xxxvii. ad Leonem Raven. c. ii. Si ab hæreticis baptizatum quempiam fuisse constiterit, . . . hoc tantum quod ibi defuit, conferatur, ut per episcopalis manus impositionem virtutem Sancti Spiritus consequatur.

cious,[¶] who particularly observes this to have been the general practice of the whole Church, both Eastern and Western, as well as the Church of Rome, in the reception of those who had been baptized in any heresy or schism. And as to all persons baptized in the Church, St. Austin is a further witness, who says, “That in propriety of speech, neither the apostles nor any other man, but Christ alone, as he is God, could give the Holy Ghost: for the apostles only[†] laid hands on men, that the Holy Ghost by their prayers might descend upon them; which custom the Church now observed and practised by her bishops and governors also.” In like manner, St. Ambrose[§] says, “the spiritual seal, or seal of the Spirit, which was the completion of baptism, came after the font, when by the prayer of the priest,” that is, in his language, ‘the bishop,’ “the Holy Ghost was poured upon them.” From all which testimonies it is most undeniably evident, that the bishop, in all ordinary cases, was the only standing and regular minister of this part of confirmation, which consisted in imposition of hands and prayer, — to invoke the gift of the Holy Ghost.

SECT. IV.—*Yet in some special Cases, Presbyters by Commission, allowed to minister it also. As, First, when Bishops particularly required their Presbyters to do it, to such as were baptized in the Church.*

Yet there were some special and extraordinary cases, in which some Churches, if not all, granted a license by canon to presbyters, to minister this part of confirmation also. As when bishops, either in their presence or absence, appointed a presbyter by a particular delegation or command to do it.

[¶] Siric. Epist. i. ad Himer. c. i. Arianos nos cum Novatianis . . . per invocationem solam septiformis Spiritus, episcopalis manus impositione Catholicorum conventui sociamus. Quod etiam totus Oriens Occidensque custodit.

[†] Aug. de Trinitat. lib. xv. c. xxvi. Neque enim aliquis discipulorum ejus (Christi) dedit Spiritum Sanctum. Orabant quippe, ut veniret in eos, quibus manum imponebant, non ipsi eum dabant. Quem morem in suis præpositis etiam nunc servat ecclesia.

[§] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iii. c. ii. Sequitur spirituale signaculum . . . quia post fontem superest, ut perfectio fiat, quando, ad invocationem sacerdotis, Spiritus Sanctus infunditur.

This was no encroachment upon the bishop's authority, nor infringement of his privilege and power, because what was done, was only done in subordination to him, and in pursuance of his command. This license we find sometimes granted to presbyters, even in the bishop's presence. As is clear from that canon^t in the collection of Martin Bracaraensis, out of the canons of the Greek Church: "A presbyter shall not consign infants in the presence of his bishop, unless it be particularly enjoined him by his bishop." Here three things are manifestly implied: 1. That this consignation or imposition of hands, with the sign of the cross and prayer, was ordinarily the sole office of the bishop. 2. That, by a special commission, he might authorize presbyters to do it even in his presence. 3. That in his absence, they were authorized to do it by a general commission, rather than infants or any other baptized persons should die without confirmation. And this agrees very well with what has been said before in the last section, concerning the practice of the Churches of Alexandria and Egypt, though in the Western Churches it was otherwise; as is evident from what has been alleged before out of Pope Innocent^u and St. Jerom,^x who tell us, "That presbyters neither in the presence of the bishop, nor in his absence, were allowed to do it; but many men were forced to die without confirmation or imposition of hands, because the bishop did not come time enough to administer it to them."

SECT. V.—*Secondly, Presbyters might administer to the Energumens.*

Yet, also, in the Western Churches, there were some special cases, in which this consignation was allowed to be performed by presbyters. Nay, and in one case, by deacons also. As it was in the case of energumens, or persons possessed with evil spirits after baptism; concerning whom Pope Innocent makes this decree, in the same epistle where

^t Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canon. c. lii. Presbyter, præsente episcopo, non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum.

^u Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. ii. Vid. supra, litt. (l), et sect. ii. litt. (k).

^x Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. Vid. litt. (k), et c. i. sect. i. litt. (s).

he prohibits presbyters from consigning in all ordinary cases :⁷ "That if any one was seized with an evil spirit after baptism, the bishop might give orders to a presbyter or a deacon to consign him in that condition." It was not to be done but by the bishop's authority ; for he only had the power of imposition of hands ; but because an energumen, who was at a great distance from the bishop, might have several chances in his journey, it was therefore thought more proper for the bishops to grant a commission to a presbyter or deacon, to give him imposition of hands at home, than to venture his falling into his distemper, by either coming to the bishop, or returning.

SECT. VI.—*Thirdly, And to such as were baptized in Heresy or Schism, in Case they were in Danger of Death.*

Another extraordinary case in which this office of imposition of hands was granted to presbyters, was, when any who had been baptized by heretics or schismatics, were, upon their return to the Church, seized with a violent sickness, and in imminent danger of death, before they could go to the bishop, or the bishop come to them, to give them imposition of hands, and confirm them with that grace of the Spirit, which they could not have in heresy or schism. In that case, rather than such persons should die without this office, a commission was granted to presbyters to administer it. This we find most expressly in the first Council of Orange,⁸ "That heretics, if they be in extremity, and apparent danger of death, when they desire to become Catholics, shall, in the bishop's absence, be consigned by the presbyters with chrism

⁷ Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. vi. De his baptizatis, qui postea a dæmonio, aut vitio aliquo, aut peccato interveniente, arripiuntur, quæsit dilectio tua, si a presbytero vel diacono possint aut debeant consignari: quod hoc, nisi episcopus concesserit, non licet; nam eis manus imponenda non est, nisi episcopus auctoritatem dederit id faciendi. Ut autem fiat, episcopi est imperare, ut manus eis vel a presbytero, vel a ceteris clericis imponatur. Nam quomodo id fieri sine magno labore poterit, ut longe constitatus energumenus ad episcopum deducatur, quam, si talis casus ei in itinere acciderit, nec perferri ad episcopum, nec referri ad sua, facile possit?

⁸ Conc. Arausican. I. c. ii. Hæreticos, in mortis discrimine positos, si Catholici esse desiderent, si desit episcopus, a presbyteris cum chrismate et benedictione consignari placet.

and benediction, that is, imposition of hands in the benediction prayer." And the like decree is made in the Council of Epone,^a "That if any heretics, who lay desperately sick, upon a death-bed, desired suddenly to be converted, in that case, for the salvation of their souls, which was heartily desired, a presbyter should be permitted to give them the consolation of chrism. Which they that were in health, were to go to the bishop for at their conversion." Where we may observe, that the chrismation here spoken of, was not the chrismation which presbyters were ordinarily allowed to give in the Western Church, but that which was joined with imposition of hands, which was peculiarly reserved to the bishop, except in such cases of extremity, when a presbyter was allowed to give it, rather than a converted heretic should die without it. And the reason of this concession was, because heretics, who were baptized out of the Church, were supposed to be without the grace of the Spirit, till they received it by imposition of hands in the Catholic Church: for which reason, all heretics, as well those who used imposition of hands at baptism, as those that did not, received a new benediction when they returned to the unity of the Church; as I have shewed from St. Austin,^b Optatus,^c and Alcimius Avitus,^d in another place.^e

^a Conc. Epaunens. c. lxxxvi. Presbyteros propter salutem animarum, quam in cunctis optamus desperatis, et in lecto recumbentibus hæreticis, si conversionem subitam petant, chrismate subvenire permittimus. Quod etiam omnes convertendi, si sani sunt, ab episcopo noverint expetendum.—Vid. Pontifical. Damasi. Vit. Sylvestri, p. 229, ap. Grab. tom. i. (tom. i. Conc. Labb. p. 1408, e.) Privilegium episcopis contulit, ut baptizatum consignent.

^b Aug. de Bapt. lib. iii. c. xvi. Spiritus Sanctus quòd in sola Catholica, per manus impositionem dari dicitur, nimirum hoc intelligi majores nostri voluerunt, quod apostolus ait, Quoniam caritas Dei effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis, &c. (Antuerp. ix. 78.)

^c Optat. lib. vii. p. 109, Paris. 1631.

^d Avit. Epist. xxiv. ad Stephanum, (tom. ix. Bibl. Patr. Lugd. 1677, p. 574.) Quocirca Donatistarum nomen, ne diu in loco vivere possit alieno, benedictione protinus sepelire vitali. In ipso fomitis sui ortu, peregrinantis igniculi frigescat incendium. De quo ne vel famæ fumus narem Galliæ innocentis adspersat, manus impositionem personæ, de qua scribitis, adhibete, interdicta nominis ipsius in posterum, si ex corde convertitur, mentione, &c.

^e See Scholast. History of Lay-Baptism, part i. p. 86.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MANNER OF ADMINISTERING CONFIRMATION, AND THE CEREMONIES USED IN THE CELEBRATION OF IT.

SECT. I.—*The first Ceremony of Confirmation was the Unction of Chrism.*

HAVING thus far considered both the subject of confirmation, or persons to whom it was administered, and the persons by whom it was administered, we are, in the next place, to take a view of the form and manner of its administration: in which we may observe four distinct ceremonies besides the consecration of the chrism, which were,—the unction; the sign of the cross; imposition of hands; and prayer. The unction was commonly first in order, as we learn from that of Tertullian:^a “As soon as we are come out of the water, we are anointed with the blessed unction. And then we receive imposition of hands, invoking the Holy Spirit by a benediction.”

SECT. II.—*The Original of this Unction.*

The first rise and original of this unction in the Church, is not exactly known; and the sentiments of learned men are various about it. The late famous writer, under the feigned name of Petrus Aurelius, in his book called *Orthodoxus*, against Sirmond, takes a great deal of pains to prove it an apostolical practice. But Habertus^b calls this a dream and a mad undertaking, against the general stream and current of learned men. And Estius says,^c “The common

^a Tertul. de Bapt. cc. vii. viii. Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione. . . . Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

^b Habert. Archierat. p. 702. Quod divinare quidam nos volunt, apostolos in libro Praxapostol. confirmasse cum chrismate, id rationem fugit. Præfracte id contra summos theologorum persuadere nititur Petrus Aurelius in Orthodoxo contra Sirmondum.

^c Estius in Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. vii. sect. vii. Communior sententia est, apostolos initio suæ prædicationis non usos fuisse chrismate in administratione ejus sacramenti.

opinion is, that the apostles, in the beginning of their preaching, used no chrism in the administration of this sacrament," as he calls it. So that what the Romanists now make the matter of their new sacrament, is confessed to be without any foundation in Scripture. Bishop Pearson^d is of opinion, that the use of it came into the Church shortly after the time of the apostles. Basnage^e and Daillé^f think not till the third century, when it is first mentioned by Origen^g and Tertullian. Some, indeed, allege an author more ancient than either of these, which is Theophilus Antiochenus,^h who says, "That we are therefore called Christians, because we are anointed with the oil of God." But the unction he speaks of, is a spiritual and mystical unction; "Such as," he says, "the whole air and earth under heaven is anointed with, viz. the unction of light, and the Spirit of God." So that there being no author before Tertullian, who mentions the material unction, as used in confirmation, it is most probable it was a ceremony first begun about his time, to represent the unction of the Holy Ghost.

SECT. III.—*The Form and Manner of Administering it, together with the Effects of it.*

But when it was once admitted, it was usually magnified as the symbol, and sometimes the instrumental cause, of very great effects. The consecration of it was supposed to work a mystical change in its nature, answerable to the change wrought in the waters of baptism, and the bread and wine in the eucharist, which Cyril of Jerusalem compares together.ⁱ

^d Pearson. Lect. in Act. v. n. vi. p. 69.

^e Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 76. Nullus in consignandis fidelibus chrismatis usus ante tertium æræ Christianæ sæculum. Atque res apparet ex Tertulliano, qui chrisma in posterorum prospectum primus produxit.

^f Dall. de Confirmat. lib. ii. c. ii. pp. 116–118.

^g Origen. in Levit. hom. ix. p. 156, edit. Basil. (p. 97, e. edit. Paris. 1604.) Omnes, quicumque unguento sacri chrismatis delibuti sunt, sacerdotes electi sunt, sicut et Petrus ad omnem dicit ecclesiam, 'Vos genus electum et regale sacerdotium.'

^h Theoph. ad Autolyceum, lib. i. Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. i. p. 110. Καλούμεθα Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χρίσμεθα ἑλαίῳ Θεοῦ.

ⁱ Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iii. n. iii. Ὅρα μὴ ὑποσώσης ἐκτείνε τὸ μέγαν ψιλὸν

It was this unction, as the completion of baptism, to which they ascribed the power of making every Christian, in some sense, partaker of a royal priesthood. Which is not only said by Origen in the passage last mentioned, but by Pope Leo,^k St. Jerom,^l and many others.^m To it they also ascribed the noble effects of confirming the soul with the strength of all spiritual graces on God's part, as well as the confirmation of the professions and covenant made on man's part. The author of the Constitutions makes it to be, on man's part, *βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ συνθηκῶν*, 'the confirmation of the confessions and compacts,'ⁿ made with God in baptism: and on God's part, the collation of the Holy Spirit, represented by this ceremony of anointing. Which is so frequently mentioned in every Greek writer upon this subject, that it is superfluous to refer any learned reader to them. It will be sufficient only to hint the forms of prayer which they used upon this occasion; for these will evidently shew what spiritual effects they expected from this unction. Now, of these we have two ancient forms remaining, a shorter and a

ὡς: ὅσας καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐκτίλκασιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οἷα ἵτι: ἄσπες λυτὸς, ἀλλὰ αἷμα Χριστοῦ ἤσται καὶ τὰ ἔργια τοῦτο μύρον. οὐκ ἴσα ψιλόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐν ἵπτοι σις κανὼν, μετ' ἐκτίλκασιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πατρὸς μακρὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παρουσίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θείας ἐνέργειας ἐνεργητικὸν. χυρόμενοι.

^k Leo, Sermon. iii. de Assumptione sua, p. 3, (Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 983; f. edit. Lugd.) Omnes in Christo regeneratos, crucis signum efficit reges; Sancti vero Spiritus unctio consecrat sacerdotes.

^l Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. ii. Deponat sacerdotium laici, id est, baptismus: et ego do veniam penitenti. Scriptum est enim, 'Regnum quoque et sacerdotes Deo Patri suo fecit.' Et iterum: 'Gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, populum acquisitum.'

^m Prosper. Sentent. ex Aug. n. cccxlii. De Chrismate: Christi nomen a chrismate est, id est, ab unctione. Quia ideo omnis Christianus sanctificatur, ut intelligat, se non solum sacerdotalis et regis dignitatis esse consortem, sed etiam contra diabolum fieri luctatorem. — Ambros. de Initiatis, c. vi. Quante hodie renovate animæ dilexerunt te, Domine Jesu, dicentes, 'Attrahe nos post te; in odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus,' ut odorem resurrectionis haurirent! Quare hoc fiat, intellige, quia oculi sapientis in capite ejus. Ideo in barbam defluit, id est, in gratiam juventutis. Ideo in barbam Aaron, ut fias electum genus, sacerdotale, pretiosum. Omnes enim 'in regnum Dei et in sacerdotium unguimur' gratia spiritali. — Aug. Sermon. iii. post xl. a Sirmondo, edit. in Append. tom. x. p. 847.

ⁿ Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xvii. Τὸ μύρον, βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας. — Lib. vii. c. xxii. Τὸ μύρον σφραγίς τῶν συνθηκῶν.

longer; the one an express, and the other an implicit prayer. The shorter form was conceived in these words, — σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ‘the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit;’ as we find it in the first General Council of Constantinople,^o where they order such as were baptized by heretics, to be confirmed by the unction of chrism, in this form of words. And so again in the Council of Trullo^p and some private writers.^q Not to mention now, that this is the form still in use in the *Euchologium* of the present Greek Church. But beside this shorter form (which was only an implicit prayer, as if they had said, ‘Let this unction be unto thee the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit’), they had also some larger forms, which were more express prayers; one of which is, in the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, under the title of an εὐχαριστία περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μύρου, ‘a thanksgiving or benediction to be used in the unction of the mystical chrism;’ where the bishop is ordered to anoint the party baptized, saying these words,^r “O Lord God, the unbegotten, who hast no Lord, who art Lord of all, who madest the sweet savour of the knowledge of the gospel to go forth among all nations; grant, now, that this chrism may be effectual in this baptized person, that the sweet savour of thy Christ may remain firm and stable in him; and that he, being dead with him, may rise again and live with him.” Now this unction, in the Greek Church, was not only in the forehead, but in several other parts of the body, all performed by the bishop in one and the same act: but the Latins divided the office, in some places, between the bishop and

^o Conc. Constant. I. c. vii. Σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου.—Vid. c. ii. sect. ii. sub litt. (*).

^p Conc. Trul. c. xc. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1182.) Τοὺς προστιθέμενους τῇ ἁρεθ-
δαίᾳ καὶ τῇ μερίδι τῶν σωζομένων ἀπὸ αἰρετικῶν διχόμιστα . . . καὶ σφραγίζοντες
αὐτοὺς λίγαμεν, Σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου.

^q Asterius Amasen, de Filio Prodigio, ap. Photium Cod. cclxxi. p. 1499. Ὡς
ἐν τῇ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος παλιγγενεσίᾳ καὶ στολῇ καὶ σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος
ἁγίου οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ διὰ τῆς μετανοίας ἀναγεννήσει.

^r Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀδιάσπαστος,
ὁ τῶν ὅλων κύριος, ὁ τὴν ὁσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
εὐσεμνοὺς παρασχεόμενος· σὺ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο τὸ μῦρον δὲς ἱεργῶς γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ βαπ-
τιζομένῳ, ὥστε βιβαίαν καὶ πάγιον ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐωδίαν μύνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου,
καὶ συναποθάνοντα αὐτὸν συναναστήναι καὶ συζῆσαι αὐτῷ.

presbyters, as has been observed before : but whether united or divided, it was all reckoned the unction of confirmation. Which is evident from that canon of the Council of Barcelona ; which, speaking of presbyters receiving the consecrated chrism from their bishops, which they themselves were to use, says expressly,^s “ That it was for confirming neophytes, or persons newly baptized :” which is a manifest proof, that that part of the ceremony of unction, which was committed to presbyters, was reckoned a part of confirmation. And so much of it might be committed to presbyters, acting in subordination to their bishop, as the rules of every Church allowed. For this part of confirmation being wholly of ecclesiastical institution, it was in the power of the Church to make orders in all things concerning it, both in what manner, and by what persons, she would have it performed. Which is the true reason of so much variety, as we have observed, in different Churches, in the administering this first ceremony of confirmation.

SECT. IV.—*The second Ceremony of Confirmation was the Sign of the Cross.*

Together with this unction they usually joined the sign of the cross. For this ceremony they used upon all occasions ; and, therefore, would not omit it in this solemn act of confirmation. Of this, we have several clear proofs in Tertullian, Pope Leo, and others ; which, because they have been already recited at large,^t in speaking of the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, I will not here repeat them ; but only add, that the name ‘ consignation,’ which is so often used by the Latin writers to denote ‘ confirmation,’^u seems to have had its rise from this ceremony and custom of signing with the sign of the cross, when they gave the unction to persons baptized. And this, in some measure, answers to the Greek name *σφραγίς*, which many times, though not

^s Conc. Barcinon. c. ii. Statutum est, ut quum chrisma presbyteris diœcesanis pro neophytis confirmandis datur, nihil pro liquoris pretio accipiat, &c.

^t Book xi. chap. ix. sect. vi.

^u Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. De consignandis infantibus, manifestum est, non ab alio quam ab episcopo fieri licere. — Martin. Bracar. c. lii. Presbyter non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum.

always, denotes the sign of the cross, as used in baptism or confirmation, or any other office of religion; of which I need not here be more particular.

SECT. V. — *The third and most noted Ceremony, Imposition of Hands; and Fourthly, Prayer joined therewith.*

The most noted ceremony in this whole affair, and that which most universally prevailed, was imposition of hands; a ceremony used in all sorts of benedictions, but more peculiarly applied to ordination, reconciling of penitents, and confirmation. The Latin writers commonly speak of confirmation, under this title. But some think it was not in use among the Greeks, who, they say, only used chrism, and not imposition of hands, in confirmation. But this is a great mistake: for the author of the Constitutions,^{*} in the same chapter, where he rehearses the prayer of the mystical chrism, immediately subjoins, “This is the power of imposition of hands necessary for every one: for unless he that is baptized, have this invocation of the holy priest, he only goes into the water as a Jew, and puts off the filth of the body, but not the filth of the soul.” Therefore, though this ‘imposition of hands’ be not so frequently mentioned in the Greek writers, yet it is always to be understood, as ‘chrism’ is in the Latin writers, where only ‘imposition of hands’ is mentioned.

SECT. VI. — *The Original of this Ceremony of Imposition of Hands.*

The antiquity of this ceremony is, by all ancient writers, carried as high as the apostles, and founded upon their example and practice. There are three passages in Scripture from which they generally deduce it: Acts, viii. where mention is made of the apostles’ laying hands on those whom Philip had baptized; Acts, xix. where St. Paul laid his hands on those whom he baptized after John’s baptism; and Heb. vi. 2,

^{*} Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. ‘Εκάστου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας ὡς αὐτῇ· ἵνα γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἱνασταιν τοῦτον ἐκείνην γέννηται παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διὰ τὴν ταύτην τῆς, εἰς ὅσον μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτισμὸς, ὡς ‘Ιουδαῖον’ καὶ ἀποτίθεται μόνον τὸν βύσσιν τοῦ σώματος, ἀντὶ τὸν βύσσιν τῆς ψυχῆς.

where mention is made of imposition of hands among the first principles of religion. Cyprian derives it from the practice of the apostles^y laying their hands on those whom Philip baptized: "For," says he, "the same custom is now observed in the Church, that they who are baptized, are presented to the governors of the Church, that by their prayer and imposition of hands, they may receive the Holy Ghost." And, in other places,^z he refers it, in general, to apostolical institution and practice. The anonymous author of the book concerning Heretical Baptism, at the end of Cyprian,^a deduces it likewise from the same example of the apostles laying hands on the Samaritans, whom Philip baptized. Firmilian compares the bishop's imposition of hands to invoke the Holy Spirit, to that of St. Paul^b upon those whom he baptized at Ephesus. St. Jerom owns the Luciferians' argument to be good, when he derives this custom^c from the Acts of the

^y Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. p. 202, (p. 308, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Quia legitimum et ecclesiasticum baptisma consequuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat: sed tantummodo quod deerat, id a Petro et Joanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habita, et manu imposita, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos Spiritus Sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, ut per nostram orationem et manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur.

^a Ibid. Epist. lxxii. ad Stephan. p. 196, (p. 305, cit. edit.) De eo maxime tibi scribendum, et cum tua gravitate ac sapientia conferendum fuit, quod magis pertineat, et ad sacerdotalem auctoritatem, et ad ecclesiæ Catholicæ unitatem pariter ac dignitatem, de divinæ dispositionis ordinatione venientem, eos, qui sint foris extra ecclesiam tincti, et apud hæreticos et schismaticos profanæ aquæ labe maculati, quando ad nos atque ad ecclesiam, quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere; eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari, et esse filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascentur, quum scriptum sit, 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit,' &c.

^a Anon. de Bapt. Hæret. ap. Cyprian. in Append. p. 23, (p. 21, edit. Amstelod.) Per manus impositionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, sicut apostoli circa Samaritanos, post Philippi baptismum, manum eis imponendo fecerunt.

^b Firmil. ep. lxxv. p. 221, (p. 322, edit. Amstelod.) Vid. cit. c. ii. sect. iii. litt. (c).

^c Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. An nescis, etiam ecclesiarum hunc esse morem, ut baptizatis postea manus imponantur, et ita invocetur Spiritus Sanctus? Exigis, ubi scriptum sit? In Actis Apostolorum. Etiam si Scripturæ auctoritas non subesset, totius orbis in hanc partem consensus instar præcepti obtineret. Nam et multa alia, quæ per traditionem in ecclesiis observantur, auctoritatem sibi scriptæ

Apostles, and the case of the Samaritans receiving imposition of hands after Philip had baptized them : though he thinks the practice and tradition of the Church sufficient to authorize such a custom in this case, as well as in several other rites belonging to baptism and other things, which had the authority of laws, though they were nowhere expressly commanded in Scripture ; as the triple immersion in baptism, and the tasting of milk and honey, in token of a new birth. St. Austin, in like manner, affirms^d this observation descended to the governors of the Church from the apostles, who prayed over those on whom they laid their hands, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. And, because it might be objected, that the apostolical practice was for a quite different end, to confer on men the miraculous gift of the Spirit, empowering them to speak with new tongues ; he is very careful, once or twice, to answer this objection, and shew, that notwithstanding any such difference, this practice of imposition of hands, in order to obtain the Holy Spirit, might be said to descend from the apostles. “ For,” says he,^e “ by the Holy Ghost, which is given only in the Catholic

legis usurpaverunt ; velut in lavacro ter caput mergitare ; deinde egressos, lactis et mellis prægustare concordiam ad infantie significationem.

^d Aug. de Trinit. lib. xv. c. xxvi. Orabant, ut veniret in eos, quibus manus imponebant, non ipsi eum dabant. Quem morem in suis præpositis etiam nunc servat ecclesia.

^e Ibid. de Bapt. lib. iii. c. xvi. (tom. vii. opp. pp. 409, 410, edit. Basil. 1569.) Nam Spiritus Sanctus, quod in sola Catholica, per manus impositionem dari dicitur, nimirum hoc intelligi majores nostri voluerunt, quod apostolus ait, ‘ Quoniam caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis.’ Ipsa enim est caritas, quam non habent qui ab ecclesiæ Catholicæ communione præcisi sunt ; ac per hoc, etiamsi linguis hominum loquantur et angelorum, si sciant omnia sacramenta et omnem scientiam, etiam omnem habeant prophetiam, et omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferant, et distribuant omnia sua pauperibus, et tradant corpus suum, ut ardeant, nihil eis prodest. Non autem habent Dei caritatem, qui ecclesiæ non diligunt unitatem : ac per hoc recte intelligitur dici, non accipi nisi in Catholica Spiritus Sanctus. Neque enim temporalibus et sensibilibus miraculis attestantibus per manus impositionem modo datur Spiritus Sanctus, sicut antea dabatur ad commendationem rudis fidei, et ecclesiæ primordia dilatanda. Quis enim nunc hoc expectat, ut ii, quibus manus ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum imponitur, repente incipiant linguis loqui ? Sed invisibiliter et latenter intelligitur per vinculum pacis eorum cordibus Divina caritas inspirari, ut possint dicere, ‘ Quoniam caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis.’

Church by imposition of hands, our forefathers would have us to understand that which the apostle says, 'The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given us.' For that is the charity which they have not, who are cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church. And though they speak with the tongues of men and angels, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, it profits them nothing. For they have not the love of God, who love not the unity of the Church; upon which account it is rightly said, that the Holy Spirit is not received but only in the Catholic Church. For now the Holy Spirit, which is given by imposition of hands, does not appear with sensible and temporal miracles to attest it, as it was heretofore given to recommend the first plantation of faith, and to dilate the Church in its infancy. For who now expects that they to whom imposition of hands is given to receive the Holy Spirit, should immediately begin to speak with new tongues? But the love of God is supposed to be inspired into their hearts, invisibly and latently, by the bond of peace, so as they may truly say, 'The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost that is given us.' He gives the same answer to this pretended difficulty in another place,¹ "Hereby," says he, "we know that he dwells in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us. If thou findest in thy heart the love of God, thou hast the Spirit to give thee knowledge: which is a very necessary thing. In the first age, the Holy

¹ Aug. Tractat. vi. in 1 Joan. iii. tom. ix. opp. p. 254, Paris. 1537, (p. 621, edit. Basil.) 'In hoc cognoscimus, quia manet in nobis, de Spiritu, quem dedit nobis.' Si enim inveneris te habere caritatem, habes Spiritum Dei ad intelligendum. Valde enim necessaria res est. Primis temporibus cadebat super credentes Spiritus Sanctus, et loquebantur linguis, quas non didicerant, quomodo Spiritus dabat eis pronuntiare. Signa erant temporis opportuna. Oportebat enim ita significari in omnibus linguis Spiritum Sanctum, quia evangelium Dei per omnes linguas cursurum erat toto orbe terrarum. Significatum est illud, et transiit. Numquid modo, quibus imponitur manus, ut accipiant Spiritum Sanctum, hoc expectatur, ut linguis loquantur? Aut quando imposuimus manum istis infantibus, attendit unusquisque vestrum, utrum linguis loquerentur? Et quum videret eos linguis non loqui, ita perverso corde aliquis vestrum fuit, ut diceret, 'Non acceperunt isti Spiritum Sanctum.' Nam si acceperunt, linguis loquerentur, quemadmodum tunc factum est. Si ergo per hæc miracula modo testimonium præsentis Spiritus Sancti non fit, unde cognoscit quisque accepisse se Spiritum Sanctum? Interroget cor suum: si diligit fratrem, manet Spiritus Dei in illo.

Ghost fell on them that believed; and they spake with tongues, which they had never learned, as the Spirit gave them utterance. These were signs proper for that time; for then it was necessary that the Holy Ghost should be thus demonstrated in all kinds of tongues; because the gospel was to run throughout the whole world in all sorts of languages. But this demonstration once made, it ceased. For does any man now expect to hear them speak with new tongues, who receive imposition of hands as a means to obtain the Holy Spirit? Or, when we laid hands on these infants, did any of you look when they should speak with tongues? And when they did not speak with tongues, was any one so perverse in heart as to say, 'They have not received the Holy Ghost?' For if they had received it, they would have spoken with tongues, as was done heretofore. If, therefore, there be no such miracles now, to testify the presence of the Spirit, how knows any man that he has received the Holy Ghost? Let him ask his own heart. If he loves the brethren, the Spirit of God abideth in him." Thus St. Austin derives imposition of hands for conveying the Spirit, from the practice of the apostles, though there were very different effects then from what they are now. Though men had not the gift of tongues conferred upon them, as in the days of the apostles; yet they might have other graces, sufficient both to testify the presence of the Spirit, and to entitle the act of imposition of hands to the dignity of an apostolical institution. From whence, also, we may observe, that charity and unity, or steadfastness in the love of God and religion, was a particular grace of the Spirit given by imposition of hands: which because heretics could not have, who were baptized out of the Church, therefore they always received imposition of hands upon their^s return to the Church, whether they had received it in pretence among their own party before or not. For some heretics gave imposition of hands, together with baptism, and others did not: but both of them received

^s Aug. de Bapt. lib. v. c. xxiii. Propter caritatis copulationem, quod est maximum donum Spiritus Sancti, sine quo non valeant, quæcumque alia sancta in homine fuerunt, manus correctis hæreticis imponitur.

imposition of hands again, upon their return to the Catholic Church. There is one passage more, upon which some of the ancients found this practice, which is (Heb. vi. 2) where the apostle joins imposition of hands with baptism. Upon which the author, under the name of St. Ambrose,^b notes, "That it means that imposition of hands, which is supposed to confer the Holy Ghost, which is ordinarily given by the chief priests, or bishops after baptism, for the confirmation of men in the unity of the Church of Christ." Which exposition is repeated by Haymoⁱ and some later writers, and allowed as probable by Grotius and Calvin. There is one writer more, who seems to derive it from the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles at the day of Pentecost. He goes under the name of Eusebius Emissenus; but learned men suppose him to be Eucherius of Lyons, or Hilary of Arles, or some other writer about the time of Pope Leo, in the middle of the fifth century. Whoever he was, the account he gives of confirmation, is very particular and instructive; and, therefore, the whole passage may be worth translating. "That which imposition of hands," says he,^k

^b Ambros. in Heb. vi. 2. Impositionis manuum : per quam Spiritus Sanctus accipi posse creditur : Quod post baptismum ad confirmationem unitatis in ecclesia Christi a pontificibus fieri solet.

ⁱ Haymo, in Hebr. vi. 2, (ap. Dallæum de Confirmat. p. 387.) Per impositionem manuum plenissime creditur accipi donum Spiritus Sancti, quod post baptismum ad confirmationem unitatis in ecclesia a pontificibus fieri solet.

^k Euseb. Emissen. Hom. de Pentecoste, (in Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. vi. p. 640, c. d. e. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Quod nunc manus impositio tribuit singulis, hoc tunc Spiritus Sancti descensio in credentium populo donavit universis. Sed quia diximus, quod manus impositio et confirmatio ei, qui jam renatus in Christo est, conferre aliquid possit, forte cogitat sibi aliquis, 'Quid mihi prodest, post mysterium baptismatis, ministerium confirmantis? Aut quantum video, non totum de fonte suscepimus, si post fontem adjectione novi generis indigemus.' Non ita est, dilectissimi, attendat caritas vestra. Sic enim exigit militaris ordo, ut quum imperator quemcunque in militum receperit numerum, non solum signet receptum, sed etiam armis competentibus instruat pugnaturum. Ita in baptizato benedictio illa munitio est; dedisti militem, da ei adjumenta militiæ. Numquid prodest, si quisquam parentum magnam parvulo conferat facultatem, nisi providere studeat et tutorem? Ita Paracletus regeneratis in Christo custos, et consolator, et tutor est. Ideo dicit sermo Divinus: 'Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, in vanum vigilant, qui custodiunt eam.' Ergo Spiritus Sanctus, qui super aquas baptismi salutifero descendit illapsu, in fonte plenitudinem tribuit ad innocentiam, in confirmatione augmentum præstat ad gratiam. Quia in hoc mundo tota ætate victuris inter invisibiles hostes et pericula gradiendum est: In baptismo rege-

“ now gives to every one in confirming neophytes, the same did the descent of the Holy Ghost then confer on all believers. But because we have said that imposition of hands and confirmation confers something on him that is born again and regenerated in Christ ; perhaps some one will be ready to think with himself, and say, ‘ What can the ministry of confirmation profit me after the mystery of baptism ? If, after the font, we want the addition of a new office, then we have not received all that was necessary from the font.’ It is not so, beloved. For, if you observe, in the military life, when the emperor has chosen any one to be a soldier, he does not only set his mark or character upon him, but furnishes him with competent arms for fighting ; so it is in a baptized person ; the benediction is his armour. Thou hast made him a soldier ; give him also the weapons of warfare. What doth it profit, though a father confer a great estate upon his child, if he do not also provide him a tutor ? Now, the Holy Ghost is the keeper, and comforter, and tutor to those who are regenerated in Christ. As the Scripture saith, ‘ Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.’ Therefore the Holy Ghost, who descends with his saving presence on the waters of baptism, there gives us the plenitude of perfection to make us innocent ; but in confirmation, he gives us an augmentation of grace. Because, in this world, we are to live all our lives among invisible enemies, and to walk in the midst of dangers ; in

meramur ad vitam ; post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam : in baptismo abluimur ; post baptismum roboramur. Ac sic continuo transituris sufficiunt regenerationis beneficia ; victuris autem necessaria sunt confirmationis auxilia. Regeneratio per se salvat mox in pace beati sæculi recipiendos ; confirmatio armat et instruit ad agones mundi hujus et prælia reservandos. Qui autem post baptismum cum acquisita innocentia immaculatus pervenit ad mortem, confirmatur morte : quia jam non potest peccare post mortem. Heic si forte illud etiam requirere velimus, post passionem et resurrectionem Christi, quid apostolis profuerit adventus Spiritus Sancti, ipse Dominus eis hoc evidenter exponit : ‘ Quæ dico,’ inquit, ‘ vobis, non potestis ea portare modo. Quum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, ipse vos docebit omnem veritatem.’ Vides, quia quum Spiritus Sanctus infunditur, cor fidele ad prudentiam et constantiam dilatatur. Itaque ad descensionem Spiritus Sancti usque ad negationem apostoli deterrentur ; post visitationem vero ejus, usque ad martyrium contemptu salutis armantur. Secundum hæc per Christum redimimur ; per Spiritum vero Sanctum dono sapientiæ spiritualis illuminamur, ædificamur, erudimur, instruimur, consummamur.

baptism we are born again to life ; but, after baptism, we are confirmed to fight : in baptism we are washed ; but, after baptism, we are strengthened. And so the benefits of regeneration are sufficient for those who presently leave this world ; but to them who are to live in it, the auxiliary aids of confirmation are also necessary. Regeneration, by itself, alone saves those who are presently received, in peace, into a better world ; but confirmation arms and prepares those who are reserved to fight the battles and combats of this world. He that after baptism goes immaculate, with the innocence which he has acquired, to death, is confirmed by death ; because he cannot sin after death. If, here we shall ask, what advantage the apostles had by the coming of the Holy Spirit, after the passion and resurrection of Christ, the Lord himself evidently shews us, saying, ‘ I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now : howbeit, when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth.’ You see, when the Holy Ghost is given, the heart of a believer is dilated and enlarged with prudence and constancy. Before the descent of the Holy Ghost, the apostles were terrified even to the denial of Christ ; but after his visitation, they were armed with a contempt of death, even to suffer martyrdom for his sake. Thus it is that we have redemption by Christ ; but the Holy Ghost gives us the gift of spiritual wisdom, by which we are illuminated, edified, instructed, and consummated to perfection.” This is the account which the ancients generally give of the original of imposition of hands : which ceremony is now wholly laid aside and disused in the Roman Church, though they pretend to make another sacrament of confirmation. But this is only by the way.

SECT. VII.— *What Opinion the Ancients had of the Necessity of Confirmation.*

From the account given by this author, we clearly learn what the ancients supposed confirmation superadded to the benefit of regeneration. The new birth gave innocence and pardon of sins ; but the invocation of the Spirit added wisdom and strength, to preserve and establish men in

innocence to perfection. He also shews us, what opinion the ancients had of the necessity of confirmation. It was not absolutely the same as that of baptism. For if men died immediately after baptism, without imposition of hands, they were saved by their innocence, which they had acquired in baptism: they needed no other confirmation but death, which was a security against all other dangers. Confirmation was only necessary to those who were to live and fight with the world and invisible powers. And this is the sense of all other writers, who speak the highest of the necessity of confirmation. The Council of Eliberis having said,¹ “That it was necessary for the bishop to consummate those by his benediction, who were baptized by deacons,” adds, “Yet if any one die before this can be done, he is justified by the faith which he professed in baptism.” And so the author of the Apostolical Constitutions says,^m “If there be neither oil nor chrism, the water alone is sufficient both for the unction of the Holy Ghost, and the seal of the covenant.” By which we are to mollify that other harsh expression of his in another place, where he says,ⁿ “That baptism, without this imposition of hands, and prayer of the priest, is only a bodily washing, like that of the Jews; purging the filth of the body, but not of the soul.” For unless some very candid interpretation be put upon this expression, it will be highly injurious and derogatory to the saving power of baptism, which purges away sin by a spiritual regeneration. And, therefore, it is but reasonable to let the harsh expressions of this author be interpreted by himself, when he owns that the water of baptism is sufficient to answer all the ends of chrism or confirmation, where that is omitted, not by any contempt, but

¹ Conc. Illiber. c. lxxvii. Si quis diaconus, regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet: . . . Quod si ante de sæculo recesserint, sub fide, qua quis crediderit, poterit esse justus.

^m Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxii. Εἰ μήτι ἔλαιον ἦ, μήτι μέρον, ἀρκυῖ ὕδωρ, καὶ πρὸς χρίσιν, καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. vii. c. xlv. Ἐκείνου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας ἐστὶν αὐτῇ· ἰὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἵλαστον τούτων ἐπίκλησις γίνηται παρὰ τοῦ ὑποβούλου ἱερέως τοιαύτη σις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἀποτίθεται μόνον τὸν ῥύπον τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὸν ῥύπον τῆς ψυχῆς.

for want of opportunity to receive it. And this is plainly St. Jerom's meaning, when he says,^o "That though the practice of imposition of hands descends from the Acts of the Apostles; yet, in many places, it was observed rather for the honour of the chief priesthood, than for any absolute necessity of the thing. For, otherwise, if the Spirit was only obtained by the prayer of the bishop, those men must be in a deplorable condition, that were baptized in villages, and castles, and remote places, by presbyters and deacons, and died before the bishop could come to visit them. All, therefore, that was necessary to salvation, was conferred in baptism, which ministered such a portion of the Spirit, as was sufficient to cleanse men from sin, and qualify them for eternal life." So that when some of the ancients say that baptism does not minister the Spirit, which was only given by imposition of hands in confirmation; as Cornelius pleads in his letter^p against Novatian; and Tertullian^q who says, "That we do not obtain the Holy Ghost in baptism; but are only cleansed in the water, and prepared for the Holy Ghost;" they are to be understood as meaning only that the Holy Ghost is not given in that full measure of baptism, as afterward by imposition of hands. They do not deny that baptism grants men remission of sins, by the power of the Holy Ghost; but only that there are some further effects and operations of the Holy Spirit, which are not ordinarily conferred on men, but by the subsequent invocation of the Spirit; the increase of which men were to desire, and to receive imposition of hands, in order to obtain it. In which sense it is said in the gospel, "That the Holy Ghost was not given, because the apostles had not yet received that plentiful effusion of it

^o Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. Quod si obloqueris, Quare in ecclesia baptizatus, nisi per manus episcopi, non accipiat Spiritum Sanctum, quem nos asserimus in vero baptismate tribui; discite hanc observationem ex ea auctoritate descendere, quod post adscensum Domini Spiritus Sanctus ad apostolos descendit. Multis tamen in locis id tamen esse factum reperimus ad honorem potius sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem. Alioquin, &c.

^p Ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. Τοῦτου δὲ μὴ τυχεῖν, αὐτῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἵκνῃ;

^q Tertul. de Bapt. c. vi. Non quod in aqua Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati, sub angelo Spiritui Sancto præparamur.

in the gift of tongues, which they afterwards had on the day of Pentecost," though they had before received such a measure of it, as both enabled them to work several sorts of miracles, and also qualified them in every respect for the kingdom of heaven.

SECT. VIII. — *How they punished those that neglected it.*

But though the ancients did not think this imposition of hands so absolutely necessary, as that the want of it should exclude those who were baptized, from the kingdom of heaven; yet they thought fit to punish the neglect of it by setting some marks of disgrace and public censure upon such, as voluntarily and carelessly omitted it, when they had opportunity to receive it. Such men were ordinarily denied the privilege of ecclesiastical promotion and holy orders. As appears from the objection made against Novatian, 'That he ought not to be ordained, because, being baptized privately with clinic baptism, he had afterward neglected to receive his consummation from the hands of the bishop, which he ought to have done by the laws of the Church.' And, to this purpose, the Council of Neocæsarea has a canon,^r forbidding such to be ordained; which is made part of the Code of the universal Church. The Council of Eliberis also^t excludes such as have not *lavacrum integrum*, 'their own baptism completed by imposition of hands,' from the privilege of giving baptism to others, which, in cases of necessity, they

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. "Ὁς βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐποριστῶν, νόσφ' περιπαισὼν χαλίσῃ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὅσων οὐδὲ πᾶν νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλήρῃ, ᾧ ἔκλυτο, περιχρῆσθαι ἱλαζίν· εἴγε χρεὶ λίγην τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι, ὡ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν λαμπρῶν ἔσυχαι, διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον, ὃν χρεὶ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίας κανόνα· τοῦτοι σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τούτου δὲ μὴ τυγχῶν, πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔσυχαι; . . . ὃς διακωλύμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, κ. τ. λ.—Vid. cit. supra, lib. xi. c. xi. sect. v. litt. (b).

^s Conc. Neocæs. c. xii. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1484.) 'Εὰν ποῦν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς περιδύσειν ἁγισθαι οὐ δύναται. Οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης· εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μιστὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν, καὶ διὰ σῶσιν ἀνθρώπων.

^t Conc. Iliber. c. xxxviii. (tom. i. Conc. p. 974.) Peregre navigantes, aut si ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus, baptizare in necessitate infirmitatis positum catechumenum, ita ut si supervixerit, ad episcopum eum perducatur, ut per manus impositionem perfici [proficere] possit.

allowed to all other laymen. So far they thought fit to dis-
countenance the contempt and neglect of confirmation,
though they neither esteemed it a distinct sacrament from
baptism, nor of absolute necessity to salvation, but only as a
proper means to strengthen men in their Christian warfare.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE REMAINING CEREMONIES OF BAPTISM FOLLOWING CONFIRMATION.

SECT. I.—*Persons newly baptized clothed in White Garments.*

MUCH about the same time as the unction of confirmation
was administered to persons newly baptized, they were also
clothed in white garments. In the Latin Church, it came
immediately before confirmation; but, in the Greek Church,
it seems to have followed after. For Cyril of Jerusalem
speaks of it as following the unction.^a This was to represent
their having put off the old man with his deeds, and having
put on the new man Christ Jesus. Hence they were called,
λευχιμονοῦντες, and *grex Christi candidus et niveus*, ‘the white
flock of Christ,’ as we find in Lactantius^b and many others.
Palladius, in the Life of St. Chrysostom,^c notes it particu-
larly, as a great piece of barbarity in Arcadius, that when

^a Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iv. n. ii. Ἀσπιδυμένους δὲ τὰ παλαιὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ
ἰνδυνάμενος τὰ πνευματικὰ λευκὰ, χρὴ λευχιμονεῖν διαπαντός, π. τ. λ.

^b Lactant. Carm. de Resurrect. Dom.

Fulgentes animas vestis quoque candida signat,

Et grege de niveo gaudia pastor habet.

— Mosch. Prat. Spirit. c. ccvii. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. ii. p. 1158, d.) Οἱ
γίττις δόντις αὐτὴν λευκοφορεῖσαι, εἶπον αὐτῇ, Τίς σε ἰδέσθαις; — Paulin.
Epist. xii. ad Sever.

Unde parens sacro ducit de fonte sacerdos

Infantes niveos corpore, corde, habitu.

^c Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. ix. Τῇ ἑκατέρῃ γούν ἑξελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦ
γεμισσθῆναι ἐν τῷ παρασκευάσῃ σιδίῳ, εἶδεν τὴν ἄσπερον γῆν, τὴν περὶ τὸ Πάμιστον,
λευχιμονεῦσαν· καὶ ἐκπλαγίς ἐστὶ τῇ θείᾳ τοῦ ἄνθρωπου τῶν νοσηρώσεων· ἦσαν γὰρ
ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους ἤρτετο παρὰ τῶν δορυφόρων, τίς ἡ λογὴς τῶν ἐκείνῃ συνθεσμένων;

St. Chrysostom's presbyters, in his exile, had baptized three thousand persons at one festival, the emperor sent his soldiers to disperse them, as they were λευχειμονοῦντες, 'clothed in their white garments.' This was otherwise called 'the garment of Christ,' and 'the mystical garment.' For so Socrates^d and Sozomen,^e speaking of the ordination of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, which was immediately given him after his baptism, say, "He was ordained whilst he had his mystical garment on;" meaning this white robe which had just before been given him at his baptism. St. Jerom,^f also, writing to Fabiola, seems to allude to this, when he says, "We are to be washed with the precepts of God; and when we are prepared for the garment of Christ, putting off our coats of skins, we shall put on the linen garment, that hath nothing of death in it, but is all white; that, rising out of the waters of baptism, we may gird about our loins with truth, and cover the former filthiness of our breasts." Some also allege two other passages of his in his epistles to Pope Damasus,^g where he speaks of his having put on the garment of Christ, at Rome. But others who have more exactly^h considered the time of St. Jerom's baptism, and the same phrase as used by him in other places, more probably conclude that he means the monastic habit, which he elsewhereⁱ calls the garment of Christ, and not the *albes* of baptism. However, not insisting on those dubious

^d Socrat. lib. v. c. viii. "Ὁς ἀρπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἰασηομένην προεβλήθη, τῶν τότε παρόντων ἱερέων συντήκοντα ἱασηομένων χειροτονησάντων αὐτόν.

^e Sozom. lib. vii. c. viii. Τὴν μυστικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔτι ἡμφιεσμένος, κοινῇ ψήφῳ τῆς συνόδου ἀναγορεύεται Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος.

^f Hieron. Ep. cxxviii. (tom. iii. p. 726, edit. Paris. 1643.) Præceptis Dei lavandi sumus, et quum parati ad iudumentum Christi, tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste lineæ, nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida; ut de baptismo consurgentes cingamus lumbos in veritate, et tota pristinorum peccatorum turpitudine celetur.

^g Ibid. Epist. lvii. ad Damas. Cathedram Petri et fidem apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam; inde nunc animæ postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi. — It. Epist. lxxviii. ad Damas. Christi vestem in Romana urbe suscipiens, nunc barbaro Syriæ limite teneor.

^h See Wall, of Infant-Baptism, part ii. chap. iii. sect. x.

ⁱ Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. i. Non expedit, apprehenso aratro, respicere post tergum, nec de agro reverti domum; nec post Christi tunicam, ad tollendum aliud vestimentum tecto descendere.

passages of St. Jerom, the ancient custom is sufficiently attested from other authors.

SECT. II. — *These sometimes delivered to them with a solemn Form of Words.*

Some of which also tell us, that these garments were wont to be delivered to the neophytes, with a solemn form of words, in the nature of a charge: such as that in Gregory's *Sacramentarium*,^k "Receive the white and immaculate garment, which thou mayest bring forth, without spot, before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal life. Amen."

SECT. III. — *Worn eight Days, and then laid up in the Church.*

These garments were commonly worn eight days, and then laid up in the church. St. Austin, or some one under his name,^l speaks of the Sunday after Easter as the time appointed for this purpose. That was the conclusion of the Paschal festival, and then the neophytes changed their habit: whence that day is thought to have the name of *dominica in albis*; and 'Whit-Sunday' is said to be so called from this custom of wearing white robes after baptism. These, being laid aside, were carefully preserved in the vestries of the church, as an evidence against men, if afterward they violated those professions which they had made in baptism. A remarkable instance of which we have related in Victor Uticensis, concerning one Elpidiphorus, a citizen of Carthage, who having a long time lived in the communion of the Church, at last turned Arian, and became a bitter enemy to the orthodox in the Vandalic persecution. Among

^k Gregor. Sacram. de Bapt. Infant. Accipe vestem candidam et immaculatam, quam perferas sine macula ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam, Amen! — Ordo Roman. de Sanct. Sabbato, Bibl. Patr. tom. x. p. 83. Deportantur ipsi infantes ad eum, et dat singulis stolam candidam, et decem siliquas, et chismale, dicens, Accipe vestem candidam, &c.

^l Aug. Hom. lxxxvi. de Diversis, in Octavis Paschæ, tom. x. p. 709. Paschalis solemnitas, hodierna festivitate concluditur, et ideo hodie neophytorum habitus commutatur; ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur.

others, whom he summoned before him as their judge, was one Maritta, a deacon, who had been sponsor for him at his baptism. He being ready to be put upon the rack, produced against him those white robes with which he had been clothed at his baptism; and with words melting all the whole city into tears, he thus bespoke him;^m "These are the garments, O Elpidiphorus, thou minister of error, which shall accuse thee, when the majesty of the great Judge shall appear; these I will diligently keep as a testimony of thy ruin, which shall depress thee to the bottom of the lake that burns with fire and brimstone. These are they that were girt about thee, when thou camest immaculate out of the holy font; these are they that shall bitterly pursue thee, when thou shalt begin to take thy portion in the flames of hell; because thou hast clothed thyself with cursing as with a garment, and hast cast off the sacred obligation of thy baptism, and the true faith which thou didst then profess and take upon thee." So that the design of this significant ceremony was first to represent that innocence and angelical purity, which every man obtained by the remission of his sins in baptism; and then to remind them of the obligations and professions they had entered into; which, if they had violated, would rise up as so many accusers at the day of judgment.

^m Vict. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. v. Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 613, (tom. viii. p. 694, g. edit. Lugd.) Hæc sunt linteamina, Elpidiphore, minister erroris, quæ te accusabunt, dum majestas venerit judicantis. Custodientur diligentia mea ad testimonium perditionis, ad demergendum te in abyso putei sulphureantis. Hæc te, infelix, immaculatum cinxerunt de fonte surgentem: hæc te, miserrime, acriter persequuntur, flammantem gehennam dum ceperis possidere, quis induisti maledictionem sicut vestimentum, scindens atque amittens veri baptismatis et fidei sacramentum. Quid facturus es, miser, quum servi patrisfamilias ad cœnam regiam congregare cœperint invitatos? Tunc te aliquando vocatam, terribiliter indignatus, exutum stola rex conspiciet nuptiali, dicetque tibi: Amice, quo modo huc venisti, vestem non habens nuptialem? Non video, quod contuli, non nosco, quod dedi. Perdidisti militiæ chlamydem, quam in tela virgineorum membrorum decem mensibus texui, et tendicula crucis extendens aqua mundavi, et purpura mei sanguinis decoravi: non conspicio cultum signaculi mei: characterem non video Trinitatis, &c.

SECT. IV.— *The Ceremony of Lights and Tapers. What intended by it. And at whose Charge both these were provided.*

To this ceremony of wearing white robes, they added another of the like nature, which was the carrying of lighted tapers in their hands. I cannot say this was so universal a practice as the former; but it is mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen among other ceremonies following baptism. "The station," says he, "when immediately after baptism thou shalt be placed before the altar, is an emblem of the glory of the life to come; the psalmody with which thou shalt be received, is a foretaste of those hymns and songs of a better life; and the lamps^a which thou shalt light, are a figure of those lamps of faith, wherewith bright and virgin souls shall go forth to meet the bridegroom." Others refer it to another reason, that it might be a symbol of their own present illumination, and as done in allusion to that saying of our Saviour, "So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." In some baptisms, also, of great men, we find these ceremonies enlarged and set off with greater pomp: for not they only themselves, but all their retinue and attendance, were clothed in white garments, and all carried lamps in their hands. As it was in the magnificent baptism of the younger Theodosius, related in an epistle of Marcus Gazensis,^o published by Baronius, where he says, "The procession from the church to the palace was extremely

^a Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 672. 'Η στάσις, ἣν αὐτίκα στήσῃ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα πρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βήματος, τῆς ἐκείθεν δόξης ἵσται προχέραγμα ἢ ψαλμοδία, μετ' ἧς διχθήσῃ, τῆς ἐκείθεν ὑμνῳδίας προοίμιον αἱ λαμπάδες, ἅσπερ ἀνάψυς, τῆς ἐκείθεν φωταγωγίας μυστήριον, μετ' ἧς ἀπαντήσονται τῷ συμφῶν φαιδρῶν καὶ παρθένοι ψυχὰι παιδαῖς ταῖς λαμπάσι τῆς πίστεως, μήτις καθιύδουσαι διὰ βαθυμίαν, ἵνα μὴ λάβῃ παρὼν ἀδοκίμως ὁ προσδοκώμενος, μήτις ἄστροφου καὶ ἀνάλαιου, καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐκιδεύς, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ συμφῶντος ἐκπίσωται.

^o Ap. Baron. an. 401, 28, tom. v. p. 134, Antuerp. 1610. Baptizato Juniori Theodosio, et ab ecclesia egresso in palatium, licebat rursus intueri decorem eorum, qui præerant multitudini, et vestem eorum refulgentem. Erant enim omnes candidati, ut existimaretur multitudo esse nive repleta. Præcedebant autem Patricii, Illustres, et omnis dignitas cum ordinibus militaribus, omnes portantes cereos, ut putarentur astra cerni in terra.

splendid: for the leaders of the people were all clothed in white, which made the company look as if it had been covered with snow. And all the senators, and men of quality, and soldiers in their ranks, carried lamps in their hands, that one would have thought the stars had appeared upon earth." The expense of these things, especially when so very sumptuous and magnificent, we may reasonably suppose, was defrayed by every person at his own proper cost and charge. And so the objection which some make in Gregory Nazianzen, against baptism, upon the account of the charge attending it, plainly intimates. For they thus object against it:^p "Where is the gift that I shall offer at baptism? Where is the garment of light in which I must shine? Wherewithal shall I entertain my baptizers?" To which Nazianzen replies, "That, in great things, men should not be concerned about such small matters as these. For the sacrament itself was far above these visible objects. Therefore, offer thyself for a gift; put on Christ for a garment; and let thy entertainment of me the minister, be a holy conversation. God requires no great things of us, which the poor cannot give." From whence we may conclude, that either these ceremonies were omitted in the baptism of poor men; or else the Church herself was at the charge of them. Which some think may be inferred from the donations of Constantine made to the baptisteries of Rome, mentioned in the Pontifical, in the Life of Pope Sylvester: but it may more certainly be proved from the Epistles of Pope Gregory,^q where he often mentions his giving these garments to the poor, who could not provide them for themselves.

^p Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 655. Ποῦ δὲ μοι τὸ παροφεισμένον ἐπὶ τῇ βαπτίσματι; ποῦ δὲ ἰμφοῦς ἐσθῆς, ἢ λαμπρυνήσεμαι; ποῦ δὲ τὰ πρὸς δίκωσιν τῶν ἡμῶν βαπτιστῶν; . . . μὴ μικρολόγῳ περὶ τὰ μεγάλα, μηδὲν ἀγινῆς πάθης, μίτῃς τῶν ἐρωμένων ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον, σαυτὸν παροφείρῃς, Χριστὸν ἵδνῃς, θρεῖψόν με πολιτείᾳ, οὕτως ἰγὰρ χαίρω φιλοφρονούμενος· οὐδὲν τῷ Θεῷ μέγα, ὃ μὴ καὶ πίνης δίδωσιν, ἵνα μὴ κἀνταῦθα παραβῶνται οἱ πίνησις.

^q Gregor. lib. vii. Epist. xxiv. ad Faustin. Quoscumque ex iis pauperes, et ad vestem sibi emendam non sufficere posse cognoscis; te eis vestem, quam ad baptismum habeant, comparare volumus ac præbere. — Id. lib. iv. ep. xvi. Vestem ei, quæ baptizanda est, direximus, &c.

SECT. V.—*The Kiss of Peace given to Persons newly baptized.*

Another ceremony used to congratulate such as were newly baptized, upon their admission and incorporation into the Church, was the kiss of peace. Which was observed even towards infants, as we learn from that objection raised against it in Cyprian; where the opponents pleaded for deferring baptism till the child was eight days old, because children, at their birth, were unclean; and every one abhorred to kiss them, as was necessary to be done after baptism, to testify their right of fraternity upon their adoption into God's family. To which Cyprian replied,^r "That this was no impediment to their baptism: for all things were clean to them that were clean. No one ought to abhor that which God had vouchsafed to make. For though an infant was but just born, yet he was then in such a condition as no one ought to abhor in giving him the grace of baptism, or imparting to him the kiss of peace." This custom is also mentioned by St. Austin;^s and it seems to be founded upon that apostolical rule, observed in the eucharist and other holy offices, of saluting one another with a holy kiss, in token of their most cordial affection, and acknowledging one another as brethren. St. Chrysostom gives another reason why it was called 'the peace,' or 'the kiss of peace;' because "men were now reconciled to God, by baptism, and restored to his peace and favour." For, elegantly comparing the two nativities of man together, the natural and the spiritual, he

^r Cyprian. Epist. lix. al. lxiv. ad Fidum, p. 160, (p. 281, edit. Fell. Amstel. 1700.) Nam et quod vestigium infantis, in primis partus sui diebus constituti, mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat exosculari, nec hoc putamus ad celestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere, scriptum est enim: 'Omnia munda sunt mundis.' Nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda horrere debeat exosculari; quando in osculo infantis unusquisque nostrum pro sua religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare, quas in homine modo formato et recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id, quod Deus fecit, amplectimur.

^s Aug. cont. Epist. Pelag. lib. iv. c. viii. (tom. vii. opp. pp. 925, 926, edit. Basil.) ista Cypriani verba adlegat, et approbat.

says,^t “The first birth is always attended with tears and lamentations; nature, as it were, presaging the subsequent sorrows and miseries of life: but in the second birth it is otherwise: here are no tears or mournings, but salutations, and kisses, and embracings, of the brethren, who acknowledge the person baptized as one of their own members, and receive him as one returning from a long peregrination out of his own country. For, because, before his baptism, he was an enemy, but, after baptism, is made a friend of our common Lord; we, therefore, all rejoice with him. And, upon this account, the kiss has the name of ‘peace,’ that we may learn thereby that God has ended the war, and received us into familiarity and friendship with himself.” Hence it is, that to give the ‘peace’ to any one, is the same thing, many times, in the writings of the ancients, as to salute him with the ‘holy kiss,’ in the phrase of the apostle.

SECT. VI.—*And a Taste of Honey and Milk, in token of their new Birth.*

They were used also to give to the newly baptized a little taste of honey and milk: which Salmasius^u and some others suppose to be given them instead of the eucharist. But that is a mistake, for the eucharist was given them at the same time. The ancients themselves give another reason for it.

^t Chrysostom. Sermon. l. de Util. Legendæ Scripturæ, tom. v. p. 686, (p. 613, edit. Francof. 1698.) Τόπος ὁ πρότερος ἀπὸ θρήνων ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ γὰρ παῖδιον ἐκ τῆς μήτρας ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐκ τῆς νηδύος καταφερόμενον, πρῶτην φωνὴν μὲτὰ δακρύων ἐκβάλλει. . . διὰ θρήνων γὰρ ἡ εἴσοδος εἰς τὸν βίον, διὰ δακρύων προσίμια, τῆς φύσεως τὸ μίλλον ὀδυνηρὸν προαναφονεύσης. . . οὐ δάκρυα δὲ ἐν τῇ γυνήσῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπάργανα καὶ δισμὰ δάκρυα ἐν τῇ γυνήσῃ, δάκρυα ἐν θανάτῳ, σπάργανα ἐν γυνήσῃ, σπάργανα ἐν θανάτῳ ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι πρὸς θάνατον ἡ ζωὴ αὕτη τελευτᾷ, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνη καταστρέψῃ τὸ τεῖλος· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἡ γέννησις αὕτη· οὐδαμοῦ δάκρυ καὶ σπάργανα, ἀλλὰ λειλυμένες ὁ γυνήθεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶνας παρ-εσκευασμένες· διὰ τοῦτο ἄφῃτοι οἱ πόδες καὶ αἱ χεῖρες, ἵνα τρίχῃ καὶ πυκτινῇ· οὐδαμοῦ θρήνος, οὐδαμοῦ δάκρυα ἰνταῦθα, ἀλλ’ ἀσπασμοὶ καὶ φιλίας, καὶ περιπλοκαὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸ οἰκίον μίλος ἐπιγινωσκόντων, καὶ ἄσπερ ἐκ μακρῶς ἀπολαβόντων ἀποδημίας· ἐκὶνὴ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ φωτίσματος ἰχθρὸς ἦν, μὲτὰ τὸ φῶτισμα γίγνεται φίλος τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν διαπότου διὰ τοῦτο πάντες συνδόμεθα διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ φίλημα εἰρήνη καλεῖται, ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι πόλεμον κατέλυσεν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίωσιν ἐπανήγαγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

^u Salmas. ap. Suicer. Thes. part. ii. p. 1136. Adulti in pane et vino sacramentum corporis et sanguinis accipiebant; infantes, in lacte et melle.

St. Jerom^x and Tertullian^y say it was to signify their new birth; and that they were now as children adopted into God's family. Tertullian says, moreover,^z "That the Marcionites retained the custom for the same reason, as they did many other usages of the Church." St. Jerom^a says further, "That in some of the Western churches, the mixture was made up of milk and wine instead of honey; and this in allusion to those passages of the apostle, 'I have fed you with milk, and not with strong meat;' and St. Peter's saying, 'As new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word.' For milk denotes the innocency of children." Clemens Alexandrinus^b also takes notice of this custom, saying, "As soon as we are born, we are nourished with milk, which is the nutriment of the Lord. And when we are born again, we are honoured with the hope of rest, by the promise of Jerusalem which is above; where it is said to rain milk and honey. For, by these material things, we are assured of that sacred food." We learn, further, from the third Council of Carthage,^c that this milk and honey had a peculiar consecration, distinct from that of the eucharist. It is there said to be offered at the altar "on a day most solemn" (which means the Great Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, which was the most solemn time of baptism), and there to

^x Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. Deinde egressos, lactis et mellis prægustare concordiam ad infantie significationem.

^y Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Inde suscepti lactis et mellis gustamus concordiam.

^z Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. i. c. xiv. Sed et ille usque nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec oleum, quo suos unxit; nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat; nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representat.

^a Hieron. in Iesa. lv. 1. Lac significat innocentiam parvulorum. Qui mos ac typus in Occidentis ecclesiis hodie usque servatur, ut renatis in Christo vinum lacque tribuatur. De quo lacte dicebat et Paulus, 'Lac vobis potum dedi, non solidum cibum.' Et Petrus, 'Quasi modo nati parvuli, rationale lac desiderate.'

^b Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. vi. p. 103. Τῷ γάλακτι, τῇ κυριακῇ τροφῇ, οὗτοι μὲν ἀποκυνθίσαι, τισιν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐδαιμονία· οὗτοι δὲ ἀναγεννηθέντες τισιμήματα, τῆς ἀναπαύσεως τὴν ἰλπίδα, τὴν ἂν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ἐν ᾗ μίλι καὶ γάλα ἡμετέριον ἀναγίγασκται διὰ τῆς ἐνύλου, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν μυστανοόμενοι τροφήν.

^c Conc. Carth. III. c. xxiv. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1170.) Primitiæ vero, seu mel et lac, quod uno die solemnissimo pro infantis mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offerantur, suam tamen habent propriam benedictionem, ut a sacramento Dominici corporis ac sanguinis distinguantur.

have its proper benediction for the mystery of ‘infants,’ that is, persons newly baptized, who are commonly called ‘infants’ in the mystical sense, that it might be distinguished from the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. This part of the canon, indeed, is omitted in some collections, but Labbe says it was in the ancient manuscripts: and it is now so read in the body of the African Code;^d which puts the matter beyond all dispute. I have given this canon with a little explanatory paraphrase, because some learned men complain of the obscurity of it, and profess themselves to be in the dark about the mystery of infants, which seems to me evidently to refer to this custom of giving milk and honey to the newly baptized.

SECT. VII. — *Then required to say the Lord's Prayer.*

When persons were thus adopted into God's family, and acknowledged as brethren in Christ, then they were admitted, as sons, to call upon God their Father, and immediately required to do it in the form of words taught us by Christ. The author of the Constitutions^e bids them repeat the Lord's Prayer, standing upright, because they were now risen with Christ from the dead: and, after that, repeat this other short form, “Almighty God, the Father of Christ, thy only begotten Son, give me an immaculate body, a pure heart, a watchful soul, an unerring knowledge, with the influence of the Holy Ghost, that I may possess and enjoy the fulness of the truth, through thy Christ; by whom all glory be to thee

^d Cod. Eccles. African. c. xxxvii. ap. Justellum, p. 348, (apud Labb. tom. ii. Conc. p. 1068.) ‘Ἀπαρχὴ δὲ, εἴτε μίλι, εἴτε γάλα, ὡς εἴθε, προσφρίσθω ἐν μίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἰδίῃ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἡπῖων μυστήριον· εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα γάλα ἐν δυσιστηρίῳ προσφρίσεται, ἥκως ἰδίαν ἰχίτω κυρίως εὐλογίαν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγιασματος τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος διίστασθαι.

^e Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. Μετὰ τοῦτο, ἰστὼς προσκυνοῦν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἢν ἰδιδάξῃ ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος· ἀναγκαίως δὲ τὸν ἀναστάντα δι’ ἰσχύος καὶ προσεύχεται, διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐνυμνέμενον ἔρθῃν εἶναι· καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν συναποδανὼν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ συνηγθεὶς, στήκειτω. — Id. c. xlvi. ‘Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου, δός μοι σῶμα ἄσπιλον, καρδίαν καθαρὰν, νοῦν γρηγόρεον, γνώσιν ἀπλανή, Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐμφύοιτησιν πρὸς πᾶσιν καὶ πληροφάνειαν τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου δι’ οὗ σοι δόξα ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

in the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen." St. Chrysostom^f also mentions their repeating the Lord's Prayer presently after their coming up out of the water; and that, standing also; not falling upon their faces, but looking up to Christ, to whose body they are united, as he sits above in heaven, where Satan has no access. And this was the first time they were allowed to use this prayer. For, till men were baptized and made sons of God by regeneration, they were not allowed to call God their father. And though they learned the Lord's Prayer before baptism, yet they were not permitted, till after baptism, to use it as a prayer publicly in the Church.

SECT. VIII.—*Received with Psalmody.*

Among other ceremonies after baptism, Gregory Nazianzen mentions their reception with psalmody,^g which, he says, "was a *præludium*, or 'foretaste' of those hymns and praises which should be the employment of the life to come." But whether this means any particular psalms appointed to be sung at baptism, or the common psalmody of the Church, he does not inform us. If I may be allowed to conjecture, I should conclude for the former; because the common psalmody of the Church was no more than what catechumens were allowed to hear before, as being part of the *missa catechumenorum*, or first service, at which not only catechumens, but professed Jews and heathens, might be present. Perhaps, they sung the 118th Psalm, in which are these words, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it;" because St. Austin,^h speaking of the Easter festival, seems to refer to it, saying, "This is the day

^f Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Coloss. p. 1953, (p. 201, edit. Francof.) Εὐδίας γὰρ ἀνελθόν, ταῦτα φθίγγονται τὰ ῥήματα· Πάντε ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γενηθήτω τὸ Θέλημα σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· οὐκ ἔσ' ἄψιν πίπτει τὸ παιδίον [leg. πιδίον], κ. τ. λ.

^g Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 672, a. Ἡ ψαλμωδία, μὲν ἥς διχθήσῃ, τῆς ἐκείνης ὑμνῳδίας προοίμιον.

^h Aug. Serm. clxiii. de Tempore, tom. x. p. 332, (p. 957, a. edit. Basil. 1569.) Hic est dies, quem fecit Dominus, celsior cunctis, lucidior universis, in quo Dominus resurrexit; in quo sibi novam plebem, ut ipsi videtis, regenerationis Spiritu conquisivit; in quo singulorum mentes gaudio et exultatione perfudit.

which the Lord hath made, higher than all, brighter than all, in which he hath acquired to himself a new people, by the spirit of regeneration, and hath filled our minds with joy and gladness." And Paulinus¹ speaks of singing hallelujahs upon this occasion. But, in doubtful matters, I will not be over positive to determine.

SECT. IX.—*And admitted immediately to the Communion of the Altar.*

It is more certain, that as soon as the ceremonies of baptism were finished, men were admitted to a participation of the eucharist. For this was the τὸ τέλειον, 'the perfection' or consummation of a Christian, to which he was entitled by virtue of his baptism. Therefore, all the ancient writers speak of this as the concluding privilege of baptism, which, in those days, was almost immediately subjoined to it. And this was observed, not only with respect to adult persons, but children also. For proof of which custom, at present it will be sufficient to allege the testimony of Gennadius,^k who joins the baptism of infants, and confirmation, and the eucharist, all together. And this continued to the ninth century, as appears from the rituals of that age, some of which have been produced before,^l and many others might be added: but these belong to another place, where it will be more proper to treat of the communion of infants, among other things that relate to the subject of the eucharist, which, together with the ancient psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, and prayers, which make up the whole ordinary service of the Church, under the name of *missa catechumenorum*, and *missa fidelium*, will be the subject of Book XIII. which is intended to give an account of the liturgy of the Church.

¹ Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. p. 145 :

Hinc senior sociæ congaudet turba catervæ ;

Alleluia novis balat ovile choris.

^k Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lii. Si parvuli sint, qui doctrinam non capiunt, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi : et sic manus impositione et chrismate communiti, eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur.

^l Book xii. chap. i. sect. ii.

SECT. X. — *Of the Ceremony of Washing the Feet, retained in some Churches.*

There was one ceremony more, used in some churches, but rejected by others, which it will not be improper to give some account of here in the close : — that was the custom of washing the feet of the baptized. Vicecomes^m thinks, at first it was a ceremony preceding baptism, and used on Maundy Thursday, or the same day that our Saviour (from whose example it was taken) washed his disciples' feet. And this seems to be clear, he says, from St. Austin's words, who has occasion to mention it in two of his epistles. But in the former epistle,ⁿ St. Austin is speaking of the custom of bathing the whole body before Easter, that the catechumens, who had neglected themselves in the observation of Lent,

^m Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. iii. c. xx. Quo die pedes abluerentur. Beroldus post baptismi ritus, hanc cærimoniam refert ; cum antiquitus die, Christi apostolorum pedes lavantis commemoratione celebri, præstari soleret, ut multis argumentis probare facile est ; nam pedum ablutio, quemadmodum supra diximus, ad detergendas corporis sordes, quæ baptizanti stomachum facere poterant, instituta videtur, quæ ratio post baptismum locum non habet ; deinde S. Ambrosius, lib. iii. de Sacramentis, c. ii. et lib. de Initiat. c. vi. locis quæ attulimus, aperte significat, pedes ablui consuevisse, ut macula ortu contracta deleteretur, cum post baptismum omnis peccati labes abolita sit. Palladius quoque (Historia Laus. sect. lxxiii.) refert, duobus histrionibus ante pedes ablutos esse, tum salutare baptismum impertitum : ex quo ablutionem baptismum priorem fuisse omnes intelligunt. De die autem feriæ quintæ hebdomadis sanctioris, ut rationes eas, quæ e conjecturis pendent, omittamus, S. Augustini certissimum est testimonium, Epist. cxviii. ad Januar. quum ait : ' Si autem quæris, ' &c. Vid. sub litt. (n). Beroldus igitur solum sui temporis consuetudinem expressit ; quod indicant ejus verba, quum baptismi trium puerorum meminit ; qui antiquitus, quando in Paschate vel Pentecoste baptizabantur, in usu non erat ; fieri enim potuit, ut quemadmodum, teste S. Augustino, (Epist. cxix. ad Januar.) honoris ergo, a die altero in alterum, ea consuetudo mutata est ; sic etiam Mediolani ad cærimonias post baptismum delata sit, ut negligendi veri baptismi occasio demeretur. Et sic intelligendi sunt, quotquot eam cærimoniam post baptismum numerarunt, cum posteriorum temporum ratio habita sit.

ⁿ Aug. Epist. cxviii. ad Januar. Si autem quæris, cur etiam lavandi mos ortus sit : nihil mihi de hac re cogitanti probabilius occurrit, nisi quia baptizandorum corpora per observationem quadragesimæ sordidata, cum offensione sensus ad fontem tractarentur, nisi aliqua die lavarentur. Istum autem diem potius ad hoc electum, quo cæna Dominica anniversarie celebratur. Et quia concessum est hoc baptismum accepturis, multi cum his lavare voluerunt, jejuniumque relaxare.

might not appear offensive, when they came to be baptized : therefore, Maundy Thursday was chosen as the day to cleanse themselves, by bathing, from the bodily filth which they had contracted. And because this was allowed to the catechumens, many others chose to bathe themselves with them on that day also, and relax their fast, because fasting and bathing would not agree together. So that this washing was not the washing of the feet, however Vicecomes came to mistake it, but the bathing of the whole body ; and not used as a religious ceremony, but as a ceremony of convenience and civil decency, that they might not be offensive to the senses of others, when they came to baptism. In the other epistle, he speaks particularly of washing the feet, but that was after baptism, on the third day, or the *octaves*, or such other time as those Churches which retained the ceremony, thought fit to appoint it. “ For many Churches,”^o he says, “ would never admit of this custom at all, lest it should seem to belong to the sacrament of baptism, when our Saviour only intended it as a lesson of humility.” And other Churches, for the same reason, abrogated the custom, where it had been received. And others, who retained it, that they might recommend it by fixing it to some more sacred time, and yet distinguish it from the sacrament of baptism, chose either the third day of the *octaves*, or the *octave* after baptism itself, as most convenient for this purpose. Among the Churches which wholly refused, or abrogated, this custom, the Spanish Church is one, which, in the Council of Eliberis, made a canon against it ; forbidding, at once, the exacting any gift or reward for administering baptism, lest the priest should seem to sell what he freely received : of which I

^o Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xviii. De lavandis vero pedibus, quum Dominus hoc propter formam humilitatis, propter quam docendam venerat, commendaverit, sicut ipse consequenter exposuit, quæsitum est, Quonam tempore potissimum res tanta etiam facto doceretur, et illud tempus occurrit, quo ipsa commendatio religiosius inhæreret. Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum baptismi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitarunt. Aliqui autem, ut hoc et sacratione tempore commendarent, et a baptismi sacramento distinguèrent, vel diem tertium octavarum, quia et ternarius numerus in multis sacramentis maxime excellit, vel etiam ipsum octavum, ut hoc facerent, elegerunt.

have given a full account,^p in speaking of the revenues of the Church; and also forbidding the priests,^q or any other of the clergy, to wash the feet of such as were baptized. Among those Churches which never received this custom, we may reckon the Roman Church; and among those which always received it, the Church of Milan, whose practice is opposed to the Roman by St. Ambrose, or whoever was the author of the books *De Sacramentis, et de iis qui Mysteriis initiuntur*, among his works. He says,^r in the Church of Milan, the bishop was used to wash the feet of the baptized. But the Roman Church had not this custom: and he thinks they might decline it, because of the multitude of those that were baptized. But they of the Roman Church pleaded that it was not to be done by way of mystery in baptism or regeneration, but only by way of humility, as the custom of washing the feet of strangers. But, on the contrary, the Church of Milan pleaded, that it was not merely a business of humility, but of mystery and sanctification, because Christ said to Peter, "Except I wash thy feet, thou hast no part with me." "This I urge," says our author, "not to reprehend others, but to commend my own office: for though we desire to follow the Roman Church, yet we are men that have our senses about us: and, therefore, we observe that practice which we conceive to be righter in other Churches." He adds further,^s "That this was not done to obtain remission of

^p Book v. chap. iv. sect. xiv.

^q Conc. Illiber. c. xlviii. Emendari placuit, ut hi qui baptizantur (ut fieri solet) nummos in concham non immittant; ne sacerdos, quod gratis accepit, pretio distrahere videatur. Neque pedes eorum lavandi sunt a sacerdotibus vel clericis.

^r Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iii. c. i. Succinctus summus sacerdos pedes tibi lavit. . . . Non ignoramus, quod ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam: hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo, ne propter multitudinem declinarit. Sunt tamen, qui dicant, et excusare conentur, quia hoc non in mysterio faciendum est, non in baptismo, non in regeneratione: sed, quasi hospiti, pedes lavandi sunt. Aliud est humilitatis, aliud sanctificationis. Denique audi, quia mysterium est et sanctificatio. 'Nisi laveris tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem.' Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, &c. (Paris. 1642, 362.)

^s Ibid. In baptismo omnis culpa diluitur. Recedit ergo culpa. Sed, quia Adam supplantatus a diabolo est, et venenum ei effusum est supra pedes, ideo lavas pedes, ut in ea parte, in qua insidiatus est serpens, majus subsidium sanctificationis accedat, quo postea te supplantare non possit. Lavas ergo pedes,

sins, for that was already done in baptism: but because Adam was supplanted by the devil, and the serpent's poison was cast upon his feet: therefore, men were washed in that part for greater sanctification, that he might have no power to supplant them any further." These were the reasons given by the Church of Milan, for their adhering to this practice: but they were not so strong as to prevail with others; and so this custom never got any great footing in the Christian Church.

SECT. XI. — *A General Reflection upon the whole preceding Discourse, with Relation to the Practice of the Present Church.*

I have now gone over the most material ceremonies and usages of the Church, observed about the administration of baptism, as well those that went before, as those that accompanied the action itself, and those that followed after; and, as near as I could, delivered them in the same order and manner as she herself observed them. And shall here close the discourse only with one general reflection, which may be of some use to vindicate the practice of the present Church, and give satisfaction to such sober dissenters as scruple our office of baptism for the sake of an innocent, significant ceremony or two retained in it. The candid reader may observe throughout this discourse, that not only one or two, but many significant ceremonies, were observed by the ancient Church, in the administration of baptism; particularly the sign of the cross was used, at least four or five times, in the whole process of the action. Therefore, they who now raise objections against the present office, had they lived in the primitive times, must have had much more reason to complain of the ancient practice. And yet we do not ordinarily find objections raised against the baptism of the Church, upon the account of the ceremonies she used therein; no, not even by those who in other things differed from her. Which consideration, methinks, should a little satisfy those who really value the peace and unity of the Church; and be an

ut laves venena serpentis. Ad humilitatem quoque proficit, ut in mysterio non erubescamus, quod non dedignamur in obsequio.

argument to them not to dissent from the practice of the present Church, for those things which must more forcibly have obliged them to have been dissenters in all ages. I know not how far this consideration may prevail upon any ; but I know how far it ought to prevail upon all that love the peace, and study the quiet, of the Church ; and, therefore, I could not but, in this place, here seasonably suggest it.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE LAWS AGAINST REBAPTIZATION BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE.

SECT. I. — *But one Baptism, properly so called, allowed by the Church. And why.*

To what has been said about baptism, it will not be improper to add something about the laws, made both in Church and State, against the repetition of it, when once duly performed. The ancients generally determine against a repetition of baptism ; though Vossius thinks^a their reasons are not always strictly conclusive. Some argued that baptism was not to be repeated, because we are baptized into the death of Christ, who died but once. So St. Basil^b and St. Austin.^c But Vossius thinks there is no weight in this

^a Voss. de Bapt. Disput. xvii. nn. v.—xiv. pp. 210–214.

^b Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xv. "Εν οἷδαμιν τὸ σωτήριον βάπτισμα, ἰσχυρὰν εἶς ἔστιν ὁ ὕπὸ τοῦ κόσμου θάνατος, καὶ μία ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἑξανάστασις, ὣν τύπος ἔστι τὸ βάπτισμα.

^c Aug. vel alius potius, de Vera et Falsa Pœnit. c. iii. Sicut semel Christus crucifixus est ; sic baptismus iterandus, non est. Una enim morte sua omnes redemit, ut amplius mori non oporteat : quod videns ecclesia, intellexit, non iterandum baptisma. — Isidor. lib. ii. de Offic. Eccles. c. xxiv. Semel autem nos oportet in Christo lavari ; quia Christus semel pro nobis mortuus est. Si enim unus Deus et fides una est ; necessariò et unum baptisma sit ; quia et Christi mors una pro nobis est, in cujus imaginem mergimur per mysterium sacri fontis, ut consepeliamur Christo morientes huic mundo, et ab iisdem aquis in forma resurrectionis ejus emergimur, non reversuri ad corruptionem ; sicut neque est reversus ad mortem. — Damas. lib. iv. Orthod. Fid. c. x. "Ὡςπερ ἀπαξ ἐτιλήσθη ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατος, οὕτως καὶ ἀπαξ δι' ἑκαστοῦ βαπτίζεσθαι.

argument, because that which is but once done, may be often represented: as the sacrament of the eucharist is often repeated, though it also be in remembrance of the Lord's death till he come. Others prove it from those words of our Saviour (John, xiii. 10): "He that is washed, needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." This argument is used by Optatus, St. Austin, Fulgentius, Pacianus, and St. Ambrose. But Vossius thinks there is as little force in this reason as the former: because men may become polluted and unclean after baptism, and so have need of a second washing, if there were no other reason against it. Others argued from those words of the apostle (Heb. vi. 4): "It is impossible for those who are once enlightened, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance." The ancient expositors, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Primasius, Sedulius, and Haymo, understand this as a prohibition of renewing men to repentance again by a second baptism: for they do not deny absolutely the possibility of a second repentance or pardon, but only upon a second baptism. And so Vossius says it is also expounded by Epiphanius,^d Cyril of Alexandria,^e St. Jerom,^f St. Austin,^g and St. Am-

^d Epiphan. Hæres. lix. Novatian. Καὶ γὰρ τῇ μὲν ὄντι τοὺς ἀπαξ ἀνακαίνισθῶτας καὶ παραπιστόντας ἀνακαίνιζιν ἀδύνατον· οὕτι γὰρ ἴτι γιννηθήσεται Χριστὸς, ἵνα σταυρωθῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· οὕτι ἀνασταυροῦν δύναται τις τὸν Τίον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν μηκέτι σταυρούμενον· οὕτι δύναται τις λουτροῦν διῦτιρον λαμβάνειν· ἢ γὰρ ἔστι σὲ βάπτισμα, καὶ εἰς ὃ ἐγκαινισμός· ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἐπιφέρει τὴν τούτων ἱεσιν ἀγιος ἀπόστολος, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἱατροῦν, καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μιᾶν ἱπμιλούμενος, καὶ φησι, Πιστίσμεθα, κ. τ. λ.

^e Cyril. lib. v. in Joan. c. xvii. (Not. Vaga, si non falsa, adlegatio. Neque enim in commentario ipso locum illum Heb. vi. 4, explicatum, neque in indice locorum scripturæ S. notatum invenio. — Grischov.)

^f Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib. ii. c. ii. (tom. ii. p. 361, g. h. edit. Paris. 1642.) 'Impossible est, eos, qui semel illuminati,' &c. Certe eos, qui illuminati sunt, et gustaverunt donum cœleste, et participes facti sunt Spiritus Sancti, gustaveruntque bonum Dei verbum, negare non possumus baptizatos. Si autem baptizati peccare non possunt, quomodo nunc apostolus dicit, 'Et prolapsi sunt?' Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, qui contendunt non posse renovari per pœnitentiam eos, qui crucifixerunt sibi et Filium Dei, et ostentui habuerunt, consequenter hunc errorem solvit, et ait, 'Confidimus autem de vobis,' &c.

^g Aug. in Inchoat. Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (tom. iv. opp. p. 1177, edit. Basil. 1669.) Non possunt denuo baptizari, qui semel baptizati sunt, quamvis etiam post baptismum per ignorantiam veritatis peccaverint. Ita fit, ut quoniam sine baptismo nemo recte dicitur accepisse scientiam veritatis, omnis qui

brose.^b But he thinks their exposition not so agreeable to this place as that of others, who interpret the 'falling away' either to mean the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or what St. John calls 'a sin unto death,' or a total apostasy from the Christian religion, for which there is no renewal of repentance. But I will not be so positive as Vossius, that any of these are better interpretations of that text, which is so unanimously urged by the ancients against the Novatians, as a prohibition, not simply of a second repentance, but of a repentance by a second baptism. Others made use of those words of the apostle (Eph. iv.), "One faith, one baptism." Which is the argument urged by Cyril of Jerusalem and Pope Leo against rebaptization. But this, as Vossius observes, probably was not intended as a prohibition of a second baptism, but only to declare the community of that baptism, which is received one and the same by all, without exception. As the apostle calls the eucharist 'one bread,' not because it was only once to be received, but because it was that common bread, of which all were partakers. The true reason, Vossius thinks, why baptism is not to be repeated, is the Divine will that so appointed it. For there is no command to reiterate baptism, as there is to repeat the eucharist, in the words of institution. Neither is there any example of any rebaptization in Scripture; though we often read of men's falling into gross and scandalous sins after baptism. To which may be added, that baptism succeeds in the room of circumcision, being the entrance and seal of the covenant, which, on God's part, is never broken: so that as circumcision was never repeated, though the Passover was yearly;

accepit eam, non ei relinquatur pro peccatis sacrificium, hoc est, non possit denuo baptizari. Nec tamen omnis, qui non accepit per doctrinam scientiam veritatis, debeat arbitrari posse pro se illud offerri sacrificium, si jam oblatum est; id est, si jam ejusdem veritatis per baptismum sacramenta percepit, non potest iterum baptizari. . . . Eos enim, qui jam baptizati fuerint, curari melius dicimus per pœnitentiam, non renovari: quia renovatio in baptismo est. Ubi quidem operatur pœnitentia, sed tamquam in fundamento. Manente itaque fundamento, recurari ædificium potest: si autem fundamentum iterare quis voluerit, totum ædificium subvertat necesse est. &c.

^b Ambros. de Pœnit. cont. Novat. lib. ii. c. ii. tot.

in like manner, men enter into the covenant by baptism, and their breaches of the covenant are not to be repaired by repeated baptisms, but by confession and repentance; which is the method prescribed by the apostle for restoring fallen brethren. St. Jeromⁱ observes, "That though there were many heretics in the apostles' days, as the Nicolaitans and others, yet there was no command given to rebaptize them upon their repentance." And Optatus^k makes the unity of circumcision a good argument for the unity of baptism, in which both the Catholics and Donatists agreed. For though the Donatists rebaptized the Catholics, yet they did it not under the notion of a second baptism, but as supposing they had received no true baptism before.

SECT. II.—*Only the Marcionites allowed Baptism to be thrice repeated.*

Indeed, among all the ancient heretics, we find none for a plurality of baptisms, but only the Marcionites; which Epiphanius observes to have been an invention of Marcion,^l their first founder, in regard to his own conversation: for he, having been guilty of deflowering a virgin, invented a second baptism, asserting that it was lawful to repeat baptism three times for the remission of sins. So that if any man fell, he might receive a second baptism after the first, and a third after that, upon his repentance. Which he pretended to ground upon those sayings of our Saviour, "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and I have a cup to drink;" which have no reference to any other baptism in water, but to his

ⁱ Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. viii. (24). De Apocalypsi quoque approbemus, hæreticis sine baptismate debere pœnitentiam concedi. Numquid dixit, Rebaptizentur qui in Nicolaitarum fidem baptizati sunt?

^k Optat. lib. i. p. 35. Quid magis dici pro nobis et nostrum esse potest, quam quod dixisti, in comparationem baptismatis semel factum esse diluvium? Et singularem circumcisionem salubriter profecisse populo Judæorum, magis pro nobis, quasi noster, loquutus es.

^l Epiphan. Hæres. xlii. Marcionit. n. iii. Ἐπειδὴ φθείρας ἐν τῇ ἰαυτοῦ πόλει τὴν παρθένον, καὶ ἀποδράσας μὲν ἐν παραπτώματι μεγάλῃ ἐνείκη, ἐκινύουσι ὁ ἀγύρετης ἰαυτῶ δ्यूτιρον λουτρὸν, φήσας· ὅτι ἔξειστιν ἵως τριῶν λουτρῶν, τουτίστι τριῶν βαπτισμῶν, εἰς ἃφισιν ἀμαρτιῶν δίδουσαι· ἵν' εἴ τις παρίκωσι εἰς τὸ πρῶτον, λάβῃ δ्यूτιρον μετανοήσας, καὶ τρίτον ὁσαύτως, ἵαν ἐν παραπτώματι μιστὰ τὸ δ्यूτιρον γίνηται.

baptism in blood, that is, his death and passion. Of which the ancients speak much, as they do of some other sorts of baptism, which are only metaphorical, as the baptism of afflictions, the baptism of tears and repentance, and the baptism of fire at the last day. But here the question is only about proper baptism by water, which the Marcionites affirmed might be repeated three times in the same way; which the Church never allowed of.

SECT. III.—*What the Church did in doubtful Cases, not reckoned a Rebaptization.*

It is true, indeed, there were some doubtful cases, in which it might happen accidentally that a man might be a second time baptized: but these were such cases only, in which the party was reputed not to have received any former baptism at all. As when a man could neither give any account of his own baptism; nor were there any other credible witnesses that could attest it. Which often happened to be the case of those who were taken captives in their infancy, and made slaves by the heathen. When any such were redeemed or recovered by the Christians, the Church made no scruple to baptize them; because, though they might perhaps have received a former baptism, yet no evidence of it appeared. And so this was not reputed a rebaptization. A decree was made to this purpose in the fifth Council of Carthage,^m upon a question put by the bishops of Mauritania, who affirmed that they redeemed many such captive children from the hands of the barbarians. The Council ordered, “That in this case, as often as it happened, that there were no certain witnesses found, who could give

^m Conc. Carth. V. c. vi. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1216.) Placuit de infantibus, quoties non inveniuntur certissimi testes, qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sint per ætatem idonei de traditis sibi sacramentis respondere, absque ullo scrupulo eos esse baptizandos, ne ista trepidatio eos faciat sacramentorum purgatione privari.—Vid. Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. lxxii. ubi verba Græca sic habent: ‘Ομοίως ἤρρις περὶ τῶν νηπίων, ὁσάκις μὴ εὐρίσκονται βίβαιοι μάρτυρες, οἱ ταῦτα ἀναμφιβόλως βαπτισθέντα εἶναι λίγοντες· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν κίρην [πιρίαν?] περὶ τῆς παραδοχῆς αὐτοῖς μυσταγωγίας ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐπιτηδίως ἔχουσι, χωρὶς τινος προσκόμματος ὀφείλιν ταῦτα βαπτίζεσθαι, μή ποτε ὁ τοιοῦτος διαταγὴς ἀποστρέψῃ αὐτὰ τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ καθάρσεως.—Conf. Conc. Trull. c. lxxxiv. ubi eadem verba leguntur.

undoubted testimony of their baptism; nor were they able of themselves to affirm, by reason of their age, that they ever had received it; they should be baptized without any scruple, lest a hesitation in this case should deprive them of the purgation of the sacraments." The like determination was also given in one of the Roman Synods under Leo, upon the same case, where it was concluded,^a "That in such a doubtful case, neither the baptizer nor the baptized incurred the crime of rebaptization." And Leo resolves the matter,^o himself, after the same manner, in other places. Neither was it reckoned any crime, though it afterward appeared that the party had been baptized before, because it was done in ignorance. But yet, like clinic baptism, it was a sort of blemish to him, that deprived him of ecclesiastical promotion, except in some extraordinary case, as we learn from Theodore's *Pœnitentiale*,^p cited by Gratian.

SECT. IV. — *Nor when she baptized those who had been unduly baptized before, in Heresy or Schism.*

Neither was it reckoned properly a second baptism, when the Church baptized any who had before been unduly baptized in heresy or schism. For then she did it only on presumption that they had received no true baptism before. Some heretics corrupted baptism by altering the necessary form; and others corrupted it by changing the matter of it into some other substance of their own appointing. And the baptisms of all such were looked upon as no baptisms: and, therefore, the Church ordered all those to be baptized upon their return to her communion, in the very same manner as Jews and Gentiles, as supposing their former pretence of

^a Leo, Epist. xxxvii. ad Leon. Raven. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1316, b.) Non potest in iterationis crimen devenire, quod factum esse omnino nescitur.

^o Ibid. Epist. xcii. ad Rustic. c. xvi. (ibid. p. 1408.) Si nulla exstant indicia inter propinquos aut familiares, nulla inter clericos aut vicinos, quibus hi, de quibus queritur, baptizati fuisse doceantur; agendum eat, ut renascantur: ne manifeste pereant, in quibus, quod non ostenditur gestum, ratio non sinit, ut videatur iteratum.

^p Theodor. Pœnitent. ap. Gratian. distinct. iv. de Consecrat. c. cxvii. Qui bis ignoranter baptizati sunt, non indigent pro eo pœnitere: nisi quod secundum canones ordinari non possunt, nisi magna aliqua necessitas cogat.

baptism to be nothing at all; but her own baptism the first true baptism that was given them. And even the Cyprianists, who baptized all that had been baptized in any heresy or schism whatsoever, without distinction, did it still only upon this supposition, That the baptism which they had received before was no baptism at all, but a mere nullity. But if any had been baptized in the Catholic Church, and after that turned heretics or schismatics, or even apostates, Jews or Gentiles, they never gave such another baptism upon their return to the Church again.

SECT. V.—*Apostates never rebaptized in the Catholic Church.*

For the Cyprianists, in this, agreed with the rest of the Catholic Church, That Catholic baptism was never to be repeated in the greatest apostates. This doctrine is not only inculcated by St. Austin,⁹ but even by Cyprian himself and his followers, where they plead so much for baptizing those who had been baptized in any heresy or schism; they still except those heretics who had originally been baptized in the Catholic Church: though they turned apostates, they were not to be received again by baptism,^r but only by

⁹ Aug. de Bapt. lib. ii. cap. i. (tom. vii. opp. p. 391, a. edit. Basil. 1569.) Si petuit Petrus contra veritatis regulam, quam postea ecclesia tenuit, cogere gentes Judæizare, cur non potuit Cyprianus contra regulam veritatis, quam postea tota ecclesia tenuit, cogere hæreticos vel schismaticos denuo baptizari? — Cont. Liter. Petil. lib. ii. cc. vii. et xlviii. — Cont. Crescon. lib. ii. c. xvi.

^r Conc. Carth. ap. Cyprian. a. viii. Censeo omnes hæreticos et schismaticos, qui ad ecclesiam Catholicam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcizati et baptizati prius fuerint; exceptis his sane, qui in ecclesia Catholica fuerint ante baptizati, ita tamen, ut per manus impositionem in penitentiam ecclesiæ reconciliantur. — Ibid. n. xxii. Censeo, febiles et tabidos hæreticos baptizandos esse, quum ad ecclesiam venire cœperint; et sacra et divina lavatione lotos, et lumine vitæ illuminatos, . . . in ecclesiam recipi; absque his, qui de ecclesia fideles supplantati, ad hæresis tenebras transierant: sed eos per manus impositionem restituendos. — Cyprian. Epist. lxxi. ad Quint. p. 194, (p. 303, edit. Amstelod.) Quod nos quoque hodie observamus, ut quos constat hæc baptizatos esse, et a nobis ad hæreticos transiisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito et errore digesto, ad veritatem et matricem redeant, satis sit in penitentiam manus imponere; ut quia ovis jam fuerat, hanc ovem abalienatam et errabundam in ovile suum pastor recipiat. Si autem, qui ab hæreticis venit, baptizatus in ecclesia prius non fuit, sed alienus in totum et profanus venit; baptizandus est, ut ovis fiat, quia una est aqua in ecclesia sancta, quæ oves faciat. — Id. Epist. lxxiv. ad Pompeium,

repentance, as was determined in the Council of Carthage, over which Cyprian presided. St. Austin refers us to this very passage, and thence concludes this was a point agreed upon universally in the Catholic Church, that no lapse or crime could make it necessary to give a second baptism to any who had once been truly baptized within the pale of the Church. A longer penance, indeed, was imposed upon such deserters and apostates, as had been baptized in the Church, than upon those who had been baptized among heretics originally, as the rules of Pope Innocent^a inform us; the one were obliged to go through a long course of penance for their apostasy, but the other were admitted immediately by imposition of hands upon their recantation: yet still the Church kept strict to her rule, that whatever way she admitted them, she would not do it by a second baptism.

SECT. VI. — *What Heretics rebaptized the Catholics.*

Several heretics pretended to observe the same rule; for they rebaptized the Catholics, yet they said this was not a second baptism; because the Catholics were reputed heretics with them, and therefore their baptism was of no value in their account. Upon this ground, the Novatians rebaptized the Catholics; as we learn from Cyprian,^t and the Epistle of Pope Innocent last cited. The Donatists followed the Novatians in this sacrilegious practice; as the charge is often brought against them by St. Austin^u and many others. And

p. 216, (p. 318.) Observatur a nobis et tenetur, explorata et perspecta veritate, ut omnes, qui ex quacunque hæresi ad ecclesiam convertuntur, ecclesiæ unico legitimo baptismo baptizentur, exceptis his, qui baptizati in ecclesia prius fuerant, et sic ad hæreticos transierant: hos enim oportet, quum redeunt, acta pœnitentia per manus impositionem solam recipi, et in ovile, unde erraverant, a pastore restitui.

^a Innocent. Epist. ii. ad Victricium, c. viii. Ut venientes a Novatianis vel Montensibus, per manus tantum impositionem suscipiantur: quia quamvis ab hæreticis, tamen in Christi nomine sunt baptizati: præter eos, si qui forte a nobis ad illos transeunt, rebaptizati sunt. Hi si resipiscentes et ruinam suam cogitantes, redire maluerint, sub longa pœnitentiæ satisfactione admittendi sunt.

^t Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. Nec nos movet, quod in litteris tuis complexus es, Novatianenses rebaptizare eos, quos a nobis sollicitant.

^u Aug. cont. Fulgent. c. vii. Da mihi aliquem sanctorum post Trinitatem rebaptizare, quod facis. — It. de Hæres. c. lxix. Audent etiam rebaptizare Catholicos, ubi se amplius hæreticos esse firmarunt, quum ecclesiæ Catholicæ

the Eunomians not only rebaptized the Catholics, but all others of the Arian sects, that were not of their own particular faction; as is noted by Epiphanius,* in his account of them. And the other Arians, though they were at first averse to this practice (as Papebrochius† and Pagi‡ rightly observe, in order to refute the story of Constantine's being baptized by Pope Sylvester, and rebaptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia; for at that time the Arians had not taken up the practice of rebaptizing the Catholics); yet, afterwards, they gave way to it, about the time of St. Austin. For he charges it upon them more than once,§ that they rebaptized the Catholics. And it appears from Victor Uticensis^b that they

universæ placuerit, nec in ipsis hæreticis baptismus commune rescindere. — Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. vi. Ne sanctum baptismus iteretur. leg. iv. Honorii. In tantum sceleris progressi dicuntur ii, quos Donatistas vocant, ut baptismus sacrosanctum, mysteriis recalcatis, temeritate noxia, iterent, et homines semel, ut traditum est, munere divinitatis ablutos, contagione profanæ repetitionis infecerint: ita contigit, ut hæresis ex schismate nasceretur. Inde male credulas mentes ad spem secundæ indulgentiæ blandus error invitat: &c.

* Epiphanius. Hæres. lxxvi. Anomæor. p. 992. Ἀνακατατίθει γὰρ τοὺς ἥδη βαπτισθέντας, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ ὁρθοδόξων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχομένους, καὶ αἰρέσιων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν.

† Papebroch. Vit. Constant. Mai. tom. v. p. 17. c. Hinc porro intelligitur, inanem esse conatum quorundam paucorum, qui utramque de Constantini baptismum reconciliaturi, Romæ quidem a Silvestro baptizatum esse dicunt; sed Nicomediæ rebaptizatum ab Eusebio. Cetera vid. sub litt. seq. (*)

‡ Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 324, n. xii. (n. xv. edit. Antwerp. 1705.) Neque audiendi, qui utramque de Constantini baptismum sententiam conciliaturi, Romæ quidem a Silvestro baptizatum esse dicunt, sed Nicomediæ rebaptizatum ab Eusebio. Nam rebaptizationem ab Arianis, ante Vandalicæ persecutionis tempora, tentatam nemo cum fundamento dixerit, nec debet, tota antiquitate silente, recipi: multo minus, eam jam a tempore Constantini imperatoris usurpatam. Quis enim eo vivente ausus fuisset Nicenæ fidei professores, quam ille semper et ubique spectabat, et omnino sartam tectam volebat, adfirmare hæreticos, quorum proinde baptismus invalidus crederetur? Ut autem Ariani jam tunc tale quidpiam clam ausi essent, nec dum posset dici, quod Eusebius Arianismi notam conatu omni a sese tunc adhuc amoliri studens, partem habuerit in ea impietate, ut ait Papebrochius in Vita S. Constantini M. die xxi. mensis Maii, ex quo hæc de Constantini baptismus exscripsi, ne acta agerem.

§ Aug. de Hæres. c. xlix. Rebaptizari quoque ab his Catholicos novimus, utrum et non Catholicos nescio. — Id. de Hæres. c. vii. Speluncam fabricat, illic Catholicum præfocat, Christianum vocat paganum, 'baptizato ingerit baptismum,' contra id quod scriptum est, Qui semel lotus est, non indiget denuo lavari.

^b Vict. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 590, (tom. viii. p. 677, c. edit. Lugd. 1628.) Apprehendens Sebastianus (a Geiserico rege monitus,

insisted stiffly upon it in the time of the Vandalic persecution. And we afterwards meet with the same in the Epistles of Vigilius.^c Valesius^d cites the Life of Fulgentius, and the author of the *Breviarum Fidei*, published by Sirmondus, to the same purpose. By which last author^e we find, that the Arians not only rebaptized the Catholics, but also made an argument of it (as some Romanists in another case have since argued against the Protestants) that their baptism was better than the Catholics, because the Catholics never rebaptized those that came over from the Arians, but reconciled them only by imposition of hands: but the Arians, whenever they could seduce any from the Catholics, always gave them a second baptism.

SECT. VII.—*What Punishments were inflicted on Rebaptizers by the Laws of Church and State.*

Now, to prevent this petulant humour from spreading in the Church, many and severe laws were made against it, both by the ecclesiastical and the secular power. The Church, by her canons,^f not only censured and condemned

ut ad Arianorum sacra transiret) mundissimum panem similaceum, ita factus est: Hic panis, ut ad tantam decorem veniret, et mensæ regię necessarius haberetur, discussa spuria furfuris, ex massa similaginis conspersus, per aquam transivit et ignem: idcirco et ad aspectu clarus, et esu suavis habetur. Ita et ego mola Catholice matris commolitus, et cribro examinationis, ut similia munda, purgatus, 'rigatus sum aqua baptismatis,' et igne Sancti Spiritus coctus. Et ut hic panis de furno, ita et ego per officia sacramentorum Divinorum, artifice Deo, de fonte mundus adscendi. Sed fiat, si velis, quod ipse propono. Iste panis confringatur in frusta, madidetur aqua, iterum conspergatur, et mittatur in furnum. Si melior exierit, faciam quod hortaris.

^c Vigil. Epist. ii. ad Euther. c. iii. De his etiam, qui, gratia baptismatis salutaris accepta, apud Arianos iterum baptizati, &c.

^d Vales. Not. in Sosomen. lib. vi. c. xxvi. Ariani Catholicos ad se venientes rebaptizabant, ut notum est. Qua de re locus est illustris in Breviario Fidei adversus Arianos, quod olim edidit Jacobus Sirmondus. 'Dicere etiam solent de baptismo,' &c. [vid. litt. seq. (e)]. Idem testatur vetus auctor vitæ Sancti Fulgentii, c. xxi.

^e Breviar. Fidei adversus Arianos: Dicere etiam solent de baptismo, quod in eo melior sit ipsorum baptismus, quam noster; quia qui de illis ad nos convertuntur, non eos rebaptizamus, sed per manus reconciliationem reconciliamus. Illi vero, si quos de nostris seducere possint, inconsideranter rebaptizant.

^f Vid. Cod. Eccles. African. c. xlviii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1072.) 'Ὅτις μὴ ἰκρίνας, γίνεσθαι ἀναβαπτίζων. — Constitut. Apostol. lib. vi. c. xv. 'Οποιος καὶ

all such rebaptizations as impious and sacrilegious, as a crucifying of Christ again, a doing despite to the Spirit, as a mockery of the Divine mysteries, and derision of holy things; but also inflicted penalties on all those who were either actively or passively concerned in them. The Council of Lerida^a forbids the faithful so much as to eat with persons that suffered themselves to be rebaptized. The Canons of Pope Innocent^b enjoin them a long penance to make satisfaction. And those of Pope Leo^c require even those who, through fear or terror, were rebaptized against their wills, to do penance at the discretion of the bishop, before they were admitted again to communion. If they were bishops, presbyters, or deacons, who thus suffered themselves to be rebaptized, then they were to be degraded, and obliged to do penance all their lives, without being suffered to communicate with the Church, either in the prayers of the faithful, or the prayers of the catechumens, and were only to be admitted to lay communion at the hour of death; because they had not only denied their orders, but their Christianity, and openly professed themselves Pagans, by being rebaptized. This we find in the Decrees of Felix the Third, made in a Roman council,^d with respect to the African Churches,

βαπτίσματι ἐνὶ ἀρεῖσθαι μόνῃ, τῷ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον δεδομένῳ . . . μήτι τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὁρίων ἀκυροῦσθαι διὰ δευτέρου . . . ὡς γὰρ εἰς ὃ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν σώματι θάνατος· οὕτως ἢ καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν δίδμενον βάπτισμα· . . . τοὺς μνησθένους, ἐκ δευτέρου βαπτίζουσιν πυρώμενοι, ἀνασταυροῦσι τὸν Κύριον, ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐκ δευτέρου, γελῶσι τὰ θεία, μωπηδεύουσι τὰ ἅγια, ὑβρίζουσι τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ αἷμα, τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς πικρὸν ἀτιμάζουσιν.

^a Conc. Ilerd. c. xiv. Cum rebaptizatis fideles religiosi neo in cibo partecipient.

^b Innocent. Epist. ii. ad Victric. c. ix. Qui rebaptizati sunt, sub longa poenitentia et satisfactione admittendi sunt.

^c Leo, Epist. lxxix. ad Nicetam, c. vi. Qui ad iterandum baptismum vel metu coacti sunt . . . non nisi per poenitentiae remedium et per impositionem episcopalis manus communionis recipiant unitatem.

^d Felix, Ep. vii. c. ii. Eos, quos episcopos, presbyteros, vel diaconos fuisse constitierit, et seu optantes forsitan, seu coactos, lavaori illius unici salutarisque claruerit fecisse jacturam; et Christum, quem non solum dono regenerationis, verum etiam gratia percepti honoris induerant, exuisse; quum constet, neminem ad secundam tinctionem venire potuisse, nisi se palam Christianum negaverit; . . . usque ad exitus sui diem, si respiscunt, jacere conveniet; nec orationi non modo fidelium, sed ne catechumenorum omnimodis interesse, quibus communicatio laica tantum in morte reddenda est. (Conc. iv. 1076.)

where such rebaptizations were often practised by the power of the Arians, who compelled the Catholics to be rebaptized. This was the ancient discipline of the Church toward those who were only passive in admitting a second baptism, after they had once been truly baptized with Catholic baptism before. Then again for those who were actively concerned in such rebaptizations, the Canons appointed, that if any bishop or presbyter presumed to give a second baptism, after a true one once received,¹ he should be degraded. And this penalty was confirmed by the civil law : for Valentinian^m put forth an edict against such rebaptizers, declaring them unworthy of the priesthood. But because such sort of penalties did not much affect either the Donatists or Eunomians, who were already out of the Church, and little regarded her censures ; therefore, Honorius reinforced the former laws, by adding a civil penalty to them. For, in two laws made against the Donatists, who were chiefly concerned in this crime, he enacted,ⁿ “ That it should be confiscation of all a man’s goods, whoever was found to rebaptize another.” And Theodosius Junior,^o laid the same penalty upon the Eunomians, and those that were rebaptized by them, commanding their goods to be confiscated, and their persons to be banished. Such was the care both of the

¹ Vid. Can. Apostol. c. xlvii. Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα, ἰὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ . . . καθαιρίσθω.

^m Theod. lib. xvi. tit. vi. de non Iterando Baptismo, leg. i. Antistitem, qui sanctitatem baptismi iterata usurpatione geminaverit, et contra instituta omnium eam gratiam iterando contaminaverit, sacerdotio indignum esse censemus.

ⁿ Ibid. leg. iv. Quisquis post hæc fuerit rebaptizasse detectus . . . facultatum omnium publicatione multatus, inopiæ penam expendat. — Ibid. leg. v. Ne Divinam gratiam, sub repetito baptismate pollutam, Donatistarum secreta violarent, et fallendi occasionem, severitate hujus præceptionis, abolemus, statuentes, ut cetera hujusmodi homines poena sequatur, legisque censuram experiantur ultricem, qui in Catholicam religionem perverso dogmate commississent. Jubemus igitur, ut si quis posthac fuerit rebaptizasse detectus, judici, qui provinciæ præsidet, offeratur, ut facultatum omnium publicatione multatus inopiæ penam expendat.

^o Ibid. leg. vii. Theodosii. Nefarios Eunomianorum cætus ac funesta conventicula penitus arceri jubemus. Eos, qui episcoporum, seu clericorum, vel minorum nomine usurpato, hujusmodi cætibus præsumunt . . . quum in hoc fuerint scelere deprehensi, stilum proscriptionis incurrere, et bonorum amissione coërceri. Eos vero, qui fide, ut dictum est, imbutos immani furore rebaptizare deteguntur, cum his, qui rebaptizantur (arceri jubemus).

civil and ecclesiastical governors to preserve the unity of baptism in the Catholic Church. But as Gothofred,^p I think, rightly observes, these laws seem only intended against heretics rebaptizing Catholics. For if heretics rebaptized heretics, as the Eunomians did the Arians, it does not appear, that in that case the penalties of these laws affected them, but only were designed to restrain their insolencies against the Catholic Church. Some Catholics continued still, after the Cyprianic way, to rebaptize all heretics and schismatics whatsoever, without distinguishing those that were baptized in the name of the Trinity from those that were not. And though this was contrary to the general custom and discipline of the Church, yet I conceive the penalties of these laws did not affect them neither. And the same may be said of those, who thought themselves obliged to rebaptize those who were only baptized by laymen. For though it was reckoned a rebaptization by those Churches which practised otherwise, yet it was not that criminal rebaptization against which these laws were chiefly intended. And these being something more of doubtful and disputed cases, about which good Catholics themselves were divided, a greater allowance was made in these, so long as men only observed the custom and practice of the Churches in which they lived, about them : which was St. Basil's advice to the Churches of Asia which were divided upon these questions.

^p Gothofred. ad Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. vi. lib. vi. Observandum, hanc pœnam imponi severissimam, non omnibus baptisma iterantibus, verum his, qui orthodoxorum ritu seu mysteriis jam initiatos baptizarent; . . . procul dubio enim impune cessit rebaptizantibus, si quos ex hæreticis, veluti Arianis ad sectam suam concedentibus rebaptizassent; quod Eunomianos fecisse ostendi ad lib. xvii. supr. de Hæreticis.

BOOK XIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO DIVINE WORSHIP
IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

SOME NECESSARY REMARKS UPON THE ANCIENT NAMES OF
DIVINE SERVICE, WHICH MODERN CORRUPTIONS HAVE
RENDERED AMBIGUOUS.

SECT. I.—*The Partition of this Work.*

WE have hitherto seen the method of introducing men into the Church, through the various steps of their catechumen-ship, and baptism, and confirmation: we are now to view their practice, in the worship of God, after their admission, and to examine into the manner of their holding religious assemblies, and performing there the several public offices of divine service. Some things of this kind are general considerations, that run through all offices, and relate to every part of Divine worship,—such as the object of their worship, and the circumstances of language, and forms, and habits, and gesture, and time; and, therefore, of these general things, I shall discourse first in this Book. After this, I shall consider the several parts of their most solemn worship on the Lord's day: such as their psalmody, and reading of the Scriptures, and preaching, and prayer, and receiving the communion, which were their solemn acts of worship on every festival. And because some of these were such as the catechumens and others were allowed to be present at, for their benefit and edification; whilst other parts of Divine service were more restrained to persons baptized, who were complete and perfect Christians (who were, therefore, called 'communicants,' because they had a more peculiar right to

all the privileges of Christian communion); I shall, upon this account, speak of their worship under these two heads, according to their own distinction; the *missa catechumenorum*, and the *missa fidelium*, 'the service of the catechumens,' and 'the service of the communicants;' or as we may otherwise term them, 'the ante-communion service,' and 'the communion service.'

SECT. II.—*Of the Missa Catechumenorum, or first Part of Divine Service, to which all Orders of Men were admitted.*

The *missa catechumenorum* comprehended all that part of the service which preceded the common prayers of the communicants at the altar; that is, the psalmody, the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and the particular prayers that were made over the catechumens and other orders of penitents, energumens, &c., before they were dismissed: for, by the ancient rules and discipline of the Church, the method of Divine service was so ordered, that all persons, except some very scandalous sinners, had liberty to be present at some parts of it. The psalms, and lessons, and sermons, were for the instruction, not only of believers, but also of catechumens, and heathens, Jews and infidels, unbelievers and heretics: and, therefore, by some canons, all these had liberty to stay in the church, till this part of the service, called *missa catechumenorum*, was ended. The fourth Council of Carthage has a rule to this purpose,^a "That the bishop shall not prohibit any one to enter the church, and hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, Jew, or heretic, till the service of the catechumens was ended." A like canon was made by the first Council of Orange,^b "That the catechumens should have the liberty to stay and hear the gospels read in all their churches." The Council of Valentia,^c in Spain, ex-

^a Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxiv. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1206.) Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam, et audire verbum Dei, sive gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judeum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.

^b Conc. Arausican. I. c. xviii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1450.) Evangelia placuit deinceps catechumenis legi, apud omnes provinciarum nostrarum ecclesias.

^c Conc. Valent. c. i. (tom. iv. p. 1617.) Inter cetera hoc censuimus observandum, ut sacrosancta evangelia, ante munus illationem, in missa catechumen-

tends the privilege to heretics and heathens, as well as catechumens; and, therefore, orders that the gospel should be read before the oblation was brought forth, in the usual order of the lessons; so that not only the communicants, but the catechumens, and penitents, and Gentiles, and heretics, who were of the contrary part, might have liberty to hear the saving precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the sermons of the bishops. For they had learned by experience, that, by the bishops preaching, many had been brought over to the faith. And, by this, we may interpret an obscure canon of the Council of Lerida,^d which orders, "That incestuous persons, so long as they continued in their sin, should not be permitted to stay any longer in the church, save only during the service of the catechumens;" that is, to hear the psalmody, the lessons, and the sermon. St. Chrysostom abundantly confirms this observation; for in many of his homilies^e he speaks not only of catechumens, but of heretics and heathen being present as part of his auditory. Particularly in his homily upon the Forty-fourth Psalm,^f he

orum in ordine lectionum post apostolum legantur; quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes, qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant. Sic enim pontificum prædicatione audita, nonnullos ad fidem attractos evidenter scimus.

^d Conc. Ilerdens. c. iv. (tom. iv. p. 1611.) De his, qui se incesta pollutione commaculant, placuit, ut quousque in ipso detestando et illicito carnis contubernio perseverant, usque ad missam tantum catechumenorum, in ecclesia admittantur.

^e Chrysost. Hom. xli. de Pelagia, tom. i. p. 560, (tom. i. p. 496, edit. Francof. 1698.) Νῦν δὲ ἰνοήσατε, ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν αἰρετικῶν εἰσιν ἡμῖν ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. — Id. Homil. lxxii. de Phoca, tom. i. p. 878, (p. 776, fin. edit. Francof.) Ἐν ταύτῃ μοι τὸν αἰρετικὸν κάλει, ἵάν τι παρῇ, ἵάν τι μὴ παρῇ ἵάν τι γὰρ παρῇ, παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φωνῆς παιδευέσθω ἵάν τι μὴ παρῇ, διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀκροάσεως μανθανέτω. — Homil. vii. tom. v. p. 124, (p. 113, edit. Francof.) Εἰπὸς δὲ καὶ αἰρετικούς παρόντας ἰσπανῆσαι τοῖς εἰρημίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀφιλιεστίων ἀδιλφῶν ἰντυθεῖν ὑποσκηλίζειν. — Homil. de Prophetiæ Obscuritate, tom. iii. p. 926, (p. 804, edit. Francof.) Δεῖ γὰρ ὑδύνας ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτυῖσθαι, εἰ καὶ ἐν φίλοις λέγομεν καὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἴσως καὶ τῶν οὐ φίλων πάρισι.

^f Chrysost. Hom. in Psalm. xlv. [al. xlv.] tom. iii. p. 206, (p. 177, edit. Francof.) Paris. 1724, iii. 160. Ἐβουλόμην παρῆναι νυνὶ Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας καὶ Ἕλληνας, καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο παρὰ Ἰουδαίων λαβὼν, οὕτως ἀναγνῶναι τὸν ψαλμόν . . . ἄλλ' εἴτε πάρεσιν, εἴτε μὴ πάρεσιν οὗτοι, ἡμῖς τὸ ἡμίτερον ποιήσωμεν, καὶ τῆς ἰερηνείας ἀψόμεθα.

wishes all the Jews and heathens had been then present to have heard him expound that prophetic Psalm of Christ. In another homily upon the Forty-eighth Psalm,^c he brings in a heathen using this form of complaint against Christians: "I went into a Christian church, and there I heard Paul say to their women, 'That they should not adorn themselves with gold or pearl;' but I saw every thing contrary in their practice." "And (says Chrysostom) will not the heathen, when he comes into the church, and sees the women thus adorned in the galleries above, and hears Paul thus speaking below, be ready to say, 'Our religion is mere pageantry and fable?' It is not so indeed; but the heathen is scandalized and offended at this contrariety in our practice." This plainly implies, that the heathens had free liberty to come into the Christian churches, and hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached. And it is very remarkable what Sozomen observes of St. Chrysostom,^b "That, by this means, he brought over many of those who heard him in the church, to acknowledge the divinity of Christ." Which some understand of the scholars of Libanius; but Valesius, I think, more truly interprets it of heathens and heretics in general, who flocked to St. Chrysostom's church to hear him. There is but one thing that can be said against all this, and that is, that the Council of Laodicea has a contrary canon, which absolutely forbids the permitting of heretics to enter into the house of God.ⁱ But this is only a local ordinance; and the thing being a matter of pure discipline, there might be prudential reasons for denying heretics, in some

^c Chrysost. Homil. in Psalm. xlviii. [al. xlix.] tom. iii. p. 806, (p. 700, d. edit. Francof.) Εἰσερχη εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κειχρυσωμένη τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὸν τεράχνηλον ἰὰν ἔλθῃ Παῦλος . . . βοᾷ καὶ λίγῃ ὡσαύτως· Τὰς γυναῖκας κοσμεῖν ἑαυτὰς χρὴ μὴ ἐν χρυσῷ, μὴ ἐν μαργαρίταις, μὴ ἐν ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ. Εἶτα ἂν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ Ἕλλην, καὶ ἴδῃ ἄνω μὲν φορούσας ταῦτα καίνας, κάτω δὲ Παῦλον ταῦτα λίγοντα, οὐκ ἰεῖ, ὅτι σκηνὴ καὶ μῦθος ταῦτά ἐστιν; οὐκ ἴσθι μὲν σκηνὴ τὰ ἡμῖντινα, καὶ οὕτω ταῦτα γίνηται· ὁ δὲ Ἕλλην βλάπτεται καὶ λίγῃ, Εἰσέλθον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ἤκουσα Παύλου λίγοντος, Μὴ ἐν χρυσῷ, μηδὲ ἐν μαργαρίταις, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἰναντία ἐπιδεικνυμένην.

^b Sozom. lib. viii. c. ii. (Cant. 325.) Πλείστους δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀκουόντων ἐκ' ἐκκλησίας, εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφίλησι, καὶ ὁμόφρονας αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ποιήσει.

ⁱ Conc. Laodic. c. vi. Περί τοῦ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς αἵρετικοῖς εἰσεῖναι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

places, the privilege that was allowed them in others. Or else, the canon may be understood of not permitting them to come into the church for prayers or communion, which was a thing forbidden by all canons whatsoever, till after their recantation. Some indeed think, that in Tertullian's time, the catechumens were excluded before sermon; because he objects it to the heretics,^k "That there were such confusions in their assemblies, that no one could tell who was a catechumen, and who was a communicant; because they all met, and heard, and prayed together: and heathens, if they came in among them, were not excluded from the very mysteries of their religion." But in this, as Schelstrate^l has observed against Albaspinæus and Christianus Lupus, Tertullian does not object to the heretics, "That they admitted catechumens to hear their sermons, but that they made no distinction in their assemblies, as the Church did; but, without any observation of decency or order, suffered their catechumens to mingle themselves with communicants, whom the Catholics always confined to a separate place in the church, while heretics admitted them confusedly, not only to hear sermons, but to be present at their prayers and the oblation of the eucharist also." So that this passage of Tertullian rather confirms the thing asserted, "That the *missa catechumenorum*, or 'service of the catechumens,' lasted to the end of the sermon." After which, it was usual for the deacon to call to the heathens and heretics, if there were any present, to be gone: *Μή τις τῶν ἀκροαμένων μὴ τις τῶν ἀπίστων*: 'Let none that are only hearers, none of the unbelievers, be present,' as the author of the Constitutions words it.^m Then followed the prayers for the catechumens of the order called *pro-*

^k Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. c. xli. In primis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est: pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant: etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus, et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt.

^l Schelstrat. de Conc. Antiocheno, p. 200. Illis verbis non insinuat Tertullianus catechumenos, quod ecclesiam adeant, vel in illa audiant, vive orant, sed quod sese cum fidelibus miscerent, nec observato narthecis loco in ipsa interiori ecclesia, ac si fideles essent, audirent, et sacrificio interessent. Et hoc vult Tertullianus, quum scribit, 'pariter audiunt.' Ac si diceret, Separatim et in alio loco audire potuissent catechumenos.

^m Constitut. lib. viii. c. v.

strators; and, after their dismissal, prayers for the energumens; and, after them, the prayers for the candidates of baptism; and, last of all, the prayers for the penitents: all which was included in the general name of *missa catechumenorum*, 'the service of the catechumens,' or 'ante-communion service.'

SÆCT. III. — *Of the Missa Fidelium, or 'Communion Service,' peculiar to Communicants only.*

After this was ended, it was usual for the deacon to make another solemn proclamation to all orders of non-communicants to withdraw: *Οἱ ἀκοινώνητοι περιπατήσατε*, 'Ye that cannot communicate, walk off and be gone;' 'Let no catechumen be present, no hearer, no infidel, no heterodox, or heretical person,' as the author of the Constitutions words it.^a And, as St. Chrysostom acquaints us,^o he was used to add further, *ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους*, "Ye that are communicants, discern and 'know one another:' see that there be no catechumen, none of those that cannot eat of the sacrifice, no spy, no one that cannot see the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, no one unworthy of the living sacrifice, no unbaptized person, no one that may not touch the tremendous mysteries with his polluted lips." And here began the *missa fidelium*, or 'communion service,' so called, because none might be present at it but communicants only; as appears from these solemn forms of dismissing all others before it began. This contains all those prayers which were said at the altar, and were properly called *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, 'prayers of the faithful,' or communicants, in opposition to the prayers of the catechumens, which went before. These were the prayers for the whole state of the Church, and peace of the world, which

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. *Μή τις τῶν κατηχομένων· μή τις τῶν ἀκοινομένων· μή τις τῶν ἱεροδόξων.*

^o Chrysost. Hom. i. cont. Judæos, tom. i. p. 440, (p. 389, b. edit. Francof.) *Οὐχ ἔρασι ἐπὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, τί βοᾷ συνεχῶς ὁ διάκονος; Ἐπιγινώσκουσιν ἀλλήλους.* — Hom. xxxvii. de Filio Prodigio, tom. vi. p. 375, (p. 313, b. cit. edit.) *Μή τις κατηχομένων, μή τις τῶν μὴ ἰσθίωντων, μή τις τῶν κατασκόπων . . . μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων διασώσασθαι τὸ οὐράνιον αἶμα, πρὸ ἐκχυνθέντων εἰς ἄφισιν ἁμαρτιῶν, μή τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζωῆς θυσίας, μή τις ἀμύητος, μή τις μὴ δυνάμενος ἀκαθάρετος χεῖρσι προσφύεσθαι τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων.*

preceded the oblation and consecration of the eucharist: and then the consecration prayers, and prayers again for all orders of men in the Church, with proper forms of communicating, and doxologies, hymns and thanksgivings after reception, of which we discourse particularly in the last of these Books, under the general title of *missa fidelium*, or 'communion service.' This part of the service being wholly spent in prayers, and that by the communicants only, is therefore peculiarly distinguished by the name of *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, 'the prayers of the faithful,' by the Council of Laodicea,^p which speaks of them as coming after the prayers of the catechumens and their dismissal. In other Canons, they are called 'the common prayers of the people;' and absolutely 'the prayers,' without taking notice of any other prayers in the Church. Whence, in the Council of Nice,^q speaking of penitents, the phrase, "communicating in prayers with the people, without the oblation," denotes joining in this part of the service of the Church, distinguished by the name of 'prayers,' or 'communion service,' which belonged not to the catechumens, but the body of the people, in which the penitents of the highest class, called 'co-standers,' were allowed to join, though they might neither make their oblations, nor partake of the eucharist with the faithful. And, in the same sense, the Council of Ancyra^r speaks of penitents, who, as they were to be three years *substrators* among the catechumens, and bow down under the bishops' hands for benediction, so were they, for

^p Conc. Laodic. c. xix. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ διὸν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μιστὰ τὰς ἑμιλίας τῶν ἱπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχομένων εὐχὴν ἱπιστεῖσθαι· καὶ μιστὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχομένους, τῶν ἐν μισανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρισάσθαι, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς· μίαν μὲν τὴν πρῶτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι, εἰς οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδεσθαι.

^q Conc. Nic. c. xi. "Ὅσοι γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροαμένοις ποιήσουσι οἱ πιστοὶ, καὶ ἕκτα ἔτη ὑποσιτοῦνται· δύο δὲ ἔτη, χωρὶς προσφορῆς, κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.

^r Conc. Ancy. c. xxiv. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1464.) Οἱ καταμαρτυρούμενοι, καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν χρόνων [ἰθὺν] ἐξακολουθοῦντες, ἢ εἰσάγοντί τις εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ ἀνυρίσι φαρμακίῳν, ἢ καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιστεύουσιν τῆς πνευματικῆς κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς ὁρισμένους, τρία ἔτη ὑποσιτώσεως, καὶ δύο ἔτη εὐχῆς χωρὶς προσφορῆς.

two years, to communicate in prayers, only without the oblation. And so 'communicating in prayers with the people' is taken in the Council of Antioch, when they say, 'All such as come to church, and hear the Holy Scriptures read, but will not 'communicate in prayers with the people,' or withdraw themselves disorderly from partaking of the eucharist, shall be cast out of the Church.'" Whereas 'reading of the Scriptures' is put for the 'whole service of the catechumens,' which was the first service; so 'communicating in prayers,' and the 'eucharist,' denotes the second part of the service, peculiar to communicants, or persons baptized; from which, as catechumens were debarred, so others might not withdraw themselves, under pain of ecclesiastical censure. This was the true order of the first and second service in the ancient Church, and the true distinction between the *missa catechumenorum* and *missa fidelium*; of which I intend to give a full account in the two next Books.

SECT. IV.—*The true Original and Meaning of the ancient Name, Missa, 'the Mass,' which, in its primitive Use, denotes every part of Divine Service: but nowhere an expiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead.*

At present we may observe how shamefully they have abused the ancient name *missa* under the appellation of 'mass,' who apply it only to denote the office of consecrating bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and offering that as an expiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. For anciently the name *missa* signified no such thing; but was a general name for every part of Divine service. It signified, as we have seen already, the service of the catechumens, as well as the service of the altar; and is often used for the psalmody, for the lessons, and for the prayers at evening, when there was no communion, as well as for the prayers used in time of celebration of the eucharist. Thus

* Conc. Antioch. c. ii. Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δι' εὐχῆς ἄμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποστρεφομένους τὴν μετέληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας πατὰ τινὰ ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Cassian¹ often mentions the *missa nocturna*: by which he means the 'morning prayers and psalms before day,' when it is certain they had no communion. The Council of Agde² speaks of evening mass, as well as morning, which meant no more but morning and evening prayer without any communion. For they had no communion either morning or evening, at their daily prayers, but only on festivals, at a distinct hour from both these. So the Emperor Leo, in his Tactics,³ speaks of the *μίσσα ἰσπερναί*, a word plainly borrowed from the Latin *missa* (for the Greeks had originally no such name), to signify only 'evening prayer.' And Bishop Usher, in his Religion of the Ancient Irish,⁴ gives us another such instance out of Adamnanus, who uses the name *vespertina missa* for what is commonly called 'evening prayer.' And the late learned Mabillon has observed,⁵ out of the Rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian, "That the word *missa* is sometimes used for the 'lessons' also." For it is one of Aurelian's Rules, "That they should take six *missas*, that is, 'lessons,' out of the Prophet Isaiah:" *Facite sex missas de Esaia Propheta*. And Mabillon very judiciously remarks further,⁶ "That the word *missa* has at least three significations. It sometimes signifies 'the lessons;' sometimes 'the collects, or prayers;' and sometimes 'the dismissal of the people.'" And, indeed, the third sense is the original notation of the word. For *missa* is the same as *missio*. And it was the form used in the Latin Church: *Ite, missa est*; which answers to the Greek *Ἀπολύεσθε* and *Προέλθετε*; the solemn words used at the dismissal of the catechumens first, and then of the whole assembly afterwards, at the end of their respective services. Whence the services themselves at

¹ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xiii. Inscriptio sic habet: Quare post missam nocturnam dormire non oporteat. — Lib. iii. c. v. Quod Ægyptii ne incurrant equidem, quum soleant certis temporibus, etiam ante gallorum cantum, consurgere, missa canonica celebrata usque ad lucem, posthæc vigiliis extendunt, &c.

² Conc. Agath. c. xxx. In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de psalmis dicantur.

³ Leo, Tactic. c. xi. n. xviii. citat. ab Usserio.

⁴ Usher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, chap. iv. p. 26, ex Adamnani Vita Columban. lib. iii. c. xxxi.

⁵ Mabill. de Cursu Gallicano, lib. ii. p. 107.

⁶ Ibid. p. 393.

last took their names from these solemn dismissions; the one being called *missa catechumenorum*, and the other, *missa fidelium*; neither of which ever signify more than the Divine service, at which the one or the other attended.

In vain, therefore, do many learned men labour to deduce its original from foreign languages, to make it signify something agreeable to the modern notion of the Roman 'mass,' when it is so plainly of Latin extraction. Baronius,^b after Renclin and Genebrard, would have it come from the Hebrew word *missah*, 'an oblation.' But Durantus^c has a good reason against that; because, if it had been of Hebrew extraction, the Greeks would have retained it in their language, as they do the words Hosanna, Sabaoth, Alleluiah, and Amen; whereas there is no Greek writer uses it till the time of Leo Sapiens, who first borrows it from the Latin, in his Tactics. Albaspinæus has still a wider conjecture; he

^b Baron. an. xxxiv. n. lix. Quum multa sint hujus sacrificii nomina, illud est antiquissimum, et apud Latinos usitatus atque frequentius, Missa; quod quidem (sicut et Christiana fides profitetur) ex Hebraica vel Chaldaica nomenclatura acceptum esse videtur. Quod enim in nostra Vulgata legitur, 'spontanea oblatio,' (Deut. xvi.) Hebraice et Chaldaice dicitur, 'missah,' quam offerebant Domino, in gratiarum actionem de fructibus terræ, qua et vescebantur in templo cum recordatione præteritæ servitutis, et ab eadem liberationis. Quæ quidem omnia quum optime conveniant prædicto a Christo instituto sacrificio; eo potius majores nostri usi sunt nomine, quam cujuscumque alterius sacrificii: nam et ea potissimum ratione ab illis id factum esse videtur, quod spontanea recolatur prima illa sui ipsius a Domino nostro Jesu Christo facta oblatio, &c.

^c Durant. lib. ii. c. i. n. i. Quod si missæ nomen Hebraicum esset, a Christianis ab Hebræis retentum, Græci patres, a quibus Sabaoth, Alleluia, Hosanna, Amen, aliaque Hebraicorum vocabula ad nos transmissa sunt, nominis 'missæ' meminissent: at nemo Græcorum patrum ea voce usus est.

^d Albaspin. de l'Eucharistie, liv. ii. c. iii. p. 236, ad calc. Optat. Il est constant, que le mot de Mess, est un mot du Nord; carencore aujourd'hui il est en usage parmi ces nations. Il est aussi constant qu'anciennement parmi ces memes peuples il signifioit une assemblée, une feste, et un sacrifice par consequent; car les Barbares ny les payens n'ont jamais eu de festes sans sacrifice; et l'essence d'une feste parmi eux, estoit le sacrifice. . . . Or si du temps de ces Capitulaires (de Charlemagne) ce mot estoit en usage, pour signifier une feste et une terme des choses civiles, faut croire, qu'il avoit la mesme signification aux siècles précédentes; et que lorsque la religion a esté établie au nord, qu'ils appelloient leurs festes Mess. Et partant je concluds qu'on a baillé ce mesme nom au Sacrifice de la Messe, lors qu'il a esté estably parmi ces peuples, à cause qu'il est une feste, un sacrifice; et que pour le célébrer, il faut faire une assemblée, qui sont les significations, qu'on trouve que ce mot avoit parmi eux.

says, the word 'mess,' among the Northern nations, signifies a festival; and therefore he imagines the name *missa* and 'mass' might come from that: which is only to invert the origination, and make the daughter to become the mother; since it is evident the name 'mess' comes from *missa*, and not *missa* from that. Cardinal Bona^d takes a great deal of pains to confute these and all other false opinions, and establishes the true one with undeniable evidence from Alcimus Avitus, and all the ancient ritualists, Isidore, Ra-

^d Bona, lib. i. c. i. sect. vi. Alii denique, quorum non ambigimus verissimam esse sententiam, a missione seu dimissione populi, missæ nomen ortum esse adseverant, ita ut missa idem sit ac missio populi et licentia discedendi. Audiendus primo loco Avitus Viennensis archiepiscopus, qui circa finem quinti sæculi et initio sexti floruit. Is Epist. i. ad Gundobadum Burgundionum regem, 'Non missum facitis,' inquit, 'nihil est aliud quam non dimittitis. A cujus proprietate sermonis in ecclesiis palatiisque, sive prætoriis 'missa' fieri pronuntiatur, quum populus ab observatione dimittitur. Nam genus hoc nominis etiam in sæcularibus auctoribus, nisi memoriam vestram per occupationes lectio desueta subterfugit, invenietis.' Hæc Avitus, qui non exprimit sæculares auctores, apud quos nomen missæ hoc sensu reperitur. Mihi vero occurrunt, Cicero, qui in fine Philipp. V. placere dixit, 'Legiones bello confecto missas fieri:' et Suetonius, in Caligula, c. xxv. ubi agens de Lollia Paulina, quam in uxorem duxerat, 'Brevi,' ait, 'missam fecit,' hoc est, dimisit. Porro verbis Aviti nihil efficacius ad supra memoratos scriptores redarguendos, qui 'missæ' nomen exoticum fingunt, et aliunde derivant. Missio autem in veteri ecclesia duplex erat: una post evangelium et sermonem, quando catechumeni, infideles, pœnitentes, et alii, quibus vetitum erat sacramentorum participationi interesse, a diacono dimittebantur hæc voce, 'si quis est catechumenus, exeat foras:' vel ut dicit Gregorius, lib. ii. Dialog. c. xxiii. 'Si quis non communicat, det locum:' et hæc dicebatur 'missa,' seu missio catechumenorum. Altera erat initiatorum, quum re divina peracta eos diaconus dimittebat dicens, 'Ite, missa est:' et hæc 'missa fidelium' vocabatur. — Isidorus, lib. vi. Originum, c. xix. Missa tempore sacrificii est, quando catechumeni foras mittuntur, clamante Levita, Si quis catechumenus remansit, exeat foras: et inde missa. — Subscribit Isidoro iisdem verbis Rabanus Maurus, lib. de Institut. Clericorum, c. xxxii. Florus Magister, et Remigius Antissiodorensis in fine expositionis missæ, 'Missæ,' inquit, 'nihil aliud intelligitur, quam dimissio, id est, absolutio, quam celebratis omnibus tunc diaconus esse pronuntiat, quum populus a solemnī observatione dimittitur:' quæ verba ab Alcuino transcripserunt. — S. Gregorius in Libro Sacramentorum feria sexta Parasceues: 'Deinde communicat ipse, et omnis clerus, et fiant missæ.' — Hugo Victorinus, lib. ii. de Eccles. Officiis, c. xli. Dicit diaconus, 'Ite, missa est, quasi revertimini ad propria. Ab hac missione, id est, dimissione, missam dicunt appellari.' — Bernoldus Presbyter Constantiensis, in Expositione Ordinis Romani apud Cassandrum in Liturgicis, c. xxvi. 'Missam' ideo appellari dicimus, quia lecto evangelio foras mittuntur ex pronuntiatione diaconi, qui minime offerendo vel communicando non poterant interesse sacramentis divini mysterii.

banus Maurus, Florus Magister, Remigius Antissiodorensis, Alcuinus, Gregory's *Sacramentarium*, Hugo Victorinus, and Bernoldus, who all agree in this, that *missa* comes from 'the dismissal of the people,' and not from any other original. So that I think it needless to trouble my readers with any of these authorities, since the matter is now cleared beyond all contradiction, by Mabillon and Bona, two such eminent writers of the Roman communion.

SECT. V.—*In what sense Divine Service anciently called Sacrificium.*

Another general name of the ancient service, which in later ages has met with some abuse, is *sacrificium*, 'sacrifice;' a name borrowed from the Jewish carnal sacrifices, and applied to the spiritual sacrifices of Christians, viz. their prayers, and praises, and preaching, and devoting themselves entirely, body and soul, to the service of Christ, by the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Hence every part of Divine worship had the name of 'sacrifice,' and not only the service of the altar. For they commonly call their evening hymns and prayers by the name of 'evening sacrifice.' Thus St. Jerom bids Læta accustom her daughter not only to the morning hymns, and daily hours of prayer, the third, the sixth, and the ninth, but also when night comes, and the lamps are lighted, then in like manner to render to God her evening sacrifice.* And so St. Hilary, upon those words of the Psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," says, "The sacrifice of Christians is their prayers, recommended to God by stretching forth their hands to relieve the poor. For we (says he),†

* Hieron. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. (p. 52, edit. Paris. 1663.)

† Hilar. in Psalm. cxl. p. 330. Non enim sanguine, et holocaustis nos, in quos consummatio sæculorum devenit, sacrificamus Deo: sed, quod sacrificium vespertinum placitum sit, audiamus Dominum in evangeliiis dicentem, Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete præparatum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi et dedistis mihi bibere: hospes eram, et suscepistis me; infirmus, et visitastis me; in carcere fui, et liberastis me. Et respondentibus illis, quod nunquam his officiis humanæ necessitatis eguisset, ait, Amen dico vobis, quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus minimis, mihi fecistis. Hoc sacrificium vespertinum, id est, temporum novissimorum est. In hoc

upon whom the ends of the world are come, do not sacrifice to God with blood or burnt-offerings: but the evening sacrifice which is pleasing to God, is that which Christ teaches in his gospel, 'I was an hungry, and ye fed me; thirsty, and ye gave me drink,' &c. This is the evening sacrifice, that is, the sacrifice of the last times. In this we are to lift up our hands: for by such prayers, the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is prepared for those that are blessed of God, from the foundation of the world." In the same sense, Eusebius^g calls the prayers of Christians the "rational sacrifices, that are offered without blood to God." And Clemens Alexandrinus says,^h "The sacrifices of Christians are their prayers and praises, and reading of the Scriptures, and psalms and hymns before meals, and at their meals, and at bedtime, and in the night." And there are hundreds of passages in the ancients, both of public and private prayers, to the same purpose, besides what is said of the sacrifice of the eucharist, or communion-service, of which we shall have reason to say something more upon another occasion. Here it is sufficient to have hinted the grounds, upon which the ancients gave the general name of 'sacrifice' to all parts of Divine service.

manus elevandæ sunt: quia istiusmodi orationibus, jam ab initio mundi, benedictis Dei regni cælestis præparata possessio est.

^g Euseb. de Laud. Constant. Orat. p. 659, (c. xvi. p. 544, b. edit. Amstelod. 1696.) *Τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς θυσίας τὰς δι' εὐχῶν.*—Id. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. xlv. *Θυσίαις ἀναίμοις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις τὸ θεῖον ἱλάσκοντο.*

^h Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 860, edit. Oxon. *Αὐτίκα θυσίας μὲν αὐτῶν εὐχαὶ τε καὶ αἶνοι, καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐντεύξεις τῶν γραφῶν· ψαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὕμνοι παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν, πρὸς τε τῆς κοίτης, ἢ καὶ νύκτωρ πάλιν.*—Vid. Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. De vespertinis sacrificiis quid dicendum est, quæ jugiter offerri etiam in Veteri Testamento et lege Mosæ sanciantur? &c.—Conc. Aurel. III. c. xxix. (tom. v. Conc. p. 302.) De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quam dominica dicatur oratio: et si episcopus præsens fuerit, ejus benedictio expectetur. Sacrificia vero matutina missarum, sive vespertina, ne quis cum armis, pertinentibus ad bellorum usum, spectet, &c.—Martin. Bracar. c. lxvi. (c. lxiii. apud Justell. fol. xxvii.) Si quis presbyter, aut diaconus, vel quilibet clericus ecclesiæ deputatus, si intra civitatem fuerit, aut in quolibet loco, in quo ecclesia est; et ad quotidianum psallendi sacrificium, matutinis vel vespertinis horis, ad ecclesiam non convenierit; deponatur a clero.

SECT. VI.—*And Sacramenta.*

Another name, though neither so ancient nor so common as the former, is that of *sacramenta*; which, in some authors, signifies, not what we now call ‘sacraments,’ but the order or manner of performing Divine offices, and that as well the prayers and service in general, as the particular offices of administering baptism and the Lord’s Supper. For the word *sacramentum*, answering to the Greek *μυστήριον*, is a word of a large extent, denoting not only the proper sacraments, but all sacred ceremonies and usages of the Church, that have any thing of symbolical or spiritual significancy in them, representing something more to the understanding than appears to the outward senses; and in a more restrained, though not the strictest sense, it denotes the manner or method of performing Divine offices in the Church, whether relating to the sacraments, properly so called, or any other parts of Divine service, as the prayers, hymns, lessons, in morning or evening service. In this sense, it is observed by learned men,ⁱ that the Book of Divine Offices, composed by Gregory the Great, for the use of the Roman Church, bears the title of *Liber Sacramentorum*, ‘The Book of Sacraments;’ that is, a book, or method, for performing Divine offices in the Church. And Gelasius did the same thing before him, under the title of *Codex Sacramentarius*, lately published by Thomasius at Rome, 1680. And Gennadius says,^k “Musæus, a presbyter of Marseilles, composed *Volumen Sacramentorum*, ‘a large book of sacraments,’ that is, Divine offices, to direct what lessons, and psalms, and hymns, were to be used in the communion service, according to the seasons of the year, and

ⁱ Menard. Not. in Sacrament. Gregor. p. 1. Non assentior iis, qui scribunt, titulum hujus libri esse ‘et sacramentarium,’ non vero ‘liber sacramentorum.’ Quum etiam contrarium pateat ex hoc sacramentorum libro, in quo manifeste ‘Sacramentarium’ a ‘libro sacramentorum’ distinguitur, &c.——Stillingfleet’s Orig. Britann. p. 225.

^k Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lxxix. (apud Hieron. tom. ix. opp. p. 185, h. edit. Paris. 1663.) Composuit sacramentorum egregium, et non parvum volumen, per membra quidem pro opportunitate officiorum et temporum, pro lectionum textu psalmodumque serie [et decantatione discretum]: sed supplicandi Deo, et contestandi beneficiorum ejus soliditate sui consentaneum.——Id. ibid. c. lxxviii. de Voconio. Composuit etiam sacramentorum egregium volumen.

what prayers and thanksgivings were to make up the service of the Church." And it is the opinion of two very learned men, Menardus and Bishop Stillingfleet,¹ that both St. Austin and St. Ambrose give the name of *sacramenta* to the Books of liturgic offices used in their time. And they observe, that the old missal, published by Illyricus, bears the name of *Ordo Sacramentorum*; which can mean nothing but the manner of performing Divine offices in the administration of the eucharist, and other parts of public worship.

SECT. VII.—*And Cursus Ecclesiasticus.*

These offices are by other writers styled *cursus ecclesiasticus*, 'the order or course of Divine offices.' For, under this title, Gregory Turonensis is said to have composed a book, *De Cursibus Ecclesiasticis*, for the use of the Gallican Church, which is now lost; but he himself mentions it in history.^m And Bishop Usherⁿ cites an ancient manuscript out of the Cotton Library, which says, "That Germanus and

¹ Menard. *ibid.* Aptissime hoc opus 'liber sacramentorum' dicitur, quia in eo officia missarum liturgica recte disposita continentur; quæ sancti patres olim 'sacramenta' appellarunt. . . . S. Ambrosius, lib. iii. de Virginibus: "An quid est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepere, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur? circumsonare 'sacramenta' confusis vocibus, ut impediatur oratio pro salute deprompta omnium?" — S. Augustinus, Ep. lix. (al. 149,) ad Paulinum: "Ut preces accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione 'sacramentorum,' antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici." — Et lib. de Dono Perseverantiæ, c. xiii. "Quod ergo in 'sacramentis' fidelium dicitur, ut sursum cor habeamus ad Dominum, munus est Domini." — Stillingfleet, ubi supra.

^m Gregor. Turon. *Histor.* lib. x. c. Vit. De cursibus ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi.

ⁿ Usser de Primord. *Eccles.* p. 185. In anonymo MS. (in Bibliotheca Cottoniana) de ecclesiasticorum officiorum origine, 900 abhinc annis scripto libello, Germanum et Lupum ordinem cursus Gallorum (sive Gallicanam liturgiam) a Joanne Cassiano et Lirinensis cœnobii patribus acceptum, in Britanniam induxisse legimus: 'Beatissimus Cassianus,' inquit auctor, 'qui Lirinensi monasterio beatum Honoratum habuit comparem, et post ipsum beatus Honoratus primus abba et sanctus Cæsarius episcopus, qui fuit in Arelate, et beatus Porcarius abba, qui in ipso monasterio fuit, ipsum cursum decantaverunt. Qui beatum Lupum et beatum Germanum monachos in eorum monasterio habuerunt: et ipsi sub normam regulæ ipsum cursum ibidem decantaverunt. Et postea in Lirinensi episcopatu cathedram summi honoris (pro reverentia sanctitatis eorum) sunt adepti: et postea in Britannia vel Scotia prædicaverunt, quæ vita beati Germani episcopi Antissiodorensis et vita beati Lupi adfirmat.

Lupus brought *Ordinem Cursus Gallorum*, ‘the Gallican Liturgy,’ into Britain with them.” And this was the liturgy of the British Churches for some ages, till, by degrees, the *cursus Romanus* was brought in upon them. Bede says,^o “In time of Pope Agatho, Joannes Abbas, the Roman precentor, was sent over to settle the Roman *cursus*, or psalmody for the whole year, according to the usage and way of St. Peter’s Church at Rome.” And the Council of Calchuth,^p some time after Bede, speaks of the liturgy under the same title, ordering all Churches, at the canonical hours, reverently to perform their *cursus*. And Mabillon^q cites the Lives of Walaricus and Senericus, where there is frequent mention of the *cursus Gallicanus*.

SECT. VIII.—*The Names λειτουργία, ἱεραουργία, ἱερά, and Μυσταγωγία, most usual in the Greek Church.*

Among the Greek writers, we seldom meet with any of these names; but they usually style all holy offices, and all parts of Divine service, by the general name of λειτουργία, and ἱεραουργία, ‘liturgy,’ and ‘sacred service.’ Though liturgy, in its extended sense, denotes any public office or ministration, as the apostle uses it (Phil. ii. 30, and 2 Cor. ix. 12), for the ministration of charity; and ecclesiastical writers do the same, often applying it both to civil and sacred functions, as to the office of a magistrate or a bishop, as Casaubon^r shews at large; yet, in a more limited sense, it is put to signify those sacred offices which make up the several parts of Divine worship, as prayers, reading, preaching, and administration of the sacraments. But it is never used, as the

^o Bed. lib. iv. c. xviii. . . . accepit et præfatum Johannem Abbatem Britanniam perducendum, quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annum, sicut ad Sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret. Egitque Joannes Abba, ut jussionem acceperat Pontificis, et ordinem videlicet, ritumque canendi ac legendi viva voce præfati monasterii cantores edocendo, &c.

^p Conc. Calchut. c. vii. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1865.) Ut omnes ecclesiæ publicæ canonicis horis cursum suum cum reverentia habeant.

^q Mabill. de Cursu Gallican. p. 420.

^r Casaubon. exercit. in Baron. xvi. num. xli. p. 471, (p. 536, edit. Lond. 1614.)

Romanists would appropriate it, for the business of sacrificing only. The Council of Ephesus^a speaks both of evening and morning liturgies; which, doubtless, mean evening and morning prayers only. And so Casaubon observes,^b “That Justinian takes it for the office of reading the Scripture, as well as administering the eucharist, when he says of a certain monastery, that the Divine liturgy was performed in it, as it was used to be in the churches, both by reading the Holy Scriptures, and receiving the holy communion.” And Antiochus^c applies the name of ‘liturgy,’ not only to morning prayer, but also to the service of their midnight assemblies; neither of which was, in his time, the ordinary hours of the communion service. So that Erasmus and others are governed more by prejudice than reason, who would have that passage of Acts (xiii. 2), *λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν*, to be rendered, *sacrificantibus illis*; as if there were no Divine service without sacrifice, in their notion of it; when yet the vulgar translation renders it ‘ministering;’ and the old Syriac and Arabic, as Beza observes, have it ‘praying;’ which is agreeable to the notion of ‘liturgy’ for Divine service. Yet, when the epithet of *mystica* was added to *liturgia*, then it commonly signified ‘the communion service.’ As when Theodoret says,^x “That the salutation of St. Paul (2 Cor. xiii. 14), ‘The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ &c. is the beginning of the mystical liturgy,” he means the ‘communion office,’ where this form of salutation was always used. And so in the *Clementina Epitome*,^y the ‘sacred liturgy’ denotes the service of the altar, which came after the εὐχὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ὕμνων, ‘prayers used in psalmody,’ or the

^a Conc. Ephes. Epist. Synod. ad Imperator. ap. Casaubon. ibid. Ἐπιτελίσαι μὴ συγχωρήσαντες τὰς ἰσπερινὰς ἢ τὰς ἰωθινὰς λειτουργίας.

^b Casaubon. p. 536. Justinianus (Novel. vii. c. xi.) ἱερὰν λειτουργίαν describens, duas illius partes commemorat, recitationem scripturarum et administrationem sacrosanctæ cænæ Domini: Ἐν οἷς, inquit, ἱερὰ γίνεται λειτουργία τῶν τι θείων ἀναγιγνωσκόμενων γραφῶν, τῆς τε ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀπορήτου μεταδιδόμενης κοινωνίας.

^c Antioch. Hom. xix. Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. i. p. 1056. Ἐξίγμεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἰωθινὰς λειτουργίας.

^x Theodoret. ep. cxlvi. p. 1032, b. Ἐν πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς λειτουργίας προσοίμεν.

^y Clement. Epit. de Gestis Petri, num. cxlv. ap. Coteler. tom. i. p. 796. Τοῦ παριέχου τὴν ἱερὰν ἐπιτελίσαντος λειτουργίαν.

service of the catechumens. And it is Bona's observation,* out of Vincentius Ricardus,^a "That except the words 'sacred,' or 'mystical,' be added to the name 'liturgy,' it is never to be taken for the sacrifice of the altar, but for some other part of Divine service:" though, I think, this is more than can be fairly proved. As, on the other hand, when the epithet of 'mystical' is added, it does not always, but only for the most part, as I said before, mean the 'eucharistical service.' For the service of baptism was ever esteemed a mystical service, as well as that of the eucharist. And the name *μυσταγωγία*, 'communion of the sacred mysteries,' is, upon that account, frequently given by St. Chrysostom,^b Theodoret,^c and others, to baptism, as well as the Lord's Supper; as may be seen at large in Suicerus's Collections upon that subject.^d It is certain the author, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, uses the title of *mystagogia*, as well when he is describing the ceremonies and service of baptism, as the eucharist: and Cyril's *Mystagogical Catechisms* are equally an exposition of the rites observed in administering baptism and confirmation, as of those of the other sacrament; these being the two great mystical services of the Christian Church. The names *ιερά*, *ιερουργία*, and *θυσία*, are all words of the same importance: they most

* Bona Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. iii. n. iii. Observat vir eruditus Vincentius Riccardus in Comment. ad Proclum, de traditione missæ, quod quando patres vocem liturgiæ pro sacrificio usurpant, semper epitheton *sacræ*, vel *mysticæ* adjungant.

^a Riccard. Commentar. in Proclum de Tradit. Missæ.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. xxi. tom. i. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 272, ubi fœminam, quam a superbia dehortatur, ita adloquitur: 'Ἀναμνηστὴς τῆς φωνῆς ἱκεῖνης, ἢ ἄφῃκας μυσταγωγουμένη, Ἀποτάσσεμαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, κ. τ. λ. — Id. Hom. i. in Acta, p. 615, edit. Eton. 1612, de Baptismo ita loquitur: Πολλὰ τῆς δουρεῖς ταύτης ἀνάξια γίνισθαι διὸν γὰρ εὐφραίνεσθαι, καὶ χορεύειν, καὶ χαίρειν, καὶ στίφαινεσθαι, ἰστέον μυσταγωγουμένην.

^c Theodoret. in c. i. Cantici: 'Ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μυσταγωγίᾳ, οἱ τιλούμενοι μετὰ τὴν ἄρσιν τοῦ τυράνου καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἱμελογίαν, οἰοῦντινα σφραγίδα βασιλικὴν δέχονται τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μύρου τὸ χρίσμα.

^d Suicer. Thea. voce *μυσταγωγία*, tom. ii. pp. 380, 384, ubi præter modo citata Chrysostomi et Theodoreti testimonia, illustrem locum ex Severiani, Hom. v. de Creatione exhibet. Πῶς βαπτίζομεθα; ἰνὸν ὀνόματι Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ποῖα μίζιον ἢ ἀναγίνωσις, ἢ τῆς δημιουργίας, ἢ ἡ τῆς μυσταγωγίας; Ἐκτὶ ἀρχῇ ζωῆς εἰς θάνατον· ὧδε ἀρχὴ θανάτου εἰς ζωὴν.

commonly signify the communion service, or the sacrifice of prayers at the altar. But sometimes they denote the offices of baptism, preaching, reading the Scripture, and psalmody; these being the spiritual sacrifices of Christians. It is certain the apostle calls 'preaching the Gospel' by the name of *ἱερουργία* (Rom. xv. 16), and 'the conversion of the Gentiles' thereby, 'the offering up or sacrificing' them to God. Upon which words, Chrysostom observes,^e "That the apostle does not call this service barely *λατρεία*, but *λειτουργία* and *ἱερουργία*, 'sacrifice, or sacred service.' For this is my priesthood, to preach and publish the gospel: this the sacrifice that I offer to God." And St. Basil^f gives the same names of *ἱερουργία* and *θυσία* to the duty of praise and thanksgiving: "I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of praise." And we have seen before (Sect. V.) how the evening prayer is commonly styled *sacrificium vespertinum*, 'evening sacrifice,' by the Latin writers.

SECT. IX.—*Liturgy sometimes taken for set Forms of Prayer.*

It is further to be observed, that as the Latins, by the names *missa*, *cursus*, *ordo*, and *officium*, mean not only the Divine worship itself, but also the books containing the method and prescriptions for the regular performance of it, which we usually call 'set forms of prayer;' so the Greeks sometimes understand the same thing, by the name of 'liturgy;' and that not only when they speak of the forms of administering the sacraments, but of any other parts of Divine service. It is plain the author of the Constitutions^g takes the word in this sense, when he applies it to the forms of prayer then made for the catechumens. And Casaubon observes,^h "That all those forms of worship which go under

^e Chrysostom. Hom. xxix. in Roman. p. 302, (p. 370, edit. Francof. 1697.)
Οὐχ ἁπλῶς λατρείαν λέγων, καθάπερ ἐν ἑρχῇ, ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν
αὕτη γάρ μοι ἱερωσύνη, τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγίλλειν ταύτην προσφέρει τὴν
θυσίαν.

^f Basil. in Psalm. cxv. p. 275, b. 'Ἱερουργήσω σοι τὴν αἰνίσις θυσίαν.

^g Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. 'Ἡ θεία λειτουργία, ἐν ᾗ προσφώνησις ὡς τῶν
κατηχομένων.

^h Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. in Baron. n. xli. p. 472. Ab hac ratione dictæ sunt

the names of Peter, James, Andrew, Chrysostom, and Basil, bear the name of 'liturgies,' which the Latins call *ordo* and *officium*, and the modern Greeks, ἀκολουθία. These were sometimes, also, among the ancient Greek writers, termed εὐχῶν διατάξεις, 'the order of prayers;' which is the name that Nazianzen gives the liturgy of St. Basil,¹ composed by him by the direction of his bishop, whilst he was presbyter of Cæsarea; and those forms and orders of Divine worship, collected by the author of the Constitutions, bear the same title, διατάξεις. In Chrysostom they are styled νόμοι, 'the rules or appointments of the Church;' and the prayers particularly are distinguished into two sorts of forms, both by him² and the Council of Laodicea;¹ the one called εὐχαὶ κατηχομένων, 'the prayers of the catechumens,' and the other, εὐχαὶ πιστῶν, 'the prayers of the faithful or believers.' But I shall say no more of liturgies here, considered as set forms or prescriptions of worship, because they will come to be discoursed of more fully hereafter, in their proper place.

SECT. X.—*Of Litanies. This at first a general Name for Prayers. How and when it came to be appropriated to certain particular Forms of Worship, called 'Rogations.'*

There is one general name more, which the first writers use to denote all sorts of public prayers; but the middle ages have appropriated it to a particular form of worship, that is, 'litanies;' in Greek called λιτανείαι, and λίται; in Latin, *supplicationes*, and *rogationes*. These words, in their original signification, are but another name for prayers in general, of whatever kind, that either were made publicly in the church, or by any private person. Eusebius, speaking

λυτουμερίαι, descriptiones quædam ordinis servandi in sacris celebrandis: cujusmodi sunt, quæ hodie circumferuntur sub titulis, partim veris, partim falsis, Petri, Jacobi, Andreæ, Basilii, Chrysostomi, et similes. Latini vocant 'ordinem agendi' vel 'officium.' Græci aliquando ἀκολουθίαν, et Balsamon non semel.

¹ Nazian. Orat. xx. in Laud. Basil. p. 340, d.

² Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 740, (p. 516, seq. edit. Francof. 1697.)

¹ Conc. Laodic. c. xix. Περὶ τοῦ, διὸν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἱπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχομένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξιελθῆν τοὺς κατηχομένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι· καὶ τούτων προσελόντων ὑπὸ χύρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τερεῖς, κ. τ. λ.

of Constantine's custom of making his solemn addresses to God in his tent, before he went out to battle, says,^m "He endeavoured to render God propitious to him by supplications and litanies, that he might obtain his favour, assistance, and direction, in his enterprises." And again, he says,ⁿ "A little before his death, he spent some time in the house of prayer, making supplications and litanies to God." In which places, 'litaney' seems to be a general name, and not to intend any particular sort of prayers. So Chrysostom also uses the word 'litaney,' when he says to his people,^o "To-morrow I shall go forth with you to make our litaney," that is, the public service. And again, speaking of the solemn form of words, *Pax vobis*, 'Peace be with you,' he says,^p "The bishop used it in all offices, when he first entered the church, when he made the prayers and litanies, and when he preached." And Arcadius,^q in one of his laws made against heretics, about the same time, takes 'litaney' in the same sense for 'prayers in general,' when he forbids heretics to hold profane assemblies in the city, either by night or by day, to make their litaney. Where it is plain, his intent was, not to prohibit heretics from making any particular sort of prayers, but all prayers in general within the city, and to cut off all opportunities of meeting, either by night or by day, for that purpose: and so Gothofred understands him. For this law was made with a direct view to the Arian assemblies for psalmody in their night-stations, which had occasioned some tumults and murders in the city; as Socrates^r and Sozomen inform us. So that the morning

^m Euseb. Vit. Constantin. lib. ii. c. xiv. Τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετηρίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἱλασόμενος, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. iv. c. lxi. Εὐκτηρίῳ ἰνδιατρέψας οἶκῳ, ἱκετηρίους εὐχάς τε καὶ λιτανείας ἀνέπιμπι τῷ Θεῷ.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. antequam iret in exilium, tom. iv. p. 965, (p. 845, a.) Αὐριον εἰς λιτανίον ἐξιλεύσομαι μετ' ὑμῶν.

^p Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. p. 1338, (p. 176, edit. Francof.) 'Εν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς, ἐν ταῖς προσήχοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς, καὶ δις, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὴν δίδωσιν ὁ τοῦ ἐκκλησίας προϊστάς, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἐπιτίγων.

^q Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæreticis leg. xxx. Interdicatur his omnibus, ad Litaniam faciendam intra civitatem noctu vel interdiu profanis coire conventibus.

^r Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. tot. — Sozom. lib. vii. c. viii. tot.

hymns, and psalmody, and prayers, then came all under the general name of 'litanies,' and the Arians were forbidden in this sense to make any litanies within the city, by this law of Arcadius. What Hamond Lestrangle^a alleges out of St. Austin, Cyprian, and Tertullian, proves nothing, but that there were always prayers made in the Church, to implore God's mercy and favours; which no one ever denied: neither is the name 'litanies' used by any of them. It is more to the purpose what St. Basil says to the Church of Neocæsarea, where Gregory Thaumaturgus was bishop;^b that though, in Gregory's time, they had no litanies, yet afterward, before St. Basil's time, they had admitted the use of them. By which argument he defends the nocturnal prayers, and psalmody, and vigils, against those who objected that they were not used in St. Gregory's time. For neither were litanies used in his time; and yet now they were in use, and no one objected novelty against them. This shews that St. Basil takes 'litanies' for a peculiar sort of prayers lately set up in the Church. For it cannot be doubted but that they had prayers before, though not of this particular kind.

Some think that 'litanies,' in this new limited sense, were first introduced by Mamercus, bishop of Vienne, in France, about the year 450. But St. Basil's testimony proves them to be earlier in the East: and it is a mistake in those who assert Mamercus to be the first author of them in the West. For Sidonius Apollinaris, who lived in the time of Mamercus, and wrote some epistles to him, says expressly, that he was not the first inventor of them, but only of the rogation fast-days before Ascension; to which he applied the use of these litanies, which were in being long before, though not observed with such solemnity, nor fixed to any stated times, but only used as exigencies required, to deprecate any impending judgment. This he declares at large, in an epistle to Mamercus himself,^c styling him the author of the rogation

^a Lestrangle's Alliance of Divine Offices, c. iv. p. 100.

^b Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. p. 97, b. 'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔν, φασί, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λυτανίαι, εἰς ὧμας νῦν ἐπιτεθιύεσσι.

^c Sidon. lib. vii. Ep. i. Rumor est, Gothos in Romenum solum castra

days; and shewing both the reasons of the institution, and the manner of observing them, with ardent supplications and fastings, in imitation of the Ninevites, to avert the threatening judgments of fire, or earthquakes, or inundations, or hostile invasions. But that we may not think Mamercus was the first author of litanies, because he applied their use particularly to the rogation days, he speaks more expressly in another epistle,^{*} where he says, "That Mamercus indeed first brought in the observation of the rogation solemnities, which spread by his example; but supplications, or litanies, were in use before, when men had occasion to pray against excessive rains or droughts; though they were observed but in a cold and disorderly manner, without fasting, or full assemblies: but those which he instituted, were observed with fasting, and praying, and singing, and weeping." What Sidonius says here, proves that Mamercus was the author of the rogation fast in France; but litanies were in use before.

movisse. Huic semper irruptioni nos, miseri Arverni, janua sumus. Namque odiis inimicorum hinc peculiaria fomenta subministramus, quia quod necdum terminos suos ab oceano in Rhodanum Ligeris alveo limitaverunt, solam (sub ope Christi) moram de nostra tantum obice patiuntur. Circumjectarum vero spatia, tractumque regionum jam pridem regni minacis importuna devoravit impressio: sed animositati nostræ tam temerariæ tamque periculose non nos aut ambustam murorum faciem, aut putrem sudium cratem, aut propugnacula vigilum trita pectoribus confidimus opitulatura: solo tamen invectarum te auctore Rogationum palpamur auxilio, quibus inchoandis instituendisque populus Arvernus, etsi non effectui pari, adfectu certe non impari cœpit initiari, et ob hoc circumfusus necdum dat terga terroribus. Non enim latet nostram sciscitationem, primis temporibus harumsce supplicationum institutarum, civitas cœlitus tibi credita, per hujusce-modi prodigiorum terribilissima vacuabatur. Nam modo scenæ mœnium publicorum crebris terræ motibus concutiebantur: nunc ignes sæpe flammati caducas culminum cristas superjecto favillarum monte tumulabant: nunc stupenda foro cubilia collocabat audacium pavenda mansuetudo cervorum: quum tu inter ista discessu primorum populariumque statu urbis exinanito, ad nova celer veterum Ninivitarum exempla decurristi, ne divinæ admonitioni tuæ quoque desperatio conviciaretur, et verè jam de Deo tu minime poteras absque peccato post virtutum experimenta diffidere, &c.

^{*} Ibid. lib. v. Ep. xiv. Rogationum nobis solemnitatem primus Mamercus pater, et pontifex, reverentissimo exemplo, utilissimo experimento, invenit, instituit, invexit. Erant quidem prius (quod salva fidei pace sit dictum) vagæ, tepentes, infrequentesque, utque sic dixerim, oscitabundæ supplicationes, quæ sæpe interpellantium prandiorum obicibus hebetabantur, maxime aut imbres, aut serenitatem deprecaturæ. . . . In his autem, quas suprafatus summus sacerdos nobis et protulit pariter et contulit, jejunatur, oratur, psallitur, fietur.

And if Savaro judge right of one of St. Austin's homilies,^y the rogation fast must have been observed long before in the African Churches. For, among his homilies *de Tempore*, there is one upon the vigil of the ascension, where he speaks of a fast observed for three days before Ascension day,^z advising all men to keep those days with fasting, prayer, and psalmody. However, from the time of Mamercus, we are sure these rogation days and litanies were celebrated with great solemnity in the Church, being frequently mentioned by Alcimus Avitus,^a Cæsarius Arelatensis,^b Eucherius Lugdunensis Junior,^c and Gregory of Tours,^d to name no later writers. The first Council of Orleans (an. 511) established them by a decree,^e ordering the three days before Ascension to be kept a fast with abstinence, after the manner of Lent, and with 'rogations or litanies;' and that, on these days, servants should rest from their labours. In the Spanish Churches, they deferred these rogations to the week after Pentecost: for they kept to the old rule of the ancient Church, not to have any fast during the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide; therefore, as Walafridus Strabo observes of them,^f "They would not observe the rogation fast

^y Savar. Not. in Sidon. lib. v. Ep. xiv. Ex hoc loco notandum, ante adscensionem Domini ante Mamercum litanias fuisse, tot diebus, quot a Mamercus instituti sunt, D. Augustinus Serm. clxxiii. in Vigilia Dominicæ adscensionis; quem consule.

^z Aug. Hom. clxxiii. de Tempore, tom. x. p. 338, (p. 975, edit. Basil. 1569.) Sine dubio peccatorum suorum vulnera diligit, qui in istis tribus diebus, jejundo, orando, et psallendo, medicamenta sibi spiritalia, non requirit.

^a Alcim. Avit. Homil. de Rogationibus tot. (tom. ix. Bihl. Patr. Max. p. 591, 592, edit. Lugdun. 1677.)

^b Cæsar. Homil. xxxiii. Tribus diebus, quos regulariter in toto mundo celebrat ecclesia.

^c Eucher. Hom. de Litiis.

^d Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. c. xxxiv.. Rogationes, quas ante Adscensionis Dominicæ triumphum celebramus.

^e Conc. Aurel. I. c. xxvii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1408.) Rogationes, id est, litanias ante adscensionem Domini, ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari; ita ut præmissum triduanum jejunium in Dominicæ adscensionis festivitate solvatur: per quod triduum servi et ancillæ ab omni opere relaxentur, quo magis plebs universa conveniat: quo triduo omnes abstineant, et quadragesimalibus cibis utantur.

^f Strabo de Offic. Eccles. c. xxviii. Hispani autem, propter hoc, quod scriptum, 'Non possunt filii sponsi lugere, quamdiu cum illis est sponsus,'

in the time that the bridegroom was with them." But, by an order of the Council of Gironne,^s these litanies and this fast were put off to the week after Whitsuntide. And they ordered a second litany to be used on the first day of November. The fifth Council of Toledo appointed another such litany and fast to be celebrated yearly for three days, commencing on the thirteenth day of December.^h The sixth Council of Toledo confirmed this decree about two years after (an. 638),ⁱ and made it a general rule for all the churches of Spain and Gallicia, and Gallia Narbonensis, which was at this time under the government of the Gothic king Chintillan. And in the seventeenth Council of Toledo (an. 694), under King Egicanes, a more general decree was made,^k "That such litanies should be used in every month throughout the year." And so, by degrees, these solemn supplications came to be used weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient stationary days, in all Churches.

infra quinquagesimam paschæ recusantes jejunare, litanias suas post Pentecosten posuerunt.

^s Conc. Gerund. c. ii. in Inscriptiōe, p. 25. Ut litaniz post Pentecosten a quinta feria usque in sabbatum celebrentur. Canon ipse ita habet: De litaniz, ut expleta solemnitate Pentecostes, sequens [sequenti] septimana, a quinta feria usque in sabbatum, per hoc triduum abstinentia celebretur. — Id. c. iii. Item secundæ litaniz faciendæ sunt kalendis Novembris, ea tamen conditione servata, ut si iisdem diebus Dominica intercesserit, in alia hebdomada, secundum prioris abstinentiz observantiam, a quinta feria incipiantur, et in sabbato [sabbati] vespere missa facta finiantur. Quibus tamen diebus a carnibus et a vino abstinendum decrevimus.

^h Conc. Tolet. V. c. i. Ut a die Iduum Decembrium litaniz triduo ubique (al. usque) annua successione peragantur, &c.

ⁱ Conc. Tolet. VI. c. ii. Universalis auctoritate censemus Concilii, ut hi dies litaniarum, qui in synodo præmissa sunt instituti, annuo recursu (al. anno recursu) omni observatione habeantur celeberrimi, &c.

^k Conc. Tolet. XVII. c. vi. Quamquam priscorum patrum institutio, per totum annum, per singulorum mensium cursum, litaniarum vota decreverit persolvendum . . . decernimus, ut deinceps per totum annum, in cunctis duodecim mensibus, per universas Hispaniz et Galliarum provincias, pro statu ecclesiz Dei, pro incolumitate principis nostri, atque salvatione populi, et indulgentia totius peccati, et a cunctorum fidelium cordibus expulsionem diaboli, exomologeses votis gliscentibus celebrentur.

SECT. XI. — *Of the Distinction between greater and lesser Litanies.*

In the meantime, Gregory the Great instituted some such rogations at Rome, and one, particularly, on the twenty-fifth day of April, which goes by the name of *litania septiformis*, because he ordered the Church to go in procession in seven distinct classes; first the clergy, then the laymen, next the monks, after them the virgins, then the married women, next the widows, and, last of all, the poor and the children. This is mentioned both by Gregory himself¹ and Walafridus Strabo,^m who give it the name of *litania major*; whence some have been led into a mistake, to think the Roman litanies were distinguished by the name of the ‘greater litanies,’ from those of Mamercus, which they call the ‘less.’ So Hamond Lestrangle,ⁿ and others, in their accounts of these things. But the French writers do not allow of this distinction. Cellotius says,^o “The ‘rogation,’

¹ Gregor. lib. xi. ep. ii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1509, d. e.) Proinde, fratres carissimi, contrito corde, et correctis operibus, crastina die primo diluculo ad septiformem litaniam juxta distributionem inferius designatam, devota mente, cum lacrimis veniamus. . . . Litania clericorum exeat ab ecclesia beati Joannis Baptistæ: litania virorum, ab ecclesia beati martyris Marcelli: litania monachorum, ab ecclesia martyrum Joannis et Pauli: litania ancillarum Dei, ab ecclesia beatorum martyrum Cosmæ et Damiani: litania feminarum conjugatarum, ab ecclesia beati primi martyris Stephani: litania viduarum, ab ecclesia beati martyris Vitalis: litania pauperum et infantium, ab ecclesia beatæ martyris Cæciliæ.

^m Strabo, de Offic. Eccles. c. xxviii. (tom. ix. Bibl. Max. p. 197.) Litanias, id est, rogationes publicas, quas majores vocamus, Romani una die denominata, id est, vii. Kal. Maii, annuatim facere solent: quas Gregorius papa initio ordinationis suæ instituit, &c.

ⁿ Lestrangle, Alliance, c. iv. p. 100.

^o Cellot. Not. in Capitula Gualteri Aurelianensis (Conc. tom. viii. p. 649.) Litaniam majorem ordo Romanus nuncupat eam, quæ, auctore Gregorio Magno, vii. Kalendis Maii, celebratur ad festum S. Marci. Minorem vero illam, quæ per triduum rogationum a Mamercus, Viennensi episcopo, instituta, ‘apud nos usque hodie pro diversis calamitatibus devotissime recolitur,’ ut ait idem ordo. Non adsentientibus nostris scriptoribus, qui priorem simpliciter Romanam nominant, et in Galliæ usu ægre retentam subindicant: ut in Herardo videre est, de ‘Litania Romana, vii. Kal. Maii, ut rememoretur.’ Ut videlicet ejus commemoratio fiat, quæ nisi studiose commendata, dilaberetur. Majorem autem litaniam non aliam habent, quam triduum rogationum: et manifeste hanc nominat capitulare Caroli Magni ex Concilio Moguntino: ‘Placuit nobis, ut litania major

or *litania*, of Mamercus, was always dignified with the title of *litania major* by their old writers, as well as that of Gregory; and that Gregory's litany was of little use among them." It is certain the Council of Mentz,^p and the Capitulars of Charles the Great,^q which repeat the words of that Council, applied the name of *litania major* to their own rogations before ascension. And Cellotius says, "Gualterus Aurelianensis and Strabo both give it the same title." But still he does not tell us what they mean by the *litania minor*, 'the lesser litany,' in contradistinction to the 'greater.' If the reader will take my conjecture, it is no more but the known form, *Kyrie, eleison*, as the Latins read it, from the Greek *Κύριε, ἐλέησον*, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' or, 'Lord, have mercy upon them,' if they were praying for others. As this was the constant response made by the people to each petition of their larger supplications for the catechumens and others (as we shall see hereafter); so it was used sometimes by itself, in all their offices, as a shorter form of supplication: and then it had the nature of a litany by itself, and was not a part of a larger prayer. This is evident from the order made in the Council of Vaison, for introducing the use of it into the French churches:^r "Whereas, say they, it is a very useful and agreeable custom in the Roman Church, and all the provinces of Italy and the East, to use the frequent repetition of the *Kyrie, eleison*, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' with great affection and contrition; we therefore decree, that the same holy custom be introduced into all our churches, both at morning and evening prayer, and in the

observanda sit a cunctis Christianis, diebus tribus.' Walafridus autem Strabo, utrique, tum Romanæ, tum isti Gallicanæ, majoris nomen tribuit.

^p Conc. Mogunt. au. 813, c. xxxiii. (tom. vii. Conc. p. 1249.) Placuit nobis, ut *litania major* observanda sit a cunctis Christianis diebus tribus, sicut legendo reperimus, et sicut sancti patres nostri instituerunt, non equitando, nec pretiosus vestibus induti, sed discalceati, cinere et cilicio induti, nisi infirmitas impederit.

^q Carol. Capitular. lib. v. c. lxxxv.

^r Conc. Vasens. II. c. iii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1680.) Quia, tam in sede apostolica, quam etiam per totas Orientales atque Italiæ provincias, dulcis et nimium salutaris consuetudo est intromissa, ut 'Kyrie, eleison' frequentius cum grandi adfectu et compunctione dicatur; placuit etiam nobis, ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista tam sancta consuetudo et ad matutinum, et ad missas, et ad vesperam Deo propitio intromittatur.

communion service." The Greeks usually said, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' without adding the other part, 'Christ have mercy upon us.' But the Latins used both clauses, and repeated them alternately, as we now do, first the minister, and then the people; whereas, by the Greeks, the supplication was made by the common voice of all together. This difference is noted by Gregory the Great;^a but it does not detract from our observation, but rather confirms it, that this was a short form of supplication used one way or other in all churches, and that as a part of all their daily offices, whence it borrowed the name of the 'lesser litany,' in opposition to the 'greater litanies;' which were distinct, complete, and solemn services, adapted to particular times, or extraordinary occasions. I must note further, that the 'greater litanies' are sometimes termed *exomologeses*, 'confessions;'^t because fasting, and weeping, and mourning, and confession of sins, were usually joined with supplication to avert God's wrath, and reconcile him to a sinful people.

SECT. XII.—*Of their Processions.*

Sometimes to these solemn supplications they added processions, which at first had nothing of harm or superstition in them: for they were only of the same nature with their processions at a funeral, when they carried a corpse with the solemnity of psalmody to its interment. They sometimes made their processions. and sometimes their litanies, as occasion required, in the open field. But here was no pomp of relics, nor exposing of the eucharist to adoration, in such solemnities; they only carried the cross, as they did also in some of their night processions for psalmody, as the badge of their profession before them. Of this, indeed, there are

^a Gregor. lib. vii. ep. lxiv. ad Joan. Syracusan. (Conc. tom. v. p. 1348.) 'Kyrie, eleison' nos neque diximus, neque dicimus, sicut a Græcis dicitur: quia in Græcis simul omnes dicunt; apud nos autem a clericis dicitur, et a populo respondetur: et totidem vicibus etiam 'Christe, eleison' dicitur, quod (al. quot) apud Græcos nullo modo dicitur.

^t Vid. Conc. Mogunt. c. xxxii. Litanie Græco nomine appellantur, quæ Latine dicuntur 'rogationes.' Inter litanias autem et exomologeses hoc differt; quod 'exomologeses' pro sola peccatorum confessione agantur: 'litanie' vero indicantur propter rogandum Deum, et impetrandum in aliquo misericordiam ejus. Sed nunc jam utrumque vocabulum sub una designatione habetur.

some instances as early as Chrysostom : for it is noted in his Life, by Palladius,^u “That his enemies trampled under foot the sign of the cross, which the people carried on their shoulders, as they made their litanies in the field.” And in those vigils which he set up at Constantinople, in opposition to the Arians ; the historians say,^x “They had silver crosses given them by the empress for this purpose.” And the laws of Justinian expressly provided,^y “That as these litanies should not be celebrated without the bishop or the clergy ; so the crosses to be used in these solemnities should not be deposited in any places but the churches, nor be carried by any but such as were appointed.” And, because in these solemn processions, some were inclined to appear in pomp unsuitable to the occasion, with gay clothing, and on horseback ; therefore both these things were particularly forbidden. Sidonius^a notes it as a great absurdity for men to appear *castorinati ad litanias*, ‘dressed up in their rich beaver cloths, at a litany ;’ because sackcloth and ashes were more becoming such solemnities, which were intended for fasting, and mourning, and supplication, and humiliation, and confession of sins, after the example of the Ninevites, in their solemn addresses to God. And, for this reason, the Canons^a forbade any one to appear on horseback, or in rich

^u Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. xv. p. 27, (p. 147, edit. Paris. 1680, 4to.) Πορφέριος δὲ καὶ Οὐαλιντινίος ὁ Κόμης μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ὁρθοδόξων ἐλιηλάτουν, τὸ φοικωδίστατον τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον, ὃ ἀντὶ διδασκάλου ἰπ’ ὧμων φέροντες ἐπὶ γῆς ἀσπόμενοι ἐλιτάνιουν, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ποσὶ συμπατήσαντες.

^x Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. (Cant. 322.) Ὡς γὰρ λαμπρότεροι οἱ τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου ὕμνοι ἐν ταῖς νεκρικαῖς ὑμνολογίαις ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκείνων τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀργυροῦ, φέροντες φῶτα ἐκ τῶν κηρίων λαμπάδων, τῆς βασιλίδος Εὐδοκίας παρὰ χούσης τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ δαπάνην πλῆθος ὄντας οἱ Ἀριμνίζοντες, καὶ Ζηλοτυπία ληφθέντες, ἀμύνεσθαι τι καὶ συμπληγὰς ἐπιχειροῦν ποιοῦν. — Sozom. lib. viii. c. viii. (p. 336.) Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σταυρῶν ἀργυρῶν σημεῖα ὑπὸ κηρῶν ἡμῖνοις προσηγούοντο αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^y Justin. Novel. cxix. c. xxxii. Πᾶσι τοῖς λαϊκοῖς ἀπαγορεύομεν λιτὰς ποιεῖν δίχα τῶν τόπων τῶν ἱερουσάτων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπαρχικῶν κληρικῶν . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς, μὴ ὧν ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς ἐξέρχονται, μὴ ἀλλὰ ληξέσθαι πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐν ἐπαρχίαις τόποις ἀποστέλλεσθαι.

^a Sidon. lib. v. ep. vii. ad Thaumastum. Libenter incedunt armati ad epulas, albat ad exequias, pelliti ad ecclesias, pullati ad nuptias, ‘castorinati ad litanias.’

^a Conc. Mogunt. c. xxxiii. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1249.) Vid. supra, sub litt. (p). — Vid. Burchard. lib. xiii. c. vii. ex Conc. Aurel. c. vi. Quumque

apparel, at the rogation solemnities, but rather discalceate in sackcloth and ashes, unless he had the excuse of infirmity to hinder him. For these rogations were intended to implore God's mercy in the most humble manner; and, with the most ardent affections of soul, to beseech him to avert all sicknesses, and plagues, and tribulations; to repel the evils of pestilence, war, hail, and drought; to compose the temper of the air, so that it may be for the health of men's bodies, and fertility of the earth; that he would keep all the elements in due order and harmony, and grant men peaceable times; as Eucherius relates the chief heads of them in his sermon upon this subject.^b Whereas, yet, we may observe, no prayers or intercessions were made to saints or angels, as in the modern litanies of the Romish Church, but to God only; as shall be shewed at large in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THAT THE DEVOTIONS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH WERE PAID
TO EVERY PERSON OF THE BLESSED TRINITY.

SECT. I.—*Proofs of the Worship of Christ, as the Son of God, or the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity in the first Century.*

HAVING thus distinguished the ambiguity of the names of the ancient worship, and settled the true meaning of them, our next inquiry must be into the object of the Christian worship, to see what persons they were to whom they paid their devotion. That which makes this inquiry necessary, which otherwise might have been omitted, is the prevalency of two contrary errors, too much reigning in these later ages; one of which asserts, that the Father alone was the

Dominus pestem misericorditer abstulisset, hi dies in consuetudinem annuæ celebritatis venerunt, ut per Galliarum provincias ante adscensionis diem celebrarentur.

^b Euch. Hom. de Litaniiis.

sole object of true Divine worship, and not the Son or Holy Ghost; and the other, that saints and angels had also a share in it. To shew the falseness of both which pretences, I shall a little detain the reader with proofs and evidences of the contrary assertions. And, first, to shew that Christ, as the Son of God, and the second Person of the ever blessed Trinity, was the object of Divine worship in all ages, we will begin with the original of Christian worship, and carry the inquiry through the three first centuries. For the first age, the Scripture is sufficient evidence of the Christians' practice. For, not to insist on the precept of honouring the Son, as they honoured the Father; or the form of baptism, in which they are commanded to join the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one act of worship; or the injunction to believe in the Son, as they believed in the Father; with many other acts of internal worship peculiar to God alone; I only argue from their example and practice. St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, when he was sealing his confession with his blood, breathed out his last in a prayer to Christ, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge" (Acts, vii. 59). St. Paul professes he never baptized any but only in the name of Christ (1 Cor. i. 13). And his common forms of blessing were with invocation of the name Christ: "Grace be to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ;" and, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all:" as the solemn forms run almost in all his epistles, both in the beginning and the conclusion of them. Nay, so common was this practice, that among other titles of the believers, at their first rise and appearance in the world, they were distinguished by the character of "those that called on the name of Christ," (Acts, ix. 14, 21; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 22.) Some critics, I know, would have the phrase, *ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ*, to be taken passively only for 'those who were named by the name of Christ,' that is, Christians; but this criticism is of no weight: for they were called invokers, or worshippers of Christ, before the name Christian was known in the world. For this name was not used till some time after St. Paul's

conversion, when, as St. Luke says expressly (Acts, xi. 26), "The disciples were first called Christians in Antioch." But they were worshippers of him before; and, therefore, were distinguished by the character of the men that called upon his name. Many other suchlike evidences are obvious to any one that reads the New Testament: I only add that of the Revelation (v. 8), where the Church in heaven and earth together, is represented as offering both prayers and hymns to Christ: "When he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof. For thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying, with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever."

SECT. II. — *Proofs of the same in the Second Century.*

We have here seen the model of the worship of Christ, as begun and settled in the practice of the Church in the first age. And we shall find it continued in the same manner in those that followed immediately after. For Pliny, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and as a judge under Trajan, took the confessions of some revolting Christians, says,^a "They declared to him, they were used to meet on a

^a Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvii. Adfirmabant, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.

certain day before it was light; and, among other parts of their worship, sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God." Which is a plain indication of their worship of Christ on the Lord's day. Not long after this, lived Polycarp,^b who joins God the Father and the Son together in his prayers for grace and benediction upon men: "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ himself, the eternal High-Priest, the Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, to live without anger, in patience, in long-suffering and forbearance, and give you a lot and part among the saints, and to us with you, and to all them that are under heaven, who shall believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his Father, who raised him from the dead." And so he begins his epistle, "Mercy and peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you." And when he came to his martyrdom, he made a prayer to God at the stake, before he was burnt, concluding it with this doxology to the whole Trinity:^c "I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, for all things, together with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, with whom unto thee, and the Holy Spirit, be glory both now and for ever, world without end. Amen." When Polycarp was dead, the Church of Smyrna wrote a circular epistle to other Churches to give an account of his sufferings, wherein they relate this remarkable occurrence,^d "That, as soon as he was

^b Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp. n. xii. (apud Cotel. Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 189.) Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi; et ipse sempiternus pontifex, Dei Filius, Christus Jesus, ædificet vos in fide et veritate, et in omni mansuetudine, et sine iracundia, et in patientia, et longanimitate, et tolerantia, et castitate; et det nobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos, et nobis vobiscum, et omnibus qui sunt sub cælo, qui credituri sunt in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in ipsius Patrem. . . . Misericordia vobis et pax a Deo Omnipotente et Jesu Christo, Salvatore nostro, abundet.

^c Martyr. Polycarp. (ap. Cotel. ibid. p. 199.) Περὶ πάντων αἰνῶ σι, εὐλογῶ σι, δοξάζω σι, σὺν τῇ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἰσχυραίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί, μεθ' οὗ σοι καὶ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.—Eusebius (lib. iv. c. xv. ex Epist. Ecclesiæ Smyrnensis), reads this with a little variation of the particles: Διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα, κ. τ. λ. But this makes no alteration in the sense; for still it concludes with a doxology to the three Divine Persons: 'By whom and with whom, unto Thee and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.'

^d Smyrn. Eccles. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. et ap. Cotel. l. c. p. 200.

dead, the Jews suggested to the heathen judge, that he should not suffer the Christians to take Polycarp's body and bury it, lest they should leave their crucified master, and begin to worship this other. Not considering (says the epistle), that we can never either forsake the worship of Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all those who are saved in the whole world, the just for the unjust; or worship any other. For we worship him as being the Son of God: but the martyrs we only love, as they deserve, for their great affection to their King and Master, and as being disciples and followers of their Lord, whose partners and fellow-disciples we desire to be." This is an unanswerable testimony, to prove both the Divine worship of Christ, as the true Son of God, and that no martyr or other saint was worshipped in those days. Not long after this, lived Justin Martyr, who, in his second Apology, to wipe off the charge of atheism, brought against them by the heathens, who objected to them, "That they had cast off the worship of God;" answers,^e "That they worshipped and adored still the God of righteousness, and his Son (that came from him, and taught both them and the host of good angels who followed him, and were made like unto him), as also the Holy Spirit of prophecy. To these they paid a rational and true honour, as they always frankly owned to all such as were disposed to learn." Bellarmin^f very fraudulently urges this place to prove the worship of angels: as if Justin had said,

Μὴ, φησὶν, ἀφίντις τὸν ἱσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἀρξάνται εἰσεῖσθαι . . . ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπὼν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὗτοι ἰσχυρόν τινα εἰσεσθαι τοῦτον μὴν γὰρ, Τίδ' ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνούμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἵνα καὶ ἐννοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλεία καὶ διδασκαλοῦ· ὃν γίνωτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τι καὶ συμμεθητὰς γινώσθαι.

^e Justin. Apol. ii. p. 56. Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων Θεῶν ἄθιοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοτάτου, καὶ Πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνιπαμίκτου τι κακίας Θεοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνόν τι καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Τίδ' ἰδόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἱσχυρόν καὶ ἱερόμιον ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, Πνεῦμά τι τὸ προφητικὸν εἰσέμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἰδιδάχθημεν, ἀφ' ὁθώς παρεδιδόντες.

^f Bellarmin. de Beatitud. Sanct. lib. i. c. xiii. (tom. ii. p. 289, a. edit. Colon. 1515.) Argumentum quantum [ut videlicet probet auctor, cultum aliquem mi-

“That they worshipped the Father, the Son, the angels, and the Holy Spirit ;” whereas he says nothing of the worship of angels ; but that the angels were taught by the Son ; and that the Son, together with the Father and Holy Spirit, were the object of Christian worship. Which he repeats again in his foresaid apology,^g saying, in answer to the same objection, “That they could demonstrate, that as they worshipped God the Creator of all things, so, with equal reason, they worshipped Jesus Christ in the second place, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy in the third, knowing Jesus Christ to be the Son of the true God.” For, whereas the heathens objected further, that it was madness in them, next to the immutable and true God, Maker of all things, to give the second place to a crucified man, he tells them, “They understood not the mystery of this practice.” Which shews, that as they worshipped Christ, so they worshipped him as the true Son of God, and not as a creature : for he tells the emperors a little after,^h “They held it unlawful to worship any but God alone.” Therefore, in their practice, they also shewed their belief of his true Divinity ; since they worshipped him only upon this foundation and supposition, that he was truly God, and not a mere man ; and to have done it upon any other supposition, had been gross idolatry, by their own confession. Which I wish were duly considered by those who now write against the Divinity of Christ, and

norem divino, ut majorem civili et mere humano, sacris rebus, sanctis angelis, et hominibus debere] sumitur ex confessione patrum, qui a temporibus apostolorum, usque ad nostra tempora floruerunt. Justinus (in Apol. ii. p. 2), loquens nomine omnium Christianorum, et fidem totius ecclesiæ explicans, ‘Sed,’ inquit, ‘et illum (Deum Patrem) et ejus Filium, qui venit, nosque hæc docuit, et aliorum sequentium, similiumque bonorum angelorum exercitus, et Spiritum propheticum colimus atque adoramus, verboque et re, seu veritate veneramur, idque omnibus, qui discere volunt, ut docti institutique sumus, copiose tradimus.

^g Justin. Apol. ii. p. 60. Τὸν δημιουργὸν . . . καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν Τιδὲν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν διυτίερᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, Πενήμᾳ τι προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει, ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν ἀποδείξομεν. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μαρίαν ἡμῶν καταφαίνονται, διυτίερην χώραν μετὰ τὸν ἄτρεπτον καὶ αἰὶ ὄντα Θεὸν, καὶ γενήτορα τῶν ἀπάντων, ἀνθρώπων σταυρωθέντι δίδοναι ἡμᾶς λίγοντες· ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ἐν τούτῳ μυστήριον.—It. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 302, b. Deum fortem et adorandum eum vocat. Δακιδ . . . Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν, Χριστὸν ὄντα ἰδήλωσι.

^h Ibid. p. 64. Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνῶμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χεῖροντες ἐπηρεαζόμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες.

absurdly pretend that all the fathers of the three first ages were of their opinion. For this is only to make them guilty of the grossest idolatry, and involve them in a monstrous contradiction; whilst they pretended to worship none but God alone, and yet gave Divine honour to one, whom (if our modern representers say true) they did not believe to be truly God by nature, but only a creature.

But to go on with the inquiry, as to what concerns the object of their worship in practice. Athenagoras answers the charge of atheism, after the same manner as Justin Martyr had done before him: ⁱ “We are no atheists who worship the Creator of all things, and his Word that proceedeth from him.” Minucius Felix, to another objection, “That they worshipped a crucified man,” answers, ^k “That they were mistaken in the charge; for he whom they worshipped, was God, and not a mere mortal man: miserable is he whose hope is only in man; for his help is at an end, when the life of man is extinct.” About this time, lived Lucian the heathen, who, in one of his Dialogues, takes notice of the Christian worship. For bringing in a Christian instructing a catechumen, he makes the catechumen ask this question, ^l “By whom shall I swear?” And he that personates the Christian, answers, “By the God that reigns on high, the great, immortal, heavenly God, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one in three, and three in one. Take these for your Jupiter, imagine this to be your God.” Which evidently shews, that Lucian had

ⁱ Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis, Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. i. p. 76, d. Οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι, οὐδὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν τὸν πεινῶν τούτῳ τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ λόγον.

^k Minuc. Felix. Dialog. p. 88, (c. xxix. 2, p. 111, edit. Halens. 1699, 8vo.) Cant. 147. Quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adscribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis, Deum credi aut meruisse noxium, aut potuisse terrenum. Næ ille miserabilis, cujus in homine mortali spes omnis innititur; totum enim ejus auxilium cum exstincto homine finitur.

^l Lucian. Philopat. prope finem, (tom. iv. p. 460, edit. Basil. 1619, 8vo.) Bipont. 9, p. 248.

Καὶ τίνα ἱεροσυσμαί γιγ
 Ὑψιμύδοντα Θεόν, μέγα, ἄμεινον, οὐρανίοντα,
 Τὸν Πατέρα, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύμενον,
 Ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἑξ ἑνὸς τρία,
 Ταῦτα νόμιζι Ζῆνα, τότ’ ἡγοῦ Θεόν.

learned this from the Christian institutions, "That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were the object of their Divine worship." And he elsewhere objects to them the worship of their "crucified impostor,"^m as he blasphemously terms our blessed Lord. Not long after, Irenæus, speaking of the miracles which the Church wrought in his time, particularly in casting out devils, says,ⁿ "She did this, not by invocation of angels, nor by enchantments, nor by any other wicked piece of curiosity, but by directing her prayers, clean, and pure, and openly, to the God over all; and by invoking the name of Jesus Christ, she works miracles for the benefit of men, and not for their seduction." And that this was so, appears further from some of the forms of prayer used then in Church for the energumens in the public service; one of which is recorded by the author of the Constitutions,^o directed personally to Christ, under the title of the only begotten God, who binds the strong one, that is the devil: which prayer I need not repeat here, because the reader may find it at length hereafter in the service of the catechumens.^p

About the same time with Irenæus, lived Theophilus, bishop of Antioch; who, though he does not expressly mention the worship of Christ, yet he acknowledges him to be God of God,^q and says the world was made by him: "For when the Father said, 'Let us make man in our own image,' he spake this to no other but to his own Word, and his own Wisdom; that is, the Son and Holy Spirit." Whom he expressly styles by the name of "Trinity in the God-

^m Lucian. de Morte Peregrini, (tom. iv. p. 277, edit. Basil. 1619, 8vo.)
*Ἐπειδὴν ἅπασι παραβάντες, θεοὺς μὴν Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσονται, τὸν δ' ἀνισκαλο-
 πισμίῳ ἐκείνῳ σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιώσι.*

ⁿ Iren. lib. ii. c. lvii. Non invocationibus angelicis facit, nec incantationibus, nec aliqua prava curiositate, sed munde, et pure, et manifeste, orationes dirigens ad Dominum, qui omnia fecit; et nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi invocans, virtutes secundum utilitates hominum, sed non ad seductionem, perficit.

^o Constitut. lib. viii. c. vii. tot.

^p Book xiv. chap. v. sect. vii.

^q Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. p. 130, edit. Oxon. 1684, 8vo. (p. 100, c. ad Calc. Justin. Martyr. Paris. 1636.) *Θεὸς οὖν ὁ Λόγος καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ πνευμάτως.*

^r Ibid. lib. ii. p. 114, (p. 96, d. edit. Paris.) *Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· οὐκ ἄλλω δὲ τινι εἴρηκε, Ποιήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ Λόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ Σοφίᾳ.*

head;"* and says elsewhere,† "That God is to be worshipped, and nothing else besides him, who is the true God, the ordainer of kings; who may be honoured but not worshipped, because they are only men, and not God." From all which it is easy to infer, that Theophilus thought Christ the object of Divine worship, as the living and true God; and that it would be idolatry to give Divine worship to Christ, upon any other supposition, than that he is true God as well as man.

In the same age, Clemens Alexandrinus is an illustrious witness of this practice. For, in his exhortation to the Gentiles,‡ he styles him, "The living God that was then worshipped and adored." "Believe," says he, "O man, in him who is both man and God: believe, O man, in him who suffered death, and yet is adored as the living God." In the end of his *Pædagogus*, he himself addresses his prayers to the Son, jointly with the Father, in these words:§ "Be merciful to thy children, O Master, O Father, thou ruler of Israel; O Son and Father, who are both one, our Lord." And in the conclusion of the book, he has this doxology to the whole Trinity:¶ "Let us give thanks to the only Father and Son, to the Son and the Father, to the Son our Teacher and Master, with the Holy Spirit; one in all respects; in whom

* Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. p. 106, (p. 94, d.) Τύποι εἰσιν τῆς Τριάδος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ.

† Ibid. lib. i. p. 30, (Paris. 1742, p. 344.) Τοιγαροῦν μᾶλλον τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· Θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντι Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γίγνεται· ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, Διὰ τί οὐ προσκυνεῖς τὸν βασιλέα; ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τῇ νομίμῃ τιμῇ· Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τιταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν.

‡ Clemens. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 84, edit. Oxon. Πίστιουσιν, ἄνθρωποι, ἀνθρώπων καὶ Θεῷ· πίστευσιν, ἄνθρωποι, τῷ παρόντι, καὶ προσκυνουμένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι.

§ Ibid. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. c. xii. p. 311, edit. cit. "Ἰλαθὶ τοῖς σοῖς, παιδαγωγῇ, παιδίῳ, Πατρὶ, ἡνίοχῃ Ἰσραὴλ, Τῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, ἐν ἑμῶν, Κύριε.

¶ Ibid. p. ead. Εὐχαριστοῦντας αἰνεῖν, αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστοῦν, τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Τίῳ, Τίῳ καὶ Πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῇ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Τίῳ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνύματι παντὶ τῷ ἐνί· ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα· δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα· ἐν δὲ τὸ αἰ· οὐ μὴν πάντες· οὐ δόξα, αἰῶνις· πάντα τῷ ἁγαθῷ, πάντα τῷ καλῷ, πάντα τῷ σοφῷ· τῷ δικαίῳ τὰ πάντα· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.—Vid. Stromat. lib. vii. c. vii. p. 851. Σίβειν δὲ διὺν ἐγκλεινόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ Λόγον Σωτῆρά τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγμένον εἶναι πισθίνετι, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν Πατέρα, κ. τ. λ.

are all things; by whom all things are one; by whom is eternal existence; whose members we are; whose is the glory and the ages; who is the perfect good, the perfect beauty, all wise and all just: to whom be glory, both now and for ever. Amen."

Contemporary with Clemens, was Athenogenes the martyr, who suffered about the year 196. St. Basil says,^x "He composed a sacred hymn, setting forth the glory of the Holy Ghost." From whence we may collect, that it did the same for Christ as the Son of God. The learned Doctor Cave,^y by a little mistake of what St. Basil says, supposes Athenogenes to have been the author of those two ancient hymns, called the Morning and Evening Hymns, which the reader will find related at length hereafter,^z under the titles of the Great Doxology, 'Glory be to God on high,' &c., and the *Hymnus Lucernalis*. But it is plain, from St. Basil, that the hymn of Athenogenes was distinct from these. For he makes no mention of the Morning Hymn; and says expressly of the Evening Hymn, that he knew not who was the author of it. However, it was a hymn of ancient use in the Church, addressed immediately to Christ, and containing this Doxology to the whole Trinity, 'ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, 'We laud the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of God.' Which St. Basil urges, as we do here, as a distinct testimony from that of Athenogenes, and as a further instance of the Church's ancient practice in giving Divine honour and worship, not only to the Father, but to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

^x Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. tom. ii. p. 359, d. (Paris. ii. p. 220.) "Ὅστις μὲν ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰπὼν οὐκ ἔχομεν ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἀφίησι τὴν φωνὴν, καὶ οὐδὲν πάποτε ἀσέβην νομίστησαν εἰ λέγοντες Αἰνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ τὸν ὕμνον Ἀθηνογένους ἴγων, ὃν ᾄσκει τι ἄλλο ἐκτέλειον, τοῦς συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ καταλείπειν, ἑρμῶν ἦδη πρὸς τὴν διὰ πυρὸς τελευσίαν, οἷδε καὶ τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων γνώμην, ὥτως εἶχει περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

^y Cave, Hist. Litt. vol. i. p. 60, edit. Lond. (p. 44, edit. Genév.) Athenogenes, martyr celeberrimus, Clementi Alexandrino σύγχρονος, fuisse et igne martyrrium obiisse videtur. Scripsit hymnum matutinum, qui sic incipit Δόξα ἡν ὀψίστοις Θεῷ, et hymnum vespertinum incipientem, Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης, quem ad martyrrium festinantem, tamquam valedictionis munus, discipulis suis reliquiasse eum tradit Sanctus Basilius de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix.

^z See chap. x. sect. ix. and chap. xi. sect. v.

About the same time, suffered Andronicus the martyr : in the acts of whose passion it is objected to him by the heathen judge,^a “That Christ, whom he invocated and worshipped, was a man that had suffered under the government of Pontius Pilate, and that the acts of his passion were then extant.” Their worship of Christ was so well known to the heathens, that at every turn, we see, it was objected to them. And their answer was always the same, “That they worshipped him indeed ; but not as a mere man, but God, the Son of God by nature, and of the same substance with the Father.” Which is the answer that Tertullian (who is the last writer of the second age) makes to this objection. For whereas it was objected,^b “That they were worshippers of a man, whom all the world knew to be a man, and the Jews had condemned as a man ;” to this he answers,^c not by denying that they worshipped him, but by explaining the reasons and foundation of their worship, “Because they knew him to be the true natural Son of God, by a spiritual generation, and therefore called God and the Son of God, because he was of one and the same essence, or substance. For God was a Spirit ; and the Son was Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as Light is of Light. In that manner he was begotten of God, so as to be God and the Son of God, and they were both one.” In another place, dissuading Christian women from marrying with unbelievers, among other arguments, he uses this,^d “That in such a family, there could be no mention of God, no invocation of Christ, no cherishing of faith by their joint reading of the Scripture.” At the

^a Acta Andronici, ap. Baron. an. 290, n. xxvi. Non scis, quem invocas Christum, hominem quemdam factum, sub custodia Pontii Pilati punitum ; cujus exstant Acta passionis ?

^b Tertul. Apol. c. xxi. (Paris. 1674, p. 19.) Sed et vulgus jam scit Christum, ut aliquem hominum, qualem Judæi judicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit.

^c Ibid. Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco Filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ : nam et Deus Spiritus . . . Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum . . . ita et quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei Filius, et unus ambo.

^d Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. vi. Quid maritus suus illi, vel marito quid illa cantabit ? Audiat sane, audiat aliquid de scena, de taberna, de ganea. Quæ Dei mentio ? quæ Christi invocatio ? ubi fomenta fidei de scripturarum interjectione ?

same time, he tells us,* “A Christian could pray to no other but the eternal, the living, and true God : he could not ask such things, as they were wont to ask in prayer, of any other but him, from whom he knew he could obtain them, and who alone was able to give them.” Now this had been absurd and ridiculous arguing to the heathens, had not Christians believed Christ to be the eternal, living, and true God. Their arguments might easily have been retorted, and charged with contradiction ; and they would have stood self-condemned by their own practice, if, whilst they were arguing against the heathen idols upon this foot, that nothing was to be worshipped but the eternal, living, and true God, they themselves had worshipped one who fell short of that character. Therefore, we must conclude, that as it is plain, from the foregoing testimonies, that Christians did give Divine worship to Christ in this age, so they did it only upon this supposition, That he was the eternal, living, and true God, as the eternal Son of the eternal Father ; and that however they differed, as far as it was necessary for a Father and Son to be distinct, yet they were but one Creator, and one God.

SECT. III.—*Proofs of the Worship of Christ in the Third Century.*

We are now come to the third century, where we have first an illustrious testimony for the worship of Christ, as God, in the Fragments of Caius, a Roman presbyter, preserved by Eusebius, out of his book called the Labyrinth, written against Artemon, one of the first that appeared against the divinity of our Saviour. Here, among many other things, shewing the novelty of that heresy, he observes,[†] “There were anciently many psalms and hymns composed by the brethren, and transcribed by the faithful, setting

* Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum ; Deum verum, Deum vivum, quem et ipsi imperatores proprium sibi præter cæteros malunt. . . . Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo scio me consequuturum, quoniam et ipse est, qui solus præstat ; et ego sum cui impetrare debetur ; &c.

† Euseb. lib. v. c. xxviii. Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν, ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφίσαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι διολογούντες.

forth the praises of Christ, as the Word of God, and ascribing divinity to him." And that such sorts of hymns were used in the service of the Church, we learn from another passage in the same Eusebius, taken out of the Council of Antioch against Paulus Samosatensis, the heretical bishop of Antioch, about the middle of this century. For there he^s is charged "as giving orders to forbid the use of such psalms or hymns as were used to be sung in the Church to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, under pretence that they were only the novel compositions of late and modern authors: whilst, in the meantime, he suborned women, on the great day of the Lord's Passion (or the Resurrection, for *Pascha* will signify both), to sing hymns composed to his own honour; where, among other things, he that would not allow Christ any other but an earthly original, was not ashamed to hear himself blasphemously extolled as an angel come down from heaven; which, as those holy fathers observe, was enough to make a hearer tremble." And for this insolent attempt against the divinity and worship of Christ, that heretical bishop was anathematized and deposed.

A little before this time, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, composed psalms and hymns for the use of the Church, which are commended by Dionysius,^b bishop of Alexandria, as a useful work for the edification of the brethren: and, probably, they might be some of those hymns which Paulus Samosatensis discarded as novel inventions of modern authors, though hymns of the like nature had been in use from the first foundation of the Church. Dionysius of Alexandria was one of those who opposed the practice of Paulus Samosatensis, by his Letters, though he was not present in the Council; and he is commended by St. Basil,ⁱ

^s Conc. Antioch. Epist. Synodic. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xx. *Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὴ νωτίστους καὶ νωτίτερον ἀνδρῶν συγγεγμένους· εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μίση τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψαλμοῖν γυναῖκες παρασκευάζων, ὧν καὶ ἀκούσας ἂν τις φεῖται, κ. τ. λ.*

^b Dionys. de Promiss. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxiv. (Cant. p. 350.) *Ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδίδωμαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νίπαστα, τῆς τε πίστεως καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διατριβῆς· καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμοῦς, ἥ μίχρη νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐνθυμοῦνται.*

ⁱ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. *Τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Πατρὶ, καὶ Τῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ*

as one that always used this form of doxology : "To God the Father, and the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be glory and dominion, now and for ever, world without end. Amen." But we have more pregnant testimonies from the works of Origen, in the beginning of this century. In his fifth book against Celsus, he tells us,^j "That they could not lawfully worship angels, but they might and did worship the Son of God. All prayers (says he), and supplications, and intercessions, and thanksgivings, are to be sent up to God the Lord of all, by the High-Priest who is above all angels, being the living Word and God. And we can also pray to the Word himself, and make intercessions to him, and give thanks, and make supplications to him, if we rightly understand how prayer is to be taken in propriety of speech, or with some restriction." He means, that "prayers, offered to the Son of God, considered as a Son, redound to the Father, as the fountain of the Deity:" as Bishop Bull^k judiciously explains, and vindicates this passage from the unjust exceptions which Huetius makes against it. As he does also another passage in the eighth book, where Origen more largely asserts the worship of Christ against the common objection renewed by Celsus, That the Christians worshipped one that had but lately appeared in the world. Celsus had thus formed the objection with all the art and force he was able : "If the Christians

ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Ἀμήν.

^j Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. v. p. 233, (Cant. 1677.) Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἑντεύξην, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπιμπτόιον τῷ ἱπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἱπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἱμψύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ διησόμεθα διὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ἰντυξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν, καὶ προσευξόμεθα δι, ἰὰν δυνάμεθα κατακοῦν τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρησέως ἀγγέλους γὰρ κάλίσαι . . . οὐκ εὐλογον.

^k Bull. Defens. Fid. Nicen. sect. ii. c. ix. n. xv. p. 199, edit. Oxon. 1685, 4to. (p. 121, in Operib. Lond. 1703.) Multis in locis clare fatetur Origenes, ipsi (Filio) propter inenarrabili præstantia præcellentem divinitatem, quam cum Patre communem habet, eundem plane Divinum cultum, quem Patri exhibemus, omnino deberi : hoc est, oportere nos mente et conceptione nostra (qua sola proprie Deum colimus) easdem Divinæ naturæ perfectiones omnes Filio adscribere, quas Patri tribuimus. Sin Filium intueamur relate, qua Filius est, et ex Deo Patre trahit originem, tum rursus certum est, cultum et venerationem omnem, quem ipsi deferimus, ad Patrem redundare, in ipsumque, ut πηγὴν Διότητος, ultimo referri.

(says he)¹ worshipped no other but one God, their arguments might be of some weight and force against others: but now they give immense honour and worship to this new upstart, who so lately made his appearance in the world, and yet think they commit no offence against God, though they give

¹ Origen. cont. Celsus, lib. viii. p. 385. Celsi verba: Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδὲνα ἄλλον ἰεράειν οὗτοι, πλὴν ἕνα Θεόν, ἦν ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτιμῆς (al. ἀγνήτης) λόγος· νυνὶ δὲ τὸν ἱναγχῶς φανίντα τοῦτον ὑποθεσκύουσιν, καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν πλεμμελιῶν νομίζουσι περὶ τὸν Θεόν, εἰ καὶ ὑπέρβηται αὐτοῦ θιεραινομήσεται.— Responsio Origenis: Δικτίον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὅτι, εἴπερ νινὴκει ὁ Κίλσος τὸ, 'Εγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἴσμεν' καὶ τὸ ἐν εὐχῇ ἱερημένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Τίτου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ, 'Ὡς ἰγὼ καὶ εὐ ἕν ἴσμεν' οὐκ ἂν ᾔετο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλων θιεραινομήν παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν. 'Ὁ γὰρ Πατὴρ, φησὶν, ἐν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ. Εἰ δὲ τις ἐκ τούτων περὶσσευθήσεται, μὴ πῃ αὐτομολοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀναίρουντας δύο εἶναι ὑποστάσεις, Πατέρα καὶ Τιδόν, ἐπιστησάτω τῷ, 'Ἦν δὲ πάντων τῶν πιστευσάντων ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία, ἵνα θιερῇ τὸ, 'Εγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἴσμεν' ἵνα οὖν Θεόν, ὡς ἀποδιδώκαμεν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Τιδόν θιεραινομήν καὶ μίνοι ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτιμῆς λόγος' καὶ οὐ τὸν ἱναγχῶς γε φανίντα, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑποθεσκύουσιν. Αὐτῷ γὰρ πειθόμενα τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων, Πρὶν Ἀβραάμ γενέσθαι, ἰγὼ εἶμι' καὶ λίγοντι, 'Εγὼ εἶμι ἡ ἀληθία' καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τις ἡμῶν ἴσται ἀνδράποδοι, ὡς οἶσθαι, ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐσία πρὸ τῶν χρόνων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐμφανείας οὐκ ἦν. Θεσκύουσιν οὖν τὸν Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν Τιδόν τὴν ἀλήθειαν (al. τῆς ἀληθείας) ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐμονοίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος· ὡς τὸν ἱερακότα τὸν Τιδόν (ὄντα ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτηριστῆς τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ) ἱερακίνας ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐκόντι τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Θεόν. Εἴτ' οἶται, ἐκ τοῦ θιεραινομήν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Τιδόν αὐτοῦ, ἀκολουθεῖν (ἡμῶν) τὸ καὶ κατ' ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπέρβηται αὐτοῦ θιεραινομήν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἰνόμι τοὺς ἀληθῶς ὑπέρβηται τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τὸν μοιγενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Γαβριήλ, καὶ τὸν Μιχαήλ, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, καὶ τούτους ἱερακίνας θιεραινομήν ἴσως ἂν τὸ περὶ τοῦ θιεραινομήν αὐτοῦ σημαίνουσιν ἐκκαθήραντες, καὶ τῶν τοῦ θιεραινομήντος πράξεις, εἴπομεν ἂν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὡς περὶ ἐκκαθούτων διαλεγόμενοι, ἀπὲρ ἐκκαθούμεν περὶ αὐτῶν νοήσας νυνὶ δὲ ὑπέρβηται νομίζων τοὺς προσκυνουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἰθιῶν δαίμονας, οὐχ ὑπάγει ἡμᾶς ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ περὶ τοῦ θιεραινομήν τοὺς τοιούτους, οὐς ὑπέρβηται τοῦ ποιεῖν ὁ λόγος ἀποδίδουσι, καὶ ἐκκαθούμεν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, ἀφιστάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐς ἂν δύνανται· ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρβηται οὖν, οὐς οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνθρωποι εἰδουσι, πάντας εἰδουσι, καὶ θιεραινομήν ἐκκαθούμεν (οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ὑπέρβηται αὐτοὺς διδασκόντες εἶναι τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεοῦ, ἐκκαθούμεν εἶναι δαίμονας) ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕνα Θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα Τιδόν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Λόγον, καὶ ἐκόντα, τᾶς πᾶσι τὸ δυνάσκειν ἡμῶν ἐκκαθούμεν εἰδουσι, προσάγοντες τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ἔλων τὰς εὐχάς, διὰ τοῦ μοιγενεῖς αὐτοῦ· ὃ πρῶτον προσφύρομεν αὐτάς, ἀκούοντες αὐτὸν, ἱερακίνας ὄντα [περὶ] τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, προσαναγνῖν ὡς ἀρχιεραὶ καὶ ἐκκαθούμεν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τὰς ἐκκαθούμεν ἡμῶν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ· περὶ τὸν Θεόν οὖν ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν, διὰ τοῦ ταύτην βιβαιοῦντος ἐν ἡμῶν Τίτῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐδὲμίαν ἡμῶν ἐκκαθούμεν ἐκκαθούμεν περὶ τὸν Τιδόν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Κίλσος· καὶ εἰδόμενι γε τὸν Πατέρα, θιεραινομήν αὐτοῦ τὸν Τιδόν, Λόγον, καὶ Σοφίαν, καὶ Ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Δικαιοσύνην, καὶ πάντα, ἀπὲρ εἶναι μεμαθήκαμεν τὸν Τιδόν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν γινεσθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου Πατρός.

Divine worship to his servant.” To this Origen replies, not by dissembling, or denying, or diminishing, the worship of Christ, but by asserting it upon such grounds and principles, as shew that Father and Son can be but one God; and that to worship two persons under such relation and economy of real Father and Son, cannot be to worship two Gods. “If Celsus (says he) had understood the meaning of this, ‘I and the Father are one;’ or what the Son of God says in his prayer, ‘As I and thou are one;’ he would never have imagined that we worship any but the God who is over all. For he saith, ‘The Father is in me, and I in the Father.’ But that no one may think that, in saying this, we run over to those who deny the Father and Son to be two hypostases, or persons,” meaning the Sabellians, “let him consider that which is said, ‘All they that believed, were of one heart and one soul,’ that he may understand this, ‘I and the Father are one.’ We therefore worship one God, as I have shewed, the Father and the Son; and our reasoning stands still in full force against others; neither do we give Divine honour to an upstart being, as if he had no existence before. For we believe him, when he says, ‘Before Abraham was, I am;’ and again, ‘I am the Truth.’ Neither is any of us of so mean and servile an understanding, as to imagine that the substance of truth had not a being before the appearance of Christ in the flesh. Therefore we worship the Father of Truth, and the Son, who is the Truth, two things in personal subsistence, but one in agreement, and consent, and identity of will. *Ὅντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιότητι, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος*: so that whoever sees the Son, who is the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, sees God in him, as being the true image of God. Now Celsus imagines, that because, together with God, we worship his Son, it follows, upon our own principles, that we may not only worship God, but his ministers and servants. And, indeed, if he meant the true servants of God, after his only-begotten Son, such as Michael and Gabriel, and the rest of the angels and archangels, and stood up for the worship of these; perhaps, taking worship, and the acts of the worship-

pers, in a sound and qualified sense," he means the common respect of love and honour, which is due to good angels, "we might say something proper upon this head. But now when he understands by the servants of God, only the devils whom the Gentiles worship, he does not oblige us, by any just consequence, to worship such as these, whom the Scripture assures us to be only servants of the wicked one, the prince of this world, and the author of the apostasy from God. We refuse to worship all such, as knowing them to be no servants of God: for had they been servants, we should not have called them devils; but we worship one God, and his only Son, and Word, and Image, with supplications and prayers to the utmost of our power, offering our prayers to God over all, by his only-begotten Son; to whom we first present them, beseeching him, who is the propitiation for our sins, as our high-priest, to offer our prayers, and sacrifices, and intercessions, to God the Lord of all things. Therefore, our faith relies only upon God, by his Son who confirms it in us. And, therefore, Celsus has no reason or colour for his charge of sedition, or departing from God upon the account of his Son: for we worship the Father, whilst we admire and adore the Son, who is his Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, and whatever else we are taught to believe of the Son of God, begotten of such a Father."

I have recited this passage at length, not only because it is such a full proof of the matter of fact, that the Christians did give Divine honour and worship to the Son; but also because it shews us upon what principle and foundation they did it; viz. as being the true Son of God, and one God with the Father. For though Huetius has excepted against some words in this passage, as derogatory to the Son; and the modern Arians have abused it to patronize their heresy; and the Romanists would fain draw it into a proof for the worship of angels; yet I dare be bold to say, there is not a tittle in it, when rightly understood, to countenance any of their suggestions; but as it is a solid proof of the matter of fact, so it is an illustrious evidence of Origen's belief, and clear explication of the Unity of the Godhead. For, except-

ing that sort of unity, which Origen and all Catholic writers reject as inconsistent with a real Trinity; that is, the unity of hypostases, or persons, which none but Sabellians and their followers maintain; he asserts all other kinds of unity, in opposition to Arians, who denied the unity of essence or nature, and made the Son to be of a different substance from the Father, as a created being; in opposition to the Marcionites, and such other heretics as maintained contrary principles, one good and another evil, in the Godhead; in opposition to the Tritheites, who brought in the proper doctrine of Three Gods, by denying the subordination and relation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and asserting three co-ordinate and independent principles, and baptizing in the name of three such *ἀναρχοι, ἀναίτιοι, and ἀγέννητοι* (as the Apostolical Canons call them),^m ‘three unoriginated and unbegotten principles, wholly independent of one another;’ in opposition to Hieracas and the Triformians, who absurdly divided the Trinity into three parts of one whole; and, finally, in opposition to all that swarm of heretics, who distinguished, with the Cerdonians, between the God of justice, and the God of goodness, styling the one the God of the law and the prophets; and the other, the Father of Christ and God of the Gospel. Origen, I say, in opposition to all these, asserts every sort of unity, except the Jewish and Sabellian notion of unity, which confines the Divine nature to one person. For, in saying first that the Son is the express and true image of God the Father, he asserts the identity of nature against Arius; and so could not believe him to be a creature of a different substance or nature, but as a true Son, of the same essence with his Father, and equal to him in all infinite and Divine perfections. 2. In saying that he was a Son, deriving his original from the Father, and not another independent being, he maintains the unity of principle, and reserves to the Father the privilege of being the fountain of the Deity; and, consequently, opposes the heresy of the Tritheites, who maintain three co-ordinate and inde-

^m Can. Apostol. c. xlix. *Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν, μὴ βαπτίσῃ εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ εἰς τρεῖς Ἀνάρχους, καὶ εἰς τρεῖς Υἱούς, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς-Παρακλήτους, καθαιρείσθω.*

pendent principles, and destroy the monarchy, and make three Creators, instead of one, by destroying the due subordination and relation of the Son to the Father. 3. In saying that the Father and Son are one in agreement, and consent, and identity of will, he asserts the unity of operation, creation, and government: which destroys the heresy of those who maintained contrary principles in the Godhead. 4. In saying that the Son was equal to the Father in all infinite perfections, he rejects the absurdity of those who dreamed of three parts in the Divine nature. 5. In asserting Christ to be the Son of the Creator and God of the Old Testament, he maintains the unity of Providence; and refutes the heresy of those who maintained that the Creator and God of the Old Testament was a different God from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. So that he maintains all sorts of Unity, except personal Unity, which cannot consist with a real Trinity in the Godhead. And, upon this foot, he answers the objection of Celsus, who charged the Christians with polytheism for giving Divine honour to Jesus Christ.

Having made this short and useful digression upon this celebrated passage of Origen, to vindicate it from the abuses of the modern Arians; I now return to the history of fact, to shew that Divine worship was given to Christ as the Son of God. And of this there is further evidence in Origen: for this is not the only place in which he is put to vindicate the worship of Christ from the charge of polytheism, which is frequently repeated by Celsus. In the third book, Celsus objects,ⁿ “That they worshipped one who was apprehended and put to death; in which respect, they were no better than the Getæ, who worshipped Zamolxis; and the Cilicians, Mopsus; and the Acarnanes, Amphiloehus; and the Thebans, Amphiaræus; and the Lebadians, Trophonius.” In replying

ⁿ Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. iii. p. 131. Μιστὰ ταῦτα παραπλησίον ἡμῶς οἰσται πεποιηκίναί, τὸν (ὃς φησιν ὁ Κίλλος) ἄλόντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα θρησκυύοντα, τοῖς Γίταις οἰέουσι τὸν Ζάμολξιν, καὶ Κίλιξ τὸν Μόψον, καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσι τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον, καὶ Θεβαίῳις τὸν Ἀμφιάρειον, καὶ Λιβαδίῳις τὸν Τροφώνιον. . . . τιμὴν μὲν εὐχῶν, ὡς προσάγομεν αὐτῷ· ὡς δὲ μεταξὺ ὄντος τῆς τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν πάντων φύσεως· καὶ φέροντος μὲν ἡμῖν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργισίας, διακομίζοντος δ' ἡμῶν τρόπον ἀρχιερέως τὰς εὐχὰς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν.

to which, Origen says, "They offered their prayers to Christ, as Mediator between God and men, who conferred the blessings of the Father upon men, and presented their prayers, as High-Priest, to the God over all." Not long after, Celsus repeats the charge again,^o "That they who ridiculed the heathens for worshipping Jupiter, whose sepulchre the Cretans could shew, did themselves worship one that was laid in the grave." In the seventh book, he renews the impeachment three times ;^p "Bidding the Christians not be so ridiculous as to revile the heathen gods as idols, whilst they worshipped a God of their own more wretched than any idol, and not so much as an idol, for that he was truly dead." "If they had a mind to innovate in worshipping a dead man,^q they might, with more reason (he thinks), have chosen Hercules, or Æsculapius, or Orpheus, or Anaxarchus, or Epicetetus, or Sibylla, rather than have made a god of one who lived an infamous life, and died a miserable death. Yea, they might have chosen among their own prophets, Jonas under the gourd, or Daniel in the lions' den, as more worthy of this honour." "He whom they worshipped (he cries again),^r

^o Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. iii. p. 136. Μισὰ ταῦτα λίγου περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι καταγιλῶμεν τῶν προσκυνοῦντων τὸν Δία, ἱππὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δίκυντας καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον εἰσόμεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, κ. τ. λ.

^p Cels. lib. vii. p. 358. "Ἰνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἦτι καταγίλαστοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, τοὺς διικνουμένους Διοὺς, ὡς εἶδωλα βλασφημοῦντις· τὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶδωλον ἀθλιώτερον, καὶ μηδὲ εἶδωλον ἔστι, ἀλλ' ὄντως νεκρὸν, εἰσόντις.

^q Ibid. pp. 367, 368. Πότερ' ὃ ἦν ὑμῖν [al. ἡμῖν] ἄμεινον, ἱππιδῇ γι καυνοτομῆσαι τι ἱπιθυμῶσαι, περὶ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν γυναικῶς ἀποθανόντων, καὶ Διὸς μῦθον δέχασθαι δυναμῶν, σκουδάσαι; φέρι, εἰ μὴ ἥρισκιν Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς, καὶ οἱ πάλοι διδοξασμένοι, Ὁρφία εἴχισι, ἄνδρα ὁμολογουμένως ὁσίῃ χηρσαμένον πνιύματι, καὶ αὐτὸν βιαίως ἀποθανόντα· ἄλλ' ἴσως ὕπ' ἄλλον προέλπηται. Ἀνᾶξερχου γούν, ὃς εἰς ὄλμον ἐμβληθεὶς, καὶ παρανομώτατα συντερίζομενος, εὖ μάλα κατιφρόνι τῆς κολάσεως, λίγων, πτίσει, πτίσει τὸν Ἀναξέρχου θύλοπον, αὐτὸν γὰρ οὐ πτίσους· Διὸς τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς Πνιύματος ἡ φωνή· ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτ' ὁθᾶσαντί τις ἡκολούθησεν φυσικαί. οὐκ αὖν Ἐπίκτετος; ὃς, τοῦ δισπύτου στριβλῶντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σκέλος, ὑπομυδῶν ἀνικπλήκτως ἰλιγι, Κατάσσει· καὶ κατᾶξαντος, Οὐκ ἔλιγον, ἔπιπν, ὅτι κατᾶξιν; τί τοιοῦτον ὁ ὑμῖν τινος; Θεὸς κολαζόμενος ἐφθίγξατο; ὑμῖς δὲ πᾶν Σέκυλλον, ᾧ χρωῖνται τινες ὑμῶν, ἐκόντως ἂν μάλλον προιστήσασθε ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖδα· νῦν δὲ περιγυγᾶφιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλὰ καὶ βλάβοςμα ἐκπῇ δύνασθαι· τὸν δὲ βίῃ μὲν ἐπὶ ἡγήτοσάσθ, θανάτῃ δὲ εἰσίστασθ χηρσαμένοι, Θεὸν τίθεισθ πόσῃ τοῦτ' ἐπιστηδύοις; ἦν ὑμῖν Ἰωνᾶς ἱππὶ τῇ κολοκύντῃ, ἢ Δανιὴλ ὁ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων, ἢ οἱ τῶνδε ἔτι τι κατωδίστιροι;

^r Ibid. p. 376, ap. Origen. Αὐτοὶ διελίγχονται σαφῶς οὐ Θεὸν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δαίμονας, ἀλλὰ νεκρὸν εἰσόντις.

is no demon, but a dead man." Thus from the charges of Celsus, and Origen's replies, we may collect what worship was given to Christ as the Son of God, and also as Mediator between God and men.

It is further observable, that Origen, in his first book,* speaking of the Wise men who came to worship Christ, by the leading of a star, says, "They offered gifts to him suited to his different qualities, who was compounded, as one might say, of God and mortal man: they therefore presented him with gold, as a king; with myrrh, as a mortal man that should die; and with frankincense, as a God." And Origen himself, in his other works, frequently speaks of his own prayers offered to Christ. In one of his Homilies, he addresses him in these words:† "O, Lord Jesus, grant that I may be found worthy to have some monument of me in thy tabernacle. I could wish to offer gold, or silver, or precious stones, with the princes of the people: but because these things are above me, let me at least be thought worthy to have goat's hair in the tabernacle of God, only that I may not in all things be found empty and unfruitful." In another homily,‡ "We must pray to the Lord Jesus, and the Holy Spirit, that he would take away that mist and darkness, which is contracted by the filth of our sins, and dims the

* Cels. lib. i. p. 46. *ἔχροντες μὲν δῶρα, ἃ (ἢ οὕτως ἐνομάσω) συνθέντα τινὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου θνητοῦ προσήνεγκαν σύμβολα μὲν, ὡς βασιλεῖ τὸν χρυσόν, ὡς δὲ τεθνηξομένῳ τὴν σμύρναν, ὡς δὲ Θεῷ τὸν λίβανον.*

† Origen. Hom. xiii. in Exod. xxv. tom. i. p. 102, edit. Basil. 1571, (p. 63, b. edit. Paris. 1604.) Domine Jesu, præsta mihi, ut aliquid monumenti habere merear in tabernaculo tuo. Ego optarem (si fieri posset) esse aliquid meum in illo auro, ex quo propitiatorium fabricatur, vel ex quo arca contegitur, vel ex quo candelabrum fit luminis et lucernæ. Aut si aurum non habeo, argentum saltem aliquid inveniar offerre, quod proficiat in columnas, vel in bases earum. Aut certe vel æris aliquid habere merear in tabernaculo, unde circuli fiant, et cetera, quæ sermo divinus describit. Utinam mihi esset possibile, unum esse ex principibus, et offerre gemmas ad ornamentum pontificis humeralis et logii. Sed quia hæc supra me sunt, certe vel pilos caprorum habere merear in tabernaculo Dei, tantum ne in omnibus jejunos et infæcundus inveniar. (Paris. 1733, ii. 176.)

‡ Ibid. Hom. i. in Levitic. p. 106, edit. Basil. (p. 64, m. edit. Paris.) Ipse nobis Dominus, ipse Sanctus Spiritus deprecandus est, ut omnem nebulam, omnemque caliginem, quæ peccatorum sordibus concreta visum nostri cordis obscurat, auferre dignetur, &c.

sight of our souls." And again,^v "I must pray to the Lord Jesus, that when I seek, he would grant me to find; and open to me when I knock." And in another homily,^w "Let us pray from our hearts to the Word of God, who is the only-begotten of the Father, that reveals him to whom he will, that he would vouchsafe to reveal these things unto us." And he has many the like prayers in his other discourses.^x But especially that passage in his comment on the Epistle to the Romans is most remarkable, where he proves Christ to be God, from his being called upon in prayer: 'The apostle,' he says, "in those words (1 Cor. i. 2), 'With all that call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,' declares him to be God, whose name was called upon. And if to call upon the name of the Lord, and to adore God, be one and the self-same thing; then as Christ is called upon, so is he to be adored: And as we offer to God the Father, first of all, prayers, so must we also to the Lord Jesus Christ; and as we offer supplications to the Father, so do we also to the Son; and as we

^v Ibid. Hom. v. in Levitic. p. 126, edit. Basil. (p. 78, edit. Paris.) *Dominum meum Jesum invocare me oportet; ut quarentem me faciat invenire, et pulsanti aperiat.*

^w Origen. Hom. xxvi. in Numer. p. 271, (p. 171, c. edit. Paris.) *Nos oremus ex corde Verbum Dei, qui est unigenitus ejus, et qui revelat Patrem quibus vult, ut et nobis hæc revelare dignetur.*

^x Ibid. Hom. iii. in Ezech. p. 627, edit. Basil. (p. 396, g. edit. Paris.) *Præsta mihi, Christe, ut disrumpam cervicalia in animarum consuta luxuriam.* — Id. tom. xxxii. in Joan. p. 404, edit. Basil. (p. 260, k. edit. Paris.) *Utinam, quum nunc veluti secundam et trigesimam stationem, in his quæ dicentur, ingredi conemur, nobis columna illa lucidæ nubis Jesu, quæ nos præcedat, quum opus erit, rursusque stet, quum oportebit, &c.*

^y Ibid. Comment. in Rom. x. lib. viii. p. 587, edit. Basil. (p. 382, k. l. edit. Paris.) *Apostolus, in principio epistolæ, quam ad Corinthios scribit, ubi dicit, 'Cum omnibus, qui invocant nomen Domini Jesu Christi, in omni loco ipsorum et nostro,' eum, cujus nomen invocatur, Dominum Jesum Christum esse pronuntiat. Si ergo et Enos, et Moyses, et Aaron, et Samuel, 'invocabant Dominum, et ipse exaudiebat eos,' sine dubio Christum Jesum Dominum invocabant: et si invocare nomen Domini, et orare Deum, unum atque idem est, sicut invocatur Deus, invocandus est Christus; et sicut oratur Deus, ita et orandus est et Christus; et sicut offerimus Deo Patri primo omnium orationes, ita et Domino Jesu Christo: et sicut offerimus postulationes Patri, ita offerimus postulationes et Filio; et sicut offerimus gratiarum actiones Deo, ita et gratias offerimus Salvatori. Unum namque utrique honorem deferendum, id est, Patri, et Filio, divinus edocet sermo, quum dicit, 'Ut omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem.'*

offer thanksgiving to God, so do we offer thanksgivings to our Saviour. For the Holy Scripture teaches us that the same honour is to be given to both; that is, to God the Father and the Son, when it says, 'That they may honour the Son, as they honour the Father.'

Not long after Origen, lived Novatian at Rome, and Cyprian at Carthage; who both speak of the prayers of the Church, as offered up to Christ, together with the Father. Novatian makes it an argument of his divinity,^a "That he is present in all places to them that call upon him; which belongs not to the nature of man, but God." And he argues, further, from the Church's praying to him as Mediator; "which kind of prayers would be of no use were he a mere man: and from our obligations to fix our hope on him, which would be a curse rather than a blessing, if he were not God, as well as man. For 'cursed is the hope that is placed only in man.'" St. Cyprian, in like manner, speaks of his being worshipped in many places. In his book of the Advantage of Patience, he styles him,^a "The Lord God of Hosts, the God of the Christians." And particularly tells us,^b "That God the Father has commanded his Son to be worshipped; and, in regard to that command, the apostle Paul says, 'That God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name; that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.'" And, in the Revelations, when St. John would have worshipped the angel, the angel opposed it, and said, "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren:

^a Novat. de Trinit. c. xiv. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocatus? quum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit. Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur? quum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur. Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur spes in illum ponitur? quum spes in homine maledicta referatur.

^a Cyprian. de Bono Pat. p. 220, (p. 151, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Dominus Deus virtutum prodibit et comminuet bellum. . . . Hic est Deus noster, id est, non omnium, sed fidelium et credentium Deus, qui quum in secundo adventu manifestus venerit, non silebit: nam quum in humilitate prius fuerit occultus, veniet in potestate manifestus.

^b Ibid. sub fin. p. 151. Qualis Dominus Jesus, et quanta patientia ejus, ut qui in cælis adoratur, nec dum vindicetur in terris! Hujus patientiam, fratres dilectissimi, in persecutionibus et passionibus nostris cogitemus.

worship the Lord Jesus." So Cyprian reads it, *Jesum Dominum adora*. And he uses this as an argument to persuade men to patience, "That the Lord Jesus, who is worshipped in heaven, bears with many indignities on earth, and does not avenge himself till his second coming, in glory." Again, in one of his epistles,^c he speaks "of their offering prayers to him as Mediator first, and then by him to God the Father; and that upon this double foundation, That he was their advocate and intercessor, and also the Lord and their God. In another place, writing to Lucius, bishop of Rome, who had been a confessor for Christ, he tells him,^d "They would not cease, in their sacrifices and prayers, to give thanks for him to God the Father, and their Lord Jesus Christ his Son, and also make supplications and prayers for him, that he, who was the author of all perfection, would keep and consummate in him the glorious crown of his confession." Not long after Cyprian, Arnobius wrote in vindication of the Christian worship; and here again he brings in the heathens forming their usual charge against the worship of Christ. "Our gods," say they,^e "are not displeased with you for worshipping the Almighty God; but that ye make a God of one that was born a man, and put to death by the punishment of the cross (an infamous punishment, only inflicted on vile men); and because ye believe him to be yet alive, and make daily supplications unto him." To this he answers, first, upon their own principles, "That

^c Cyprian. Ep. viii. al. xi. p. 25, (p. 186, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) *Primo, ipsum Dominum rogare, tum deinde per ipsum Deo Patri satisfacere debemus . . . habemus advocatum et deprecatorem pro peccatis nostris Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum.*

^d Ibid. Ep. lviii. al. lxi. p. 145, (p. 273, cit. edit.) Oxon. p. 144. *Vicarias pro nobis ego et Collegæ et fraternitas omnis has ad vos litteras mittimus, frater carissime, et representantes vobis per epistolam gaudium nostrum, fida obsequia caritatis expromimus; hic quoque in sacrificiis atque in orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo Patri, et Christo Filio ejus, Domino nostro, gratias agere, et orare pariter ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat et perficiat in vobis confessionis vestræ gloriosam coronam.*

^e Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. i. p. 30, edit. Hanov. 1603, 8vo. (p. 12, edit. Hamburg. 1610, fol.) *Sed non idcirco Dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum: sed quod hominem natum, et (quod personis infame est vilibus) crucis supplicio interemptum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis.*

admitting it were so, that Christ were only a man, yet he might, with more reason, deserve to be worshipped for his good deeds to mankind, than either their Bacchus, or Ceres, or Æsculapius, or Minerva, or Triptolemus, or Hercules; because there was no comparison between their actions and his for the benefit of the world. But, secondly, he answers more closely upon true Christian principles,^f "That the reason of their worshipping Christ was indeed their certain knowledge that he was the true God, whom they could not but worship and honour as the head of their body. And though an angry heathen would rave at his being called God, yet they must answer plainly that he was God; and God, too, of the interior powers of the soul; that is, 'The searcher of the hearts and reins,' which is the peculiar property of God." The same objection is once more proposed and answered by Lactantius:^g "They are wont," says he, "to object to us his passion, by way of reproach, that we worship a man, and one that was put to a notorious death by men." In replying to which, after having largely set forth the reasons of his incarnation and sufferings, he at last answers that part of the objection which concerns their worshipping him, and pleads, that they worshipped him as one God with the Father. "For," says he,^h "when we speak of God the Father, and God the Son, we do not speak of divers natures, or separate the one from the other; for neither can he be a Father without a Son, nor the Son be

^f Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. i. p. 36, (p. 14, fin.) Quum Deus sit re certa, et sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli, et præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari? Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus, et percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus respondebimus, et interiorum potentiarum Deus: et quod magis infidos acerbissimis doloribus torqueat, rei maximæ causa a summo rege ad nos missus.

^g Lactant. lib. iv. c. xvi. Venio nunc ad ipsam passionem, quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod et hominem, et ab hominibus insigni supplicio adfectum et excruciatum colamus, &c.

^h Ibid. c. xxix. Quum dicimus Deum Patrem et Deum Filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus: quia nec Pater a Filio potest, nec Filius a Patre secerni: siquidem nec Pater nuncupari sine Filio, nec Filius potest sine Patre generari. Quum igitur et Pater Filium faciat, et Filius Patrem, una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia; sed ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tamquam defluens ex eo rivus. Ille tamquam sol, hic tamquam radius ex sole porrectus, &c.

divided from the Father ; forasmuch as he cannot be called a Father without a Son, nor the Son be begotten without a Father. Seeing, therefore, a father makes a son, and a son makes a father, they have both one mind, and one spirit, and one substance : but the Father as the fountain and original ; and the Son as the stream flowing from the fountain." A little after, he explains their unity by this similitude :¹ " When any one hath a son who is his dearly beloved, as long as he is in his father's house, and under his hand, although he allow him the name and power of lord ; yet it is called but one house and one lord. So this world is one house of God ; and both the Son and the Father, who unanimously dwell therein, are but one God : because the one is as two, and the two as one : " meaning two persons, and one God. Nothing can be plainer than these two things, from the words of Lactantius : first, That Christians gave Divine worship to Christ ; secondly, That they gave him this worship, as one God with the Father. And there was no other way to avoid the charge of polytheism, which they objected to the heathens, and the heathens were so desirous to recharge and throw back upon them.

There is one thing more may be observed as very remarkable in this age, which was an age of great persecution ; that is, that the martyrs, who suffered in it, commonly directed their last prayers, as St. Stephen did, personally, to Christ, in whose cause they laid down their lives, and into whose hands they resigned their spirit, commending their souls to him, as unto a faithful Creator and Redeemer. Thus Eusebius observes of a whole city in Phrygia, in the time of the Diocletian persecution, " That being all met together in the church, men, women, and children, magistrates and people (for the city was entirely Christian), they were surprised by their enemies, and barbarously burnt all together in the church, as they were at their devotions, ' calling upon

¹ Lactant. lib. iv. c. xxix. Quum quis habet filium, quem unice diligit, qui tamen sit in domo et in manu patris, licet ei nomen domini potestatemque concedat, civili tamen jure domus una et unus dominus nominatur. Sic hic mundus una Dei domus est : Filius ac Pater, qui unanimes incolunt mundum, Deus unus est ; quia et unus tamquam duo, et duo tamquam unus.

Christ, the God over all,"^k τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβοαμένους. So in a former persecution in France, under Antoninus, Blandina, one of the martyrs, when she was put into a net, to be tossed by a wild bull, is said not to have been sensible of any pain, whilst 'she made her prayers to Christ,' διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν.^l And Eusebius himself, who gives us these particular relations, makes a more general observation concerning the worship of Christ,^m "That the highest powers on earth confessed and adored him, not as a common king, made by men, but as the true Son of the supreme God, as the true and very God: who had preserved his Church against all the opposition of so many fierce persecutions, there being nothing that was able to withstand the will of that Word, who was the universal King, and Prince of all things, and very God himself."ⁿ We see, in the opinion of Eusebius, the ground of their worship was no other than his being the living and true God, and the great King of all the earth: which is the title that is given him in the Acts of St. Felix, an African bishop, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution:^o "O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jesus Christ, I bow my neck to thee as a sacrifice, who livest to all eternity; to whom belongs honour and power, for ever and ever. Amen." And in the Acts of Thelica:^p "I give thanks to the God of all kingdoms.

^k Euseb. lib. viii. c. xi. "Ἦδη γοῦν ὕλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὐτάνδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλῖται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες, κατέφιλιξαν αὐτοὺς ἄμα νηπίους καὶ γυναικας, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβοαμένους.

^l Ibid. lib. v. c. i. (pp. 133, 134, edit. Amstelod. 1695), Cant. 209. Εἰς γύργαθον βληθεῖσα, ταύρῳ περιβλήθη καὶ ἱκανῶς ἀναβληθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ ζώου, μηδὲ αἰσθῆσιν ἵτι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πισιστευμένων, καὶ ὁμιλίαν πρὸς Χριστόν, ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτή.

^m Ibid. lib. x. c. iv. p. 375, (p. 307, a. edit. cit.) Cant. 468, 19. "Ὡς τε μόνον τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἡμῶν Σωτῆρα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ οἷα κρινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλεία γινόμενον ὁμολογῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷα τοῦ καθόλου Θεοῦ παῖδα γήσιν καὶ αὐτοθεῖον προσκυνῖσθαι.

ⁿ Ibid. c. Τί γὰρ ἔμιλλε τοῦ παμβασιλέως καὶ πανηγιμότος καὶ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ἐνστήσθαι τῇ νύματι.

^o Acta Felic. ap. Baron. an. 302, n. cxxiv. Domine Deus cœli et terræ, Jesu Christe, tibi cervicem meam ad victimam flecto, qui permanes in æternum: cui est claritas et magnificentia in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

^p Acta Thelicæ, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. xli. p. 946. Gratias ago Deo regnorum. Domine Jesu Christe, tibi servimus. Tu es spes nostra: tu es spes Christianorum: Deus sanctissime, Deus altissime, Deus omnipotens, tibi laudes pro nomine tuo agimus.

Lord Jesus Christ, we serve thee: thou art our hope: thou art the hope of Christians: most holy God, most high God, God Almighty, we give thanks to thee for thy great name." So again, in the Acts of Emeritus:^a "I beseech thee, O Christ: I give thanks to thee: deliver me, O Christ. In thy name I suffer; I suffer for a moment; I suffer willingly: let me not be confounded, O Christ." The curious reader may find many other prayers in the like terms in the Passions of Glycerius,^r Olympius,^s Ampelius,^t Euplius,^u Dativus,^x Saturninus,^y senior and junior, recorded in Baronius, which I need not here transcribe. I only add two further instances, out of Eusebius and St. Ambrose. Eusebius, speaking of the passion of Porphyrius, a Palestine martyr, and one of the scholars of Pamphilus, says,^a "When he was surrounded with flames, he called upon Jesus, the Son of God, to be his helper; and with those words he gave up the ghost." And St. Ambrose^a tells us, Vitalis the martyr made this his last prayer: "O Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, and my God, command that my spirit may be received; for I desire to obtain the crown, which thy holy angel hath shewed me."

^a Acta Emeriti, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. l. Rogo Christe: tibi laudes: libera me, Christe. In nomine tuo patior, breviter patior, libenter patior: Christe, non confundar.

^r Acta Glycerii, ap. Baron. an. 301, n. xxviii. Sum Christianus servus Christi, qui solum verus Deus est: unus est mihi Dominus, unus rex. . . stans ad Orientem partim quidem Christo agit gratias, &c.

^s Acta Olympii, ap. Baron. an. 259, n. xxx. Gloria tibi, Christe, qui nos dignatus es cum sanctis martyribus congregare.

^t Acta Ampelii, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. lii. Christe, tibi laudes refero: exaudi Christe.

^u Acta Euplii, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. cxlviii. Gratias tibi, Christe: me custodi, qui propter te hæc patior. . . Adoro Christum, detestor dæmonia.

^x Acta Dativi, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. xlviii. O Christe Domine, non confundar.—N. xlv. Rogo, Christe, non confundar.

^y Acta Saturni, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. xlviii. Rogo te, Christe, exaudi. Gratias tibi ago, Deus. Jube me decollari. Rogo, Christe, miserere. Filii Dei, subveni.

^a Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. xi. p. 339, (p. 277, b.) *Μετὰ μίαν τι ἡν ἡμεῖς παθαψαμίνης αὐτοῦ τῆς φλογὸς ἀπὸρρήξας φωνὴν, τὸν Τίδιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν βοηθὸν ἰσχυρόμενος.*

^a Ambros. Hortat. ad Virgin. tom. i. p. 105, edit. Basil. 1567, (tom. iv. p. 433, l. edit. Paris. 1642.) Domine Jesu Christe, Salvator meus et Deus meus, jube suscipi spiritum meum; quia jam desidero, ut accipiam coronam, quam angelus tuus sanctus mihi ostendit.

It were easy to add many other testimonies of the like nature; but these are abundantly sufficient to shew, what was the practice of the Church in reference to the worship of Christ, during the three first ages, before Arianism appeared in the world, or any other of those difficult questions were raised, which afterwards perplexed men with unintelligible subtleties, occasioned by the restless endeavours and sophistry of the Arian party. The Christians of the three first ages, we see, in their disputes with the heathens, always, with a great deal of honest plainness and simplicity, freely owned that they worshipped Christ as their Creator and their God; not as a creature, but as the true and living God, equal to the Father in all Divine perfections; as a genuine Son; who, as a Son, could not be another God, but only one God with the Father. For they declared, that so long as he was owned to be a true Son, he could neither be a creature nor another God; which would imply another co-ordinate and independent being, which was inconsistent with his being the Son of God. They declared, at the same time, that it was unlawful and idolatry to give Divine worship to any creature, or any being, how excellent soever, that was not the living and true God, as we shall see more fully in the next chapter: and that is such a sensible and intelligible argument of their believing the Son to be the living and true God, as any one of the meanest capacity may understand: and it is such an argument of his divinity, as all the art and sophistry in the world cannot evade, without charging those holy men with the grossest idolatry and self-condemnation, and a flat contradiction of their principles in their practice, if they gave Divine honour to one, whom they did not believe to be by nature the living and true God. And for this reason, I have insisted a little the longer upon this plain way of proving their belief of the divinity of our blessed Lord, from their constant and universal practice in giving Divine worship to him as their God. And as to those distinctions between absolute, relative, and mediatorial worship; or those of *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia* (hard words invented to solve the idolatry of later ages), whatever shelter modern idolaters may think to find in them, the ancients had no occasion to

lay the stress of their cause upon any such subtleties and distinctions; for they knew no distinction between *latría*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*, when they spake of religious worship, but plainly said all religious worship was solely due to God: and, though they distinguished between absolute, relative, and mediatorial worship, yet they gave all these to the Son; worshipping him with mediatorial worship, as the only proper Mediator in both natures between God and man; beseeching him, by his own merits, as their great High-Priest, to present their prayers to the Father; and with relative worship, as the Son of God, whose honour redounds to the Father; and with absolute worship as their Creator and Author of their being; declaring it to be idolatry to give any such honour to any mere creature: so that either they believed Christ to be the living and true God, or else it is impossible to understand men by their words or practice.

SECT. IV. — *Proofs of the Worship of the Holy Ghost.*

We are now to see whether they gave the same Divine honour to the Holy Ghost. And for this, the reader only needs to look back into the former proofs; for many of the preceding allegations join the Son and Holy Ghost together. Polycarp's Doxology is to the whole Trinity:^b "To thee (the Father), with him (the Son), and the Holy Spirit, be glory, now and for ever. Amen." Justin Martyr declares also to the heathen,^c "That the object of their worship was the whole Trinity: we worship and adore the God of righteousness, and his Son, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy." And again he proves,^d "That Christians were no atheists, as the heathen objected, because they worshipped the Creator of all things, and his Son Jesus Christ in the second place, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy in the third place; only observing the natural order of the persons, not distinguishing them into one God and two creatures; for then it had been unlawful to worship them upon their principles, which denied Divine

^b Polycarp. Martyr. ap. Coteler. tom. ii. p. 199, cit. supra, sect. ii. litt. (b), p. 104.

^c Justin. Apol. ii. p. 56, l. c. litt. (c), p. 105.

^d Ibid. p. 60. Vid. l. c. sub litt. (e), p. 106.

worship to any thing that by nature was not God." We have heard Lucian^e before, representing the Christian worship as the worship of the great God of heaven, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, three of one, and one of three. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch,^f expressly mentions the Trinity under the title of the Father, his Word, and his Wisdom : and says further,^g "That it was his Word, and his Wisdom, to whom he said in the beginning, 'Let us make man :''" so that if the Holy Ghost was the Creator of man, there can be no dispute but that he was worshipped as his Creator together with the Father and Son. We have heard Clemens Alexandrinus concluding his *Pædagogus* with this doxology,^h "To the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit, be glory, now and for ever. Amen." We have heard St. Basilⁱ testifying of Athenogenes the martyr, that he composed a hymn to the glory of the Holy Ghost; and that the Church, time out of mind, used that known doxology in her evening hymn at setting up lights; "We laud the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God;" which hymn was so ancient, that St. Basil professes he knew not who was the author of it. He testifies further in the same place, that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, was always wont to use this form of doxology; "To God the Father, and the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion, now and for ever. Amen." We have heard Origen saying,^j "That we are to pray to the Lord, to the Holy Spirit, that he would vouchsafe to take away that mist and darkness, which is contracted in our hearts by the defilement of sin, and dims the sight of our minds." They that said such things as these, did certainly own and practise the religious adoration and worship of the Holy Ghost. And all this we have seen proved in the former

^e Lucian. Philopatr. cit. supra, sect. ii. litt. (1), p. 107.

^f Theophyl. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. p. 106, (p. 94, d. ad calcem Justin. Martyr.) Vid. l. c. litt. (*), p. 109.

^g Ibid. p. 115, (p. 96, d.) Vid. l. c. litt. (r), p. 108.

^h Clement. Pædag. lib. iii. p. 311. Vid. l. c. litt. (w), p. 109.

ⁱ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. p. 359, d. e. Vid. l. c. litt. (r), p. 110.

^j Origen. Hom. i. in Levit. p. 106. Ipse nobis Dominus, ipse Sanctus Spiritus deprecandus est, ut omnem nebulam, omnemque caliginem, quæ, peccatorum sordibus concreta, visum cordis nostri obscurat, auferre dignetur.

allegations; to which we may here add that plain testimony of Origen upon the first chapter to the Romans, where he compares the practice of the heathens and Christians;^k “It is the property of those only to dishonour their bodies,” says he, “who serve idols; and of them only, to worship the creature who have forsaken the Creator. As for us who worship and adore no creature, but the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as we do not err in our worship, so neither let us offend in our actions and conversation; but looking to what the apostle says, ‘Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ;’ and, again, ‘That your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost; let us keep our bodies in all holiness and purity, as members of Christ, and as temples of the Holy Spirit.’” St. Basil, who wrote in defence of the worship of the Holy Ghost, cites another passage of Origen out of his Commentaries upon St. John, wherein he speaks of the worship of the whole Trinity in the celebration of baptism, saying,^l “Baptism, by virtue of the invocations there made, is the fountain and spring of spiritual graces to every one that dedicates himself to the Divine majesty of the adorable Trinity.” In which words Origen, by invocations, seems to refer to two things: first, the consecration of water to a mystical use, which was always performed by prayer (as I have shewed at large in another place^m); and, secondly, the form of baptism, which was always administered in the name of the Holy Trinity; in like manner as bread and wine in the eucharist were consecrated by invocation of the three Divine

^k Origen. in Rom. i. lib. i. p. 468, edit. Basil. (p. 302, m. edit. Paris.) Eorum est, contumelia adficere corpora sua, qui deserviunt simulacris; et eorum, colere creaturam, qui dereliquerunt Creatorem. Nos autem, qui nullam creaturam, sed Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, colimus et adoramus, sicut non erramus in cultu, ita nec in actibus quidem et conversatione peccamus, neque imitemur eos, qui contumeliis adficiunt corpora sua in semetipsis: sed adspicientes quod dicit apostolus, ‘An nescitis, quia corpora nostra membra sunt Christi,’ et iterum, ‘Quia corpus vestrum templum est Spiritus Sancti;’ ut membra Christi et templum Spiritus Sancti corpora nostra in omni sanctitate et puritate servemus, quo non solum angelorum digna ingressibus fiant, verum etiam inhabitatione Spiritus Sancti, et mansione Patris et Filii.

^l Ibid. tom. vi. in Joan. ap. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. Τῇ ἱεραρχίᾳ αὐτὸν τῇ Διότητι τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἱερουργιῶν, χαρισμάτων ἀρχὴν ἔχει καὶ πηγὴν.

^m Book xi. chap. x. sect. i. ii.

persons. Which is expressly said by St. Cyril,^a “That, before invocation of the adorable Trinity, it is common bread and wine; but after invocation, it is made the body and blood of Christ.” Where he uses the same expression about the consecration of the eucharist, as Origen does about baptism, saying, “That it was done by invocation of the adorable Trinity.” And this is what Justin Martyr means, when he says,^o “That the minister, in consecrating the eucharist, sent up praise and glory to the Father of all, by the name of his Son and Holy Spirit.” Optatus, speaking of the sacrilege of the Donatists, says,^p “They had broken down the altars, where God Almighty was wont to be invocated, and the Holy Ghost prayed to, that he might come down and sanctify the oblation.” Theophilus of Alexandria says, in like manner,^q “That the bread and wine in the eucharist was consecrated by the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost.” And we are told, that in the old Gallican liturgy, the oblation prayer was conceived in this form;^r “Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation, which we offer unto thee, in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension.” And, probably, Origen might have respect to some such invocation of the Holy Trinity in the consecration of the waters of baptism. However, the form of administering baptism in the name of

^a Cyril. Catech. Mystag. i. n. iv. ‘Ο ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός· ἐκκλησίας δὲ γενόμενης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ.—Id. Catech. iii. n. iii. ‘Ο ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μὲν τὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔστι ἄρτος λιτός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ.

^o Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97. Αἶνος καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, διὰ τοῦ ἰνόμενου τοῦ Τιού καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμψου.

^p Optat. lib. vi. p. 93, (p. 111, edit. Paris. 1679.) Quid est tam sacrilegum quam altaria Dei . . . frangere, radere, remove? In quibus vota populi, et membra Christi portata sunt: quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit: quo postalatus descendit Spiritus Sanctus.

^q Theoph. Alexandr. Epist. Paschal. i. Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 87, (tom. v. p. 846, e. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Quod adserens non recogitat, aquas in baptismo mysticas adventu Sancti Spiritus consecrari; panemque dominicum, quo Salvatoris corpus ostenditur, et quem frangimus in sanctificationem nostri; et sacrum calicem,—quæ in mensa ecclesiæ collocantur, et utique inanima sunt, per invocationem et adventum Sancti Spiritus sanctificari.

^r Microlog. de Observat. Ecclesiæ, c. xi. Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis.

the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was ever esteemed an act of adoration of the Trinity, both as a profession of faith in three Divine Persons, and as a dedication of the party to the service of the Holy Trinity, and as a solemn invocation of their benediction. The ancient author of The Recognitions, who lived before Origen, says expressly,^a “ that baptism was anciently given by invocation of the name of the Blessed Trinity :” by which we can understand nothing but joining the Holy Ghost as God with the Father and the Son, in the same act of adoration, expressed either in the prayers or form of baptism. And hence the ancients were used to prove the Holy Ghost to be God,^t because he was joined in the same Divine worship with the Father and the Son in the administration of baptism. And that baptism was generally esteemed null and void, which was given to any person without mentioning the Holy Ghost, as well as Father and Son ; as I have fully shewed in another place.^u

It is further observable that, in Tertullian’s time, the worship of the Holy Ghost was so common in the Church, that Praxeas, and other Unitarians, were ready to charge the Catholics with Tritheism, or the worship of three Gods upon this account. They boasted, that they were the only persons who truly worshipped one God, and preserved the Divine monarchy entire ; whilst all other Christians, by worshipping

^a Clement. Recognit. lib. iii. c. lxvii. Baptizabitur unusquisque vestrum in aquis perennibus, nomine trinæ Beatitudinis invocato super se.

^t Vid. Idacium, lib. iii. cont. Varimundum, Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. p. 300, (tom. v. p. 745, g. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Ut in nomine Spiritus Sancti baptizetur, sicut in nomine Patris ac Filii, et Dominus in evangelio testis est, et Paulus paria pronuntiat, dicens : Dominus quidem, quum dicit, ‘ Baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patria, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’ Apostolus, quum omnes nos Spiritu baptizatos insinuat, atque confirmat : ‘ Etenim nos omnes,’ ait, ‘ in uno Spiritu baptizati sumus, sive Judæi, sive Græci, sive servi, sive liberi, et omnes in uno Spiritu potati sumus.’ Et iterum : ‘ In quo credentes signati estis in Spiritu Sancto promissionis, qui est pignus hæreditatis nostræ in redemptionem adoptionis,’ &c. In iis igitur testimoniis unitas Trinitatis ostenditur, dum quod Pater vocatur, vel etiam operatur, hoc Filius et Spiritus Sanctus nuncupentur, vel eadem operentur. — Basil. de Spirit. Sancto, c. xxix. p. 361, d. “Οτι ἡμεῖς ἅμα πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, πρῶτον μὲν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τιμῇ, συμπαρελαβόντες ἑαυτοὺ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα.

^u Book vi. chap. iii. sect. ii.

three persons, introduced the worship of three Gods :^v “ As if,” says Tertullian, “ the Unity absurdly collected, might not make a heresy ; and a Trinity rationally conceived, might not consist with Unity.” He there explains how these three are one God ;^w “ By unity of original, by unity of substance, condition, and power.” And he adds,^x “ That as the Father was God, so the Son was God, and the Holy Ghost, God.” And says in another place,^y “ That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was a Trinity in one Godhead, or Divine nature.” So that it is plain, the difference then between the Praxean heretics, and the Catholics was, that the Praxeans worshipped but one person as God : but the Catholics worshipped three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, under the title and appellation of one God. And Erasmus was wonderfully mistaken, when he asserted, that the name, God, was never given to the Holy Ghost before the time of St. Hilary, in the middle of the fourth century ; when it is so evident he had both the name and worship of God given him in the time of Tertullian ; and in effect, by all Christians in former ages, whilst they joined him in all acts of Divine worship and glorification with the Father and Son, as one God.

Cyprian expressly styles him God ; when disputing against the validity of heretical baptism, he uses this argument :^z “ If a man can be baptized by heretics, he may obtain remission of sins : if he may obtain remission of sins, he may be sanc-

^v Tertul. cont. Prax. c. iii. Duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unus Dei cultores præsumunt: quasi non et unitas irrationaliter collecta, hæresin faciat: et Trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituat.

^w Ibid. c. ii. Tres sunt unius substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis: quia unus Deus, ex (quo tres) in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti deputantur.

^x Ibid. c. xiii. Et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, et Deus unusquisque.

^y Tertul. de Pudicit. c. xxi. Trinitas unius Divinitatis, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

^z Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. p. 203, (p. 309, fin. edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. Si peccatorum remissam consequutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est. Quæro, Cujus Dei? si Creatoris; non potuit, qui in eum non credidit. Si Christi, nec hujus fieri potest templum, qui negat Deum Christum. Si Spiritus Sancti, quum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus ei esse potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?

tified, and be made the temple of God. I ask, of what God? If it be said the Creator; he cannot be his temple, who believes not in him. If Christ; neither can he be his temple, who believes not Christ to be God. If the Holy Ghost; seeing the three are one, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an enemy to the Father or the Son?" As the Holy Ghost is here plainly styled God, so every true Christian is said to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, as God: and temples being for the worship of God, it may be concluded that, according to Cyprian, the Holy Ghost was then worshipped in all his living temples, as God.

At the same time with Cyprian, lived those two shining lights of the Asiatic Church, Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, and Gregory, of Neocæsarea, from his power in working miracles, surnamed Thaumaturgus. Of both these, St. Basil testifies,^a "That in their prayers and books, they were always wont to use this doxology; 'To God the Father, and his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion, for ever and ever.'"

And this is the doxology that most commonly occurs in the author of the Constitutions, which, though I do not, with a late author, take for an inspired writing, nor for the genuine work of Clemens Romanus; yet I believe it to be a very good collection of the rituals and liturgy of the ancient Church, for the three first ages, and not infected with those pernicious principles of Arianism, which some would fain father upon him, who pervert his words, as they do the other ante-Nicene writers, from their proper meaning to a heretical sense. This author, I say, commonly uses that doxology which is so much commended by St. Basil, as expressing the true worship of the Holy Trinity; of which, I shall give a few instances out of his eighth book, which is a collection of the forms of prayer used in the ancient service. In the twelfth chapter of that book, the oblation prayer is thus concluded;^b

^a Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. Τῷ Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Τίῳ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἁμήν· ἵναι ταῖς τῶν Γενηγαρίου, καὶ ὁ νῦν ἀντιλιγόμενος τρέσας τῆς δεξιολογίας ἴσται, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου παραδόσεως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένοι. . . . ταύτην καὶ Φιρμιλιανῷ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ μαρτυροῦσι τὴν πίστιν οἱ λόγῳ οὕς κατέλπει.

^b Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. (Conc. i. 473.) Παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ὅπως ἅπαντας

“ We beseech thee to gather us into the kingdom of thy Christ, the God of the whole nature of things both visible and invisible, and our King; for to thee belong all glory, and worship, and thanksgiving, and honour, and adoration; the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, throughout all ages, world without end.” In the thirteenth chapter, the prayer after consecration ends in the same manner: ^c “ By thy Christ, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and praise, doxology, and thanksgiving, for ever and ever.” In the same chapter, all the people sing this hymn to Christ; ^d “ There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, blessed for ever: to the glory of God the Father: glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men: Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed be God the Lord, who came in the name of the Lord, and was manifested unto us: Hosanna in the highest.” In the fourteenth chapter, after the communion, the deacon says, ^e παραβόμεθα, “ Let us commend ourselves to God, the only unbegotten God, and to his Christ.” Now, the παραβόμενοι, or commendations, were one sort of prayers, as I shall shew hereafter. ^f Then the bishop makes a thanksgiving in the fifteenth chapter, which he concludes in these words: ^g “ By Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and adoration, now and for ever.

ἡμᾶς διασπέρσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπισυνεγάγῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ Θεοῦ πάσης αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, ἀτρέπτους, ἀμίμπτους, ἀπικλήτους· ὅτι νοὶ πᾶσα δόξα, σέβας, καὶ εὐχαριστία· τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Τίμῳ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελκυσταῖς καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

^c Constitut. lib. viii. c. xiii. Διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, μὲθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, αἶνος, δαξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

^d Ibid. Εἷς ἄγιος, εἷς Κύριος, εἷς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐν γῆς ἐκτίῃ, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Τίμῳ Δαβὶδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Θεοῦ, Κύριος, καὶ ἐσθράμη ἡμῖν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν ὑψίστοις.

^e Ibid. c. xiv. Ἐαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ μόνῳ ἀγνῆστῳ Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραβόμεθα.

^f Book xv. chap. iii. sect. xxix.

^g Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xv. Πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπισυνάγαγε εἰς τὴν σὺν ἀγαθῶν βασιλείᾳ, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν μὲθ' οὗ νοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

Amen." And in his invocation in the same chapter, he says,^b "To thee and thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord, and God, and King, and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, now and for ever, world without end. Amen." There are many other such doxologies in other prayers throughout this book,ⁱ which I need not here repeat. For if these be not plain instances of the worship of the Holy Ghost, together with the Father and the Son, it is hard to say what words can express it.

SECT. V.—*In what Sense all Prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father.*

Now, then, by all this we may interpret the meaning of that African Canon, which orders all prayers at the altar to be directed to the Father.^k For that was not intended to exclude the worship of the Son and Holy Ghost, together with the Father; for the hymns and doxologies before mentioned, which were used at the altar, plainly shew the contrary. But it was designed, that when the sacrifice of Christ was commemorated, he should be considered as the great Mediator, by whose sacrifice we apply to the Father, and have access, by his merits and intercession, to the throne of grace and mercy. And, therefore, all prayers at the altar are ordered to be directed to the Father in his name: which very application was a worship of the Son as Mediator, and an honour peculiar to him, and incommunicable to any creature. In other prayers, direct applications were made to the Son, as we have seen before in that of the Constitutions^l for the dispossessing of devils: and in these

^b Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xv. "Ὅτι σοι δόξα, αἶνος, μεγαλοπρέπεια, εἰςας, προσκύνησις, καὶ τῇ σῇ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ Βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῇ ἁγίῃ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀὐ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

ⁱ Vid. Constit. lib. viii. cc. xvi. xviii. xx. xxi. xxii. xxix. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. xli.

^k Conc. Carth. III. c. xxiii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1170.) Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre, nominet. Et quum altari adsistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.

^l Constitut. lib. viii. c. vii. 'Ὁ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δέσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῦ διακράσας, κ. τ. λ.

prayers at the altar, the glorification was in common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Whence Fulgentius, who was an African bishop, and therefore may be presumed to understand the meaning of the African Canons, tells us,* “That all worship and adoration of honour and sacrifice was equally given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that is, to the Holy Trinity, by the Catholic Church; and that it was no prejudice to the Son or the Holy Ghost, that the minister at the altar directed the prayers to the person of the Father. For in the end of them, the names of the Son and Holy Spirit were always expressed; and that shewed that there was no difference in the Holy Trinity; because when the words were only directed to the person of the Father, yet the whole Trinity was honoured by the faith of the true believer; and whilst the intention of the sacrifice was more peculiarly fixed upon the Father, the sacrifice itself was, by one and the same act, offered to the whole Trinity.” From all which it is evident to a demonstration, that the three Persons of the Holy Trinity were always the object of Divine adoration, from the first foundation of the Christian Church; and that the giving of Divine honour to the Son and Holy Ghost, as God, was not the invention or addition of any later ages.

* Fulgent. ad Monimum, lib. ii. c. v. (p. 328, edit. Basil. 1621, 8vo.) Paris. 1671, p. 431. Si qui Catholici fideles, hujus sacramenti nunc usque videbantur ignari, deinceps scire debent, omne cujuslibet honorificentiae et sacrificii salutaris obsequium et Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, hoc est, sanctae Trinitati, ab ecclesia Catholica pariter exhiberi. In cujus utique uno nomine, manifestum est, sanctum quoque baptisma celebrari. Neque enim præjudicium Filio vel Sancto Spiritui comparatur; dum ad Patris personam precatio ab offerente dirigitur. Cujus consummatio, dum Filii et Spiritus Sancti complectitur nomen, ostendit nullum esse in Trinitate discrimen: quia dum ad solius Patris personam sermo dirigitur, bene credentis fide tota Trinitas honoratur: et quum ad Patrem litantis destinatur intentio, sacrificii munus omni Trinitati uno eodemque offertur litantis officio.

CHAPTER III.

THAT, IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH, RELIGIOUS WORSHIP WAS GIVEN TO NO CREATURE, SAINT, NOR ANGEL, BUT TO GOD ALONE.

SECT. I. — *This Position proved first from their general Declarations against giving Religious Worship to any Creature.*

It has been observed in the foregoing chapter, that the worship of Christ, in the Primitive Church, was esteemed a good argument of his Divinity; because it was then an undoubted principle, that no creature, how excellent soever, was to be worshipped with religious worship, but only the living and true God. And an Arian or a Socinian can never answer or evade this argument from antiquity, so long as both these assertions stand good, That Christ was worshipped with religious worship; and, That nothing is to be worshipped with religious worship, but only the living and true God. The force of this argument has been much weakened, and indeed, wholly enervated and destroyed, by the writers of the Romish Church, in whose mouths the argument signifies nothing to an Arian or Socinian, because their own practice, in giving religious worship to saints and angels, is a sufficient answer to it. For, upon supposition that saints and angels may be worshipped, the worship of Christ can be no argument of his Divinity; no more than it is of the Divinity of saints or angels, because they are worshipped in the Romish Church. But upon the principles of the Primitive Church the argument is unanswerable. For at the same time that they asserted the worship of Christ, they asserted likewise, that religious worship was not to be given to any creature, but to God alone. And, in this view, the argument for Christ's Divinity was very rational and solid. As, therefore, we have seen the truth of the first position, That Christ was religiously worshipped in the Primitive Church, made good from their undeniable assertions and practice; so now we

will a little examine the truth of the second, That nothing is to be religiously worshipped but only the living and true God. Which position is designed to be handled here only as an illustration and confirmation of the argument for the Divinity of Christ, drawn from the practice of the Primitive Church in giving religious adoration to him. And the truth of this proposition I shall confirm briefly these three ways : 1. By shewing, in general, that the ancients declare universally against giving religious worship or adoration to any creature or being, which, by nature, is not God. 2. That, in particular, they rejected the worship of saints and angels as idolatry, and unlawful. 3. That there is no mention made of it but in the practice either of heretics or heathens ; whose idolatry is aggravated upon the account of this practice. In the first place, it is observable, that the ancients, in general, declare against giving religious worship to any creature or being, which, by nature, is not God. It would fill a whole volume to cite all that is said by the ancients upon this head ; therefore, I shall content myself to select a few plain passages, out of an infinite number, that might be alleged to this purpose. Justin Martyr often tells the emperors, in his Apology,* “ That Christians could worship none but God alone : and that Christ had taught them so, in saying, ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart and with all thy strength ; the Lord God that made thee :’ and, again, in saying, ‘Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s ; and to God, the things that are God’s.’ Therefore, we worship God alone ; but in all other things we cheerfully serve you.” In like manner, Theophilus, bishop of Antioch :^b “ I will honour the king,” says

* Justin. Apol. ii. p. 63. ‘Ὁς δὲ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δι’ προσκυνῶν, αὐτῶς ἱκνῶν ἰσπῶν, Μαρτύρη ἰντολή ἵσται, κύριον τὸν Θεὸν σου προσκυνῆσαι, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις, κ. τ. λ. — It. p. 64. Θεὸν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν· ἡμῶν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίρομεντες ὑπεριστάμεν.

^b Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. i. p. 30, (p. 76), ad calc. Iren. Paris. 1636. (Ad calc. Justin. Martyr. p. 344.) Τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ἐν χάρμῳσι ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ· Θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντι Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, ἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γίγνεται. Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, Διὰ τί οὐ προσκυνεῖς τὸν βασιλέα ; “Οτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι γίγνεται, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τῷ νομίμῳ τιμῇ. Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἴσται, ἀλλ’ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τιταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρῖναι· τρέψῃ γὰρ τινι παρὰ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν πισπίστωται· καὶ γὰρ

he, “not by worshipping him, but praying for him. But I will worship God, the living and true God, knowing that by him the king is ordained. You will say, then, ‘Why do you not worship the king?’ Because he is not made to be worshipped, but to be honoured with lawful honour. For he is not a God, but a man. And as he will not suffer any other to assume the title of king but himself; so neither is it lawful to worship any other but God alone.” In another place, he says,^c “God’s laws forbid not only the worship of idols, but all other creatures, the sun, moon, and stars, heaven, earth, and sea: and command the worship of the true God alone, who is the Creator of all things.” After the same manner, Tertullian, speaking of the Christians’ prayers for the emperors, and the peace of the world, says,^d “They asked these things of the living and true God; and they could ask them of no other but him, of whom they were sure to obtain them, because he alone was able to give them.” And he repeats the same in several other places of his writings.^e This was the answer which the martyrs commonly gave to the persecuting judges, when they solicited them to worship other Gods. When Fructuosus, a Spanish bishop and martyr, who suffered at Tarragona about the year 262, was commanded to sacrifice, he replied,^f “I only worship one God, the Maker

αὐτὸς, οὗς ἔχει ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν καταγμένους, οὐ βούλονται βασιλεὺς καλεῖσθαι τὸ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ ἵσταναι ὄνομα· καὶ οὐκ ἄλλα ἱεῖν ἵσταναι τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι οὕτως οὐδὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνῃ Θεῷ.

^c Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. p. 173, (p. 110, d. cit. edit.) ‘Ὁ μὲν θεὸς νόμος οὐ μόνον κολύει τὸ εἰδῶλαι προσκυνεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις, ἡλίῳ, σελήνῃ, ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄστροις· ἀλλ’ οὕτως τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὕτως γῇ, οὕτως θαλάσῃ, ἢ πτηναῖς, ἢ περὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνῃ τῷ ὄντι Θεῷ, καὶ παντὶ τῶν ὄντων χρὴ λατρεύειν ἐν δαίσει καὶ καρδίᾳ καὶ εὐλαρίᾳ γνώμῃ.

^d Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum. . . . Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consequuturum, quoniam et ipse est, qui solus præstat.

^e Ibid. Scopiæ. c. iv. Præscribitur mihi, ne quem alium adorem, aut quoquo modo venerer, præter unicum illum, qui ita mandat. — Id. Apol. c. xvii. Quod colimus nos, Deus unus est, qui totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum, corporum, spirituum, verbo, quo jussit; ratione, qua disposuit; virtute, qua potuit, de nihilo expressit. — Id. ad Scapul. c. ii. Nos unum Deum colimus, quem omnes naturaliter nostis: ad cujus fulgura et tonitrua contremiscitis, ad cujus beneficia gaudetis.

^f Acta Fructuosi ap. Baron. an. 262, n. lxii. Ego unum Deum colo, qui feci cælum, et terram, mare, et omnia quæ in eis sunt.

of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein." And so Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, answered Æmilian the prefect, as he himself tells us in an epistle recorded by Eusebius,^s "I have publicly testified," says he, "that I worship none but the true God alone; neither can I ever depart from this practice, or cease to be a Christian." And when Æmilian urged him, further, to worship the gods of the empire together with his own God, his answer was still the same, "We worship him and no other." There are many the like expressions in Irenæus,^b Clemens Alexandrinus,ⁱ Origen,^k Cyprian,^l Lactantius,^m the author of the Recognitions, under

^s Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. "Ἀντίκρυς διμαρτυρήμην, ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα μόνον, καὶ οὐδὲνα ἕτερον εἶδον, οὐδ' ἂν μετατιθέμην, οὐδὲ παυσάμην ποτὶ Χριστιανὸς ὦν . . . ἡμῖς οὐδὲνα ἕτερον προσκυνούμεν.

^b Iren. lib. v. c. xxii. Sic igitur manifeste ostendente Domino, quoniam Deus verus et unus Deus, qui a lege declaratus fuerat (quem enim lex præconaverat Deum, hunc ostendit patrem, cui et servire soli oportet discipulos Christi) et per eas, quæ sunt in lege, sententias adversarium nostrum evacuante, (lex autem demiurgum laudare Deum, et ipsi soli servire jubet nobis) jam non oportet quærere alium patrem, præter hunc, aut super hunc: quoniam unus Deus, qui justificat circumcisionem ex fide, et præputium per fidem, &c.

ⁱ Clem. Stromat. vi. p. 825. Τοὺς "Ελληνας χρεὶ διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἵνα μόνον εἰδῶν Θεὸν, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα παντοκράτορα" ἴπυτα διὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου διδάσκουσαι τοῦτο, Ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰδῶλον ἐν κόσμῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^k Origen. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 10. Εἴπωρ οὖν δι' πιστεύειν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἰδὼν, ἐν τινὶ τῶν αἰρίσους ἐσηγησάμενον ἐν "Ελλησιν ἢ βαρβάρους" πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ διδάσκοντι τοῦτον μόνον διὲν εἰδῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ, ἥτοι ὡς μὴ ὄντα, ἢ ὡς ὄντα μὴ, καὶ τιμῆς ἄξια, οὐ μὲν καὶ προσκυνήσεις καὶ σεβασμοῦ, παρερῶν; — Id. lib. viii. p. 395. "Ἀπαγοί δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κίλσου συμβουλήν, λίγοντας, Προσκυνεῖν εἶναι δαίμονας καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν ἀκουστίον αὐτῆς" μόνον γὰρ προσκυνεῖν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, καὶ προσκυνεῖν γι τῷ μονογινῷ, καὶ πρωτοτάτῳ πάσης κτίσεως, λόγῳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἄξιωτίον αὐτὸν ὡς ἀρχιερίαν, τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φθάσαν ἡμῶν εὐχὴν, ἀναφίγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ Πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατέρα τῶν βιούντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^l Cyprian. ep. lviii. p. 257, edit. Fell. Amstelod. Sic et Daniel, quum compelleretur adorare idolum Bel, quem tunc populus et rex colebat, in adserendum Dei sui honorem plena fidei libertate prorupit, dicens, 'Nihil colo ego, nisi Dominum Deum meum, qui condidit cælum et terram.' — Id. ad Demetr. p. 187. Utique quando ea fiunt, quæ iram Dei indignantis ostendunt, non propter nos fiunt, a quibus Deus colitur; sed delictis vestris et meritis irrogantur, a quibus omnino nec quæritur nec timetur, nec relictis vanis superstitionibus religio vera cognoscitur; ut, qui Deus unus est, unus colatur ab omnibus et rogetur.

^m Lactant. lib. ii. c. i. De summa rerum sæpenumero cogitans, admirari soleo, majestatem Dei singularis, quæ continet regitque omnia, in tantam venisse

the name of Clemens Romanus,ⁿ Athenagoras, Tatian, and others : which, because the learned reader may have recourse to himself, or read them collected together in one view, in that excellent book of Mr. Daillé^o against the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, I shall here omit them, and proceed.

SECT. II.—*Secondly, From their denying the Worship of Saints and Angels in particular, and condemning it as Idolatry.*

To the second observation, which is, That the ancients not only, in general, reject the worship of any creature, but reject the worship of saints and angels in particular, as idolatry, and unlawful. And of this we cannot have a plainer proof than was given in the answer of the Church of Smyrna to the suggestion of the Jews, when, at the martyrdom of Polycarp, the Jews desired the heathen judge that he would not permit the Christians to carry off the body of Polycarp, lest they should leave their crucified master, and begin to worship this man in his stead :^p “This suggestion,” says the answer, “proceeded purely from ignorance, that we could neither forsake Christ, nor worship any other. For we worship him, as being the Son of God : but the martyrs, as the disciples and followers of the Lord, we love with a due affection, for their great love of their own King and Master ; with whom we desire to be partners and fellow-disciples.” A like answer was given at the martyrdom of Fructuosus, in Spain. For when the judge asked Eulogius, his deacon,

oblivionem, ut quæ sola coli debeat, sola potissimum negligatur, &c. — Lib. iv. c. xiv. Docuit (Christus) quod Deus unus sit, eumque solum coli oportere.

ⁿ Recognit. lib. v. c. xvi. Justum putant, non ea quæ pro mundi ministerio facta sunt, sed ipsorum et mundi totius Creatorem, debere venerari : gaudent enim etiam hæc, quum ille adoratur et colitur ; nec libenter accipiunt, ut honor Creatoris creaturæ deferatur. Exceptus enim est Dei solius cultus, qui solus increatus est ; omnia autem cetera factura ejus sunt.

^o Dall. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. i. cc. ii.—iv.

^p Martyr. Polycarp. ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. p. 134, (p. 109, edit. Amstelod.) Vid. supra c. ii. sect. ii. sub. litt. (c). Τοῦτον μὲν Τὸν ὄντα, τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνούμεν· τοὺς δὲ μέγας, ὡς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ μμητὰς, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναπαύσῃ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλῖαν καὶ διδασκαλὸν ὃν γίνονται καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκατανοοῦσι τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γινέσθαι. (Cant. p. 171.)

“Whether he would not worship Fructuosus?” as thinking, that he who refused to worship the heathen idols, might yet, perhaps, be inclined to worship a Christian martyr. To this Eulogius plainly replied,^q “I do not worship Fructuosus; but I worship him whom Fructuosus worships.” We are beholden to Baronius himself for this testimony: and we cannot desire a clearer evidence, that, in those early times, the Christians did not worship the martyrs, but only the God of the martyrs, to whom the martyrs offered their own bodies in sacrifice, whilst they died for his name, and sealed their confession with their blood. Before this, Origen, in his answers to Celsus, positively denies that ever the Jews or Christians gave any religious worship to angels. He says,^r “They are ministering spirits, that bring the gifts of God to us; but there is no command in Scripture to worship or adore them. For all prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks, are to be sent up to God by the great High-Priest, the living Word of God, who is superior to all angels.” He says again,^s “Allowing what Celsus pleaded, to be true, that the angels were God’s heralds and heavenly messengers; yet still the heralds and messengers were not to be worshipped, but he whose heralds and messengers they were.” He repeats this frequently in his eighth book, in several places,^t which, for brevity’s sake, I here omit, only

^q Acta Fructuosi ap. Baron. an. 262, n. lxiii. Ego Fructuosum non colo, sed ipsum colo, quem et Fructuosus.

^r Origen. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 233. ‘Ομολογούμενος μὴ γὰρ ἀγγέλους φαρὸν λυτουργικὰ ὄντας πνεύματα, καὶ εἰς διακονίαν ἀποσταλλόμενα διὰ τοὺς μίλλοντας πληρονομίῃν σωτηρίαν ἀναβαίνει μὴν προσάγοντας τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκετίαις, ἐν τοῖς καθαρωτάτοις τοῦ κόσμου χωρίοις ἰπυρανοῖς, ἢ καὶ τοῖς τούτων καθαρωτέροις ὑπερουργαίσι· καταβαίνει δ’ αὖ ἐκείθι, φέροντας ἑκάστη κατ’ ἄξιαν τῶν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ τι αὐτοῖς διακονῶν τοῖς ἐνεργητοῦμοις προστασσομένων· τούτους δὲ ἀγγέλους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῶν μιμησθέντες καλεῖν, εὐρίσκομεν αὐτούς, διὰ τὸ θείους εἶναι, καὶ Θεοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ποτὶ ὀνομαζομένους γραφαῖς· ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὥστε προστάσσειν ἡμῖν τοὺς διακονοῦντας, καὶ φέροντας ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰδὲν καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· πᾶσαι μὲν γὰρ δόξαι, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἱκετίαν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπαμππτίον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλου ἀρχιερέως, ἐμφύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ.

^s Ibid. p. 239. Ἐστω καὶ κήρυκας αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐρανοῖς ἀγγέλους· πῶς οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ οὕτω τὸν κηρυσσόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν ἀγγελλόμενον μόνον μᾶλλον προσκυνήσις, ἢ τοὺς κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ;

^t Ibid. lib. viii. p. 416. Καὶ ἴδωμεν δὲ μὴ δαίμονας τινας, ἀγγέλους δὲ καταγ-

reciting one passage more, because it so handsomely meets with that common pretence of the Romanists, that we are to worship angels, because they are the friends of God. "We must endeavour," says he,^u "to please God alone, who is above all things, and labour to have him propitious unto us; procuring his good-will with piety and all kind of virtue. And if Celsus will yet have us to procure the good-will of any others, after him that is God over all; let him consider, that as when the body is moved, the shadow follows its motion; so, in like manner, when we have God, who is over all, favourable unto us, it follows, that we shall have all his friends, both angels, and souls, and spirits, favourable unto us also. For they have a fellow-feeling with them that are thought worthy to find favour from God. Neither are they only favourable to such as are thus worthy; but they labour with them also that are willing to worship God over all, and are friendly to them, and sympathize with them, and pray with them. So that we may be bold to say, that when men, who with resolution propose unto themselves the best things, do pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them, unspoken to, ἀκλητοι, 'without any invocation.'" A like answer is given to the same pretence, by the author under the name of St. Ambrose. "Men are wont," says he,^x "when they are ashamed of

μίνους ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς καρπῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ζώων γένεσις, εὐφημοῦμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζομεν, ἐγκυρισθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ χρεῖσμα τῷ γίνεσι ἡμῶν οὐ μὴν τὴν ὀφειλομένην πρὸς Θεὸν τιμὴν τοῦτοις ἀπονέμομεν· οὗτι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο βούλεται, οὐτ' αὐτοὶ, οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκυρισμῶνται.

^u Origen. lib. viii. p. 420. "Ἐνα τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν ἡμῖν ἱερωμενίστιον, καὶ τοῦτον ἴλιω ὑπερίστω, ἱερωμενίζομεν ὑπερίστω καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς βούλεται μιστὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἱερωμενίζεσθαι Θεὸν κατανοήσας, ὅτι ὅστις τῷ κινουμένῳ σώματι ἀκολουθεῖ ἢ τῆς σκιᾶς αὐτοῦ κίνησις· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἱερωμενίζεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν, ἔπεται ὑμῖν ἔχουσιν πάντας τοὺς κείνου φίλους ἀγγέλους, καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ πνεύματα· συναίσθονται γὰρ τῶν ἁλίων τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῖνισμοῦ· καὶ οὐ μόνον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἁλίοις γίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπράττουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν θρασυτεῖν, καὶ ἱερωμενίζονται, καὶ συνυψίζονται, καὶ συναξοῦνται· ὅσοι τοιούτων ἡμεῖς λίγιν, ὅτι ἀνθρώποις, μιστὰ προαιρείσας προτιθεμένοις τὰ κρίσασα, εὐχομένους τῷ Θεῷ, μύρια ὅσα ἀκλητοι συνυψίζονται δυνάμει ἱερά." *Origen.*

^x Ambros. in Rom. l. (tom. iii. p. 244, edit. Paris. 1642.) Solent pudorem passi neglecti Dei miserà ea uti excusatione, dicentes, Per istos posse ire ad Deum, sicut per comites pervenitur ad regem. Age, nunquid tam demens est aliquis, aut salutis suæ immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vindicet comiti, cum

their neglecting of God, to use this miserable excuse; that by these they might go to God, as by officers we go to the king." To which he answers, "Is any man so mad, or so unmindful of his salvation, as to give the king's honour to an officer; when, if any shall be found but to treat of such a matter, they will be justly condemned as guilty of high treason? And yet these men think themselves not guilty, who give the honour of God's name to a creature; and, forsaking the Lord, adore their fellow-servants: as though there were any thing more that could be reserved to God. For, therefore, men go to the king by tribunes or officers; because the king is but a man, and knows not with whom he may intrust the affairs of the commonwealth. But to obtain the favour of God (from whom nothing is hid, for he knows the merits of all men), we have no need of an advocate or spokesman, but only a devout mind. For wheresoever such a one shall speak unto him, he will answer him." We have heard before, out of Irenæus,[†] "That the Church, in his time, though she wrought many miracles for the benefit of men, yet did nothing by invocation of angels, but only by prayer to God and the Lord Jesus Christ." And that thus it continued to be in the time of Athanasius, appears plainly from his way of disputing with the Arians, when he proves the Unity of the Father and Son, from the apostle's joining them together in prayer (1 Thess. iii. 11): "God himself, and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you." "No man," says he,[‡] "would

de hac re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei majestatis damneantur? Et isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturae, et relicto domino conservos adorant; quasi sit aliquid plus, quod reservetur Deo. Nam et ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique est rex, et nescit, quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem nihil utique latet, (omnium enim merita novit) promerendum, suffragatorum non opus est, sed mente devota. Ubicumque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi.

[†] Iren. lib. ii. c. lvii. Vid. supra, chap. ii. sect. ii. sub. litt. (").

[‡] Athan. Orat. iv. cont. Arian. tom. i. p. 464, (orat. iii. p. 561, c. edit. Paris. 1698.) Οὐκ ἂν γούν εὐχαιτό τις λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἢ παρὰ τινος τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων· οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις, Δώη σοι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἄγγελος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Πατρός καὶ τοῦ Τίτου, διὰ τὴν ἐνότητα καὶ τὴν ἰσοειδῆ δόξιν. . . . Εἰ δὲ ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰακώβ, εὐλογῶν τοὺς ἱγγόνους Ἐφραίμ καὶ Μανασσῆ, ἔλεγεν, Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ ἐνότητός μου ὥς τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης· ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ βούμεις με ἐκ

pray to receive any thing from the Father and the angels, or from any other of the creatures : neither would any man say, ‘ God and the angel give me this.’” And, whereas, the Arian might have said, that Jacob joined God and the angel together in prayer (Gen. xlviii. 16); Athanasius obviates this exception, by saying, “ He did not join one of the created angels, who are angels by nature, with God, who was their Creator; neither did he, omitting God that fed him, desire a blessing from an angel upon his children : but in saying, ‘ The angel which redeemed me from all evil,’ he shewed that it was not any of the created angels, but the Word of God, whom he joined with the Father, and prayed unto him.” There had been no force in this argument, had the Church used invocation of angels, in her prayers, in the time of Athanasius : the Arian might easily have replied, that his argument was refuted by experience in the Church’s daily practice. But that neither men nor angels were the object of religious adoration in his time, appears further from another discourse of his against the Arians, where he argues thus :^a “ Peter the apostle did forbid Cornelius, when he would have worshipped him, saying, ‘ I myself am also a man.’ (Acts, x. 26.) And the angel likewise did forbid John, when he would have worshipped him in the Revelations, saying, ‘ See thou do it not ; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them who keep the sayings of this book : worship God.’ (Rev. xxii. 9.) Wherefore it belongs to God only to be worshipped. And this the angels very well know, that though they excel

πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἐλογήσαι τὰ παῖδια ταῦτα· οὐ τῶν κτισθέντων καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀγγέλων ὄντων ἵνα συνῆπτι τῇ κρίσαντι αὐτοὺς Θεῷ· οὐδὲ ἀφίεις τὸν σείφοντα αὐτὸν Θεὸν, παρ’ ἀγγέλου τὴν ἐλογίαν ἤτιι τοῖς ἰγρόνοις· ἀλλ’ ἰερηνῶς, Ὁ βύμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἰδυῖς μὴ τῶν κτισθέντων τινὰ ἀγγέλων, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν τῇ πατρὶ συνάπτων ἡύχισα, δι’ οὗ ἐὰν θείῃ, βύεται ὁ Θεός.

^a Athan. Orat. iii. cont. Arian. p. 394, (orat. ii. p. 491, b. edit. cit.) Πίετρος μὲν ὁ ἀπόστολος προσκυνῆσαι θύλοντα τὸν Κορνήλιον καλῶν, λέγων, “Οτι πᾶρὰ ἀνθρώπος εἰμι. Ἀγγέλος δὲ θύλοντα προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει, καλῶν, λέγων, “Ορα μή· σύνδουλός σου εἰμι, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου, τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου τῷ Θεῷ προσκύνησον. Οὐκοῦν Θεοῦ ἐστι μοῦου τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι· καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀγγελοι, ὅτι πᾶν ἄλλων ταῖς δόξαις ὑπερέχουσιν· ἀλλὰ κρίματα πάντες εἰσὶ, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ τῶν προσκυνουμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν δισπότην.

others in glory, yet they are all but creatures ; and not in the number of those that are to be worshipped, but of those that worship the Lord." We cannot have clearer evidences than these either of the Church's doctrine or practice : both which are equally attested by St. Austin in his Book of True Religion : where he makes it a distinguishing character and property of true religion to worship no sort of creature, particularly neither angels, nor saints after death, but the sovereign majesty of God alone. " Let not our religion," says he,^b " consist in the worship of dead men ; because, if they lived piously, they are not esteemed such as would desire that kind of honour ; but would have him to be worshipped by us, by whose illumination they rejoice to have us partners with them in their merit. They are, therefore, to be honoured for imitation, not to be worshipped for religion." A little after, he says, " That which the highest angel worships, the same is to be worshipped by the meanest man. And this we are to believe, that the very greatest of angels, and most excellent ministers of God, would have us worship one God with them. And, therefore, we honour angels with love, not with religious service. Neither do we build temples to them : for they desire not to be so honoured by us ; because they know, that we ourselves, when we are good, are the temples of the most high God. And, therefore, it is well recorded, that the angel forbade the man to worship him, and bid him worship God, under whom he was his fellow-servant." (Rev. xxii. 9.)

It is true, indeed, the Manichees, about this time, began

^b Aug. de Vera Relig. c. lv. Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum : quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores : sed illam a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. Quod colit summus angelus, id colendum est etiam ab homine ultimo. Hoc etiam ipsos optimos angelos et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt. Neque enim et nos videndo angelos beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua etiam ipsos diligimus angelos et his congratulamur. . . . Honoramus eos caritate, non servitute. Nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis ; quia nos ipsos, quum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret sed unum Deum sub quo ei esset et ille conservus.

to charge the Catholics with worshipping their martyrs. Faustus objected to them, 'That they had only exchanged the heathen idols for martyrs, whom they worshipped with the same devotions, offering sacrifice of wine and meats to the ghosts and shades of dead men.' Had this been a true charge, though it could not have affected the argument, as drawn from the practice of the Church in former ages, yet it would have proved the corruption of saint worship to have crept a little earlier into the Church than will now be allowed. But the truth of the matter is, it was a mere calumny of Faustus's own inventing; and St. Austin rejects it with the utmost scorn and indignation. Therefore, he says in answer to it,^c "That the Christian people did celebrate the memories of the martyrs with religious solemnity, both to excite themselves to their imitation, and to be partners in their merits, and to have the benefit of their prayers; yet so, as that we never offer any sacrifice to a martyr, but to the God of martyrs, although we erect altars in the memories of the martyrs:" meaning churches called by their names. "For what priest, standing at the altar, in the places where the holy bodies lie, ever said, 'We offer unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian?' But whatever is offered, is offered unto God that crowned the martyrs, at the memo-

^c Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xx. c. xxi. tom. vi. p. 156, (p. 375, edit. Basil. 1569.) *Populus Christianus memorias martyrum religiosa sollemnitate concelebrat, et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur: ita tamen, ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in Memoriam (sl. 'in memorias') martyrum constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitem in locis sanctorum corporum adsisens altari, aliquando dicit, 'Offerimus tibi, Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane: sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui martyres coronavit: ut ex ipsorum locorum admonitione major adfectus exsurgat ad acuendam caritatem, et in illos quos imitari possumus, et in illum quo adjuvante possumus. Colimus ergo martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica veritate passionem paratum esse sentimus. . . . At vero illo cultu, qui Græce 'latría' dicitur, Latine uno verbo dici non potest, quum sit quædam proprie divinitati debita servitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus, nisi unum Deum. Quum autem ad hunc cultum pertineat oblatio sacrificii, unde idololatria dicitur eorum, qui hoc etiam idolis exhibent; nullo modo tale aliquid offerimus, aut offerendum præcipimus, vel cuiquam martyri, vel cuiquam sanctæ animæ, vel cuiquam angelo: et quisquis in hunc errorem delabitur, corripitur per sanam doctrinam, sive ut corrigatur, sive ut caveatur.—(Antwerp. 1700. viii. 246.)*

ries of those whom he crowned; that, by the very admonition of the places, our affection may rise higher, to quicken our love both toward them whom we may imitate, and toward him who enables us to imitate them. Therefore we worship the martyrs with that worship of love and society, wherewith we worship holy men of God in this life, whose heart we perceive to be prepared to suffer in like manner for the Gospel truth. But with that worship, which the Greeks call *λατρεία* and the Latins cannot express by one word, being a service proper to God, we neither worship, nor teach any one to worship, any other but God alone. And whereas the offering of sacrifice appertains to this kind of worship, whence it is called idolatry in those that give it to idols; we neither offer, nor teach any to offer, such worship, either to any martyr, or any holy soul, or any angel; but whoever falls into this error, is rebuked by sound doctrine, either to correct him, or condemn him, or to make him be avoided by others."

It is plain, from this answer of St. Austin's, that the charge of giving religious worship to saints and angels was false, and a mere calumny upon the Church in those days; and that the only persons then guilty of it, were such as were disowned and discarded by the Church. Which brings me to the third and last consideration proposed to confirm this position, That the ancient Church did not give religious worship either to saints or angels, because she condemned the practice both in heathens and heretics, and aggravated their idolatry upon this account.

SECT. III. — *Thirdly, From their charging the Practice of it upon Heretics and Heathens only.*

St. Austin, in another place, makes a severe remark upon all such as sought to angels, by prayer, for their assistance: he says they were distracted with strange curiosities and illusions. Take it in his own words, as he delivers it in a pious reflection upon his own happiness in escaping the snare at his own conversion, and a thankful acknowledgment of God's mercy in delivering him from such a delusion.

“Whom,” says he,^d “should I have found, that might reconcile me unto thee? Should I have gone unto the angels? With what prayer? With what sacraments? Many endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it by themselves, as I hear, have tried these things; and have fallen into the desire of curious visions, and were accounted worthy of illusions.” St. Chrysostom has a more severe reflection on this sort of men: for he not only says,^e “That no creature is to be worshipped by man, neither of things above, nor things below, whether man, or demons, or angels, or archangels, or any other supernal powers, but only God the Lord of all: and that the apostle, in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Colossians, discourses against such as taught that man was to come to God by angels, and not by Christ: for that was too great for him: ^f but he adds, in pursuance of the same matter,^g “That it was the devil which introduced this having recourse to angels, whilst he envied the honour of man. These be the enchantments of devils. Though it be an angel, though an archangel, though they be cherubims, endure it not. For neither will these powers themselves receive it, but reject it, when they see their Lord dishonoured. ‘I have honoured thee,’ saith God, ‘and bid thee call upon me.’ And dost thou then dishonour him?” Where we see plainly, that invocation of God, and invocation of angels, are opposed to one another; and as the

^d Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xlii. Quem invenirem qui me reconciliaret tibi? An eundum mihi fuit ad angelos? Qua prece? Quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per se ipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc; et inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, et digni habiti sunt illusionibus.

^e Chrysostom. Hom. v. in Coloss. p. 1348, (p. 188, edit. Francof.) “Ὅτι οὐ λίθου, οὐ ξύου, οὐ φυτῶν, οὐ στοιχείων, οὐ τῶν ἄνω, οὐ τῶν κάτω, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οὐ δαίμων, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐκ ἀρχάγγελος, οὐχ’ ἰστίς τις τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων κεύθων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως διεραπίσθαι ὀφείλει . . . ὅτι ὁ πάντων δισπότης οὗτος θύῃς ἐστιν, ὅτι διεραπίουν αὐτὸν μόνον χρεῖ.”

^f Ibid. Hom. vii. in Coloss. p. 1360, (p. 204, edit. Francof.) “Ἡσάν τινες οἱ λόγοις, οὐ δὲ ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσάγειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων” κενὸ γὰρ μὴδὲν ἐστὶ, ἢ καθ’ ἡμᾶς.

^g Ibid. Hom. ix. in Coloss. p. 1381, (p. 228, edit. cit.) “Ὁ διάβολος τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπιστήλας, βασκαίνειν ἡμῖν τῆς τιμῆς” τῶν δαιμόνων τοιαῦται αἱ ἐπαδαί· καὶ ἄγγελος ἢ, καὶ ἀρχάγγελος, καὶ τὰ χειροῦς, μὴ ἀνίχου ἐπὶ οὐδὲ αὐταὶ αἱ δυνάμεις καταδίζονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποσίσινται, ὅταν ἴδωσι τὸν δισπότην ἀτιμαζόμενον· Ἐγὼ σὶ ἐρίμυσά, φησι, καὶ εἶπον, ἰμὲ κάλυ· καὶ σὺ ἀτιμάζεις αὐτόν;

one is made the character of true religion, so the other is said to be the doctrine of devils.

The persons here reflected on by Chrysostom, were probably the same as had been known in the Church, and condemned from the apostles' days as heretics, under the name of *angelici*, or 'angel-worshippers.' For so St. Austin^b describes them, calling them *angelici*, from their inclination to worship angels. And so Isidore^c after him. Irenæus seems to insinuate that heretics were wont to invoke angels, when he opposes the Church's practice to them, telling them,^d "That many miracles were wrought in the Church, not by invocation of angels, but by prayer to God and the Lord Jesus Christ." And Tertullian says expressly of the followers of Simon Magus,^e "That they worshipped angels in the exercise of their magical art, which idolatry was condemned by St. Peter in their first founder." Now, there being such footsteps of angel-worship in the practice of so many heresies; and it being a thing that some were fond of, because it had a show of humility in it, the Council of Laodicea, to prevent the growing malady, made a severe canon under the denunciation of *anathema*, to restrain it. "Christians," say they,^m "ought not to forsake the Church of God, and go aside, and hold conventicles, to invoke or call upon the names of angels; which things are forbidden. If any one, therefore, be found to exercise himself in this private idolatry, let him be accursed, because he hath forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and gone over to idolatry." The first publishers of this Canon in the Latin editions, changed the word *angelos* into *angulos*; 'corners' instead of 'angels:' but the Greek admits of no such corruption; and, therefore, the fraud is easily

^b Aug. de Hæres. c. xxxix. Angelici, in Angelorum cultum inclinati.

^c Isidor. Origin. lib. viii. c. v. Angelici vocati, quia angelos colunt.

^d Iren. lib. ii. c. lvii. Vid. supr. c. ii. sect. ii. sub. litt. (^a).

^e Tertul. de Præscrip. c. xxxiii. Simonianæ autem Magiæ disciplina Angelis serviens, utique et ipsa inter idololatrias deputabatur, et a Petro apostolo in ipso Simone damnabatur.

^m Conc. Laodic. c. xxxv. "Οτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἱεραταλείσιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπίναι, καὶ ἀγγέλους ἠνομάζειν, καὶ συνάξεις ποιῆν ἅστις ἀπηγόρευται. Εἴ τις οὖν ἐνέβη ταύτῃ τῇ κεκυρμένῃ ἰδωλολατρείᾳ σχολάζων, ἴστω ἀνέθιμα, ὅτι ἱερατείᾳ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Τίον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἰδωλολατρείᾳ προσήλθεν.

discovered ; and nothing but the shame of seeing their practice so plainly condemned in this Canon, could have induced any men to have attempted such a childish corruption. Theodoret, in his Comment upon the Epistle to the Colossians, has occasion twice to mention this Canon ; where he says,ⁿ “ That because some, in the apostle’s days, commanded men to worship angels, therefore the apostle enjoined the contrary, that they should adorn their words and deeds with the commemoration of the Lord Christ, and send up thanksgiving to God and the Father by him, and not by the angels.” And that the Synod of Laodicea, following this rule, and desiring to heal that old disease, made a law, “ That men should not pray to angels, nor forsake our Lord Jesus Christ.” And again,^o “ This vice continued in Phrygia and Pisidia for a long time : for which cause also the Synod, assembled in Laodicea, the chief city in Phrygia, made a law to prohibit praying to angels. But yet, even to this day, among them and their neighbours, there are oratories of St. Michael to be seen.” Cardinal Perron uses a great deal of art and sophistry to pervert the sense of the apostle and this Canon together, which the reader may find sufficiently exposed and refuted by the learned Daillé,^p with the false glosses of Petavius and others, with which I shall not trouble this discourse. I only observe further, that as the Church condemned heretics as guilty of idolatry for worshipping of angels, so did she likewise for worshipping of their leaders and martyrs. Apollonius, who wrote against the Montanists, objects it to them, that they worshipped one Alexander, a martyr, among them.^q

ⁿ Theodoret. in Coloss. iii. 17. Ἐπιθεὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τοὺς ἀγγέλους σέβειν ἐκείνων, αὐτὸς τὸ ἰαντίον παρεγγυᾷ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοσμήσαι τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ δισπότου Χριστοῦ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ δι καὶ Πατρὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν δι’ αὐτοῦ, φησιν, ἀναπέμψετε, μὴ διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων· ταύτῃ ἱερομνίῃ τῇ νόμῳ καὶ ἡ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ σύνοδος, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκείνῳ πάθος διεραπύσας βουλομένη, ἱερομνηστικῶς μὴ εὐχέσθαι ἀγγέλοις, μηδὲ καταλαμβάνειν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

^o Ibid. ii. 18. Ἐμνινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ· οὗ δὲ χάριν καὶ συνελθούσα σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας νόμῳ κεκώλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι· καὶ μέχρι δι τοῦ νῦν εὐκτήρια τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ’ ἐκείνους καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐκείνων ἰστὶν ἰδίῃ.

^p Dall. de Object. Cult. Religios. lib. iii. c. xxxi. pp. 528-535.

^q Apollon. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xviii. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ περὶ πλείονων λέγομεν, ἡ προφῆτις ἡμῖν ἐπάτω τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν λίγοντα ἑαυτὸν μάρτυρα, ᾧ συνειστιάται· ὃ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοί.

And St. Austin reckons it among the errors of Simon Magus,^r that he left his own image, and the image of his harlot, Selene, to his disciples, to be worshipped by them. They objected the same to the heathen, that they worshipped such gods as were only men, and dead men; as may be seen in all the apologies made by Minucius Felix,^s Tertullian,^t Clemens Alexandrinus,^u Arnobius,^x Cyprian,^y and the rest that

^r Aug. de Hæres. c. i. Jovem se credi volebat (Simon), Minervam vero meretricem quamdam Selenen, quam sibi sociam scelerum fecerat: imaginesque et suam et ejusdem meretricis discipulis suis præbebat adorandas, quas et Romæ, tamquam deorum simulacra, auctoritate publica constituerat.

^s Minuc. Dialog. p. 88, edit. Oxon. 1678, 8vo. (p. 81, seq. ed. Hall.) Saturnum principem hujus generis et examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. Scit hoc Nepos, et Cassius in historia: et Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur. Is itaque Saturnus Creta profugus . . . Homo igitur utique qui fugit; homo utique, qui latuit, et pater hominis, et natus ex homine . . . Post mortem deos fingitis; et pejerante Proculo, deus Romulus: et Juba, Mauris volentibus, deus est; et divi, ceteri reges qui consecrantur, non ad fidem numinis, sed ad honorem emeritæ potestatis. Invisis denique hoc nomen adscribitur: optant in homine perseverare: fieri se deos metuunt; et, si jam senes, nolunt. . . . Manifestum est, homines illos fuisse, quos et natos legimus, et mortuos scimus. Quis ergo dubitat horum imagines consecratas vulgus orare, et publice colere; dum opinio et mens imperitorum artis concinnitate decipitur, auri fulgore præstringitur, argenti nitore et candore eboris hebetatur?

^t Tertul. Apol. c. x. Appellamus et provocamus a vobis ad conscientiam vestram: illa nos judicet, illa nos damnet, si poterit negare omnes istos deos vestros homines fuisse. — Cap. xii.; Digne imperatoribus defunctis honorem divinitatis dicatis, quibus et viventibus eum addicitis: accepto ferent dii vestri, immo gratulabuntur, quod pares eis fiant Domini sui. — (Paris. 1764. 14.)

^u Clement. Protrept. p. 26. Φιλόχορος δὲ, ἐν τῇνυ Ποσειδῶνα φησὶ τιμᾶσθαι πατρὸν Κρόνον δὲ ἐπικύεσθαι Σικελίᾳ, καὶ ἐν ταῦτα αὐτὸν τιτάσθαι. . . ἀνθρώπων τινὲ τῷ Διοσκουρῷ ἐπικίησιν γυνίσθην· ἵτην ἱκανὸς πιστώσασθαι "Ὅμηρος τὸ λειλαγμίνον

Τοὺς δ' ἀπτεχιν φυσίχους αἶα,

Ἐν Λακκιδάμοι αὐθι, φίλῃ ἐν πατρὶδι γαίῃ.

. . . Ἡρακλῆα καὶ αὐτὸς "Ὅμηρος θνητὸν οἶδεν ἀνθρώπου, κ. τ. λ.

^x Arnob. lib. i. p. 32, (p. 14, edit. Hamb. 1610, fol.) Et tamen o isti! qui hominem nos colere morte functum ignominiosa ridetis: nonne Liberum et vos patrem membratim ab Titanis discerptum fanorum consecratione mactatis? Nonne Æsculapium medicaminum repertorem, post pœnas et supplicia fulminis, custodem nuncupavistis et præsidem sanitatis, valetudinis, et salutis? Nonne ipsum Herculem magnum sacrificiis, hostiis, et thure invitatis incenso, quem ipsi vos fertis vivum arsisse post pœnas, et concrematum in funestis busticetis? . . . Nonne ipsum Romulum patrem, senatorum manibus dilaceratum centum, et Quirinum esse Martium dicitis, et sacerdotibus et pulvinaribus honoratis, et in ædibus adoratis amplissimis, et post hæc omnia cælum adscendisse juratis? &c.

^y Cyprian. de Idolor. Vanit. sub init. Deos non esse, quos colit vulgus, hinc

wrote against them ; which had been a very weak argument, and easily retorted, had Christians worshipped their martyrs, whom they could not deny to be mortal men. The heathens further pretended, that their demons or gods whom they worshipped, were good angels, and worshipped only as the ministers of the supreme God, and attendants of the court of heaven : notwithstanding which pretence, they charge them with idolatry, as giving the worship of God to the creature. He that would see this argument managed to just advantage, may consult the learned discourses of Mr. Daillé,^a and Bishop Stillingfleet,^a where he will find the pretences of the heathen, and the answers of the Christians, collected and set in their proper light. I shall only detain my reader with one citation out of St. Austin, as a specimen of all the rest, where he introduces the heathen making this apology for themselves ; “ We do not worship wicked devils,” say they, “ it is the angels you speak of, that we worship, the powers of the great God, the ministers of the great God.” To which St. Austin answers,^b “ I wish you would worship them ; for they would quickly teach you, that they are not to be worshipped. Hear the instruction of an angel. He taught a certain disciple of Christ, and shewed him many miracles in the Revelations of St. John ; who, having seen a certain miracle in a vision, was astonished, and cast himself down at the feet of the angel. But the angel, who sought nothing but the glory of his Lord, said, ‘ Arise, what dost thou ? worship God ; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy bre-

notum est : reges olim fuerunt, qui ob regalem memoriam coli apud suos, postmodum etiam in morte cœperunt, &c.

^a Dall. de Cultu Relig. lib. iii. c. xxv.

^a Stillingfleet's Defence of the Discourse of Idolatry, part i. c. i.

^b Aug. in Psalm. xcvi. tom. viii. p. 445, (p. 1088, a. edit. Basil. 1569.)

Utinam ipsos colere velletis : facile ab ipsis disceretis non illos colere. Audite angelum doctorem. Docebat quemdam discipulum Christi, et ostendebat illi multa miracula in Apocalypsi Johannis. Ille autem, quodam sibi demonstrato miraculo visionis, expavit, et misit se ad pedes angeli. Et ille angelus, qui non quærebat nisi gloriam Domini sui, ‘ Surge, quid facis,’ inquit, ‘ illum adora : nam et ego conservus tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum.’ Quid ergo fratres mei ? Nemo dicat, ‘ Timeo, ne irascatur mihi angelus, si non illum colo pro Deo meo :’ tunc tibi irascitur, quando ipsum colere volueris. Bonus est enim, et Deum amat. Quomodo enim dæmones irascuntur, si non colantur : sic angeli indignantur, si pro Deo colantur.

thren.' How is it then, my brethren? Let no one say, 'I fear lest the angel should be angry at me, if I do not worship him for my God.' He is then only angry at thee, when thou art inclined to worship him; for he is good, and loves God. And as the devils are angry if they be not worshipped, so the angels are highly displeased if they be worshipped instead of God." At last he concludes with this admonition to the pagans; "Let the pagans learn to adore God. They have a mind to adore angels. Let them imitate angels, and adore him whom the angels adore."^c And with these words I shall conclude this whole discourse of religious worship, knowing no better admonition that can be given to the angel-worshippers of the present age, than to advise them to imitate the angelical practice of the Primitive Church, who had God, and only God, for the object of their adoration.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT ANCIENTLY DIVINE SERVICE WAS ALWAYS PERFORMED
IN THE VULGAR TONGUE, UNDERSTOOD BY THE PEOPLE.

SECT. I.—*This proved, First, from plain Testimonies of the
Ancients asserting it.*

HAVING thus considered the nature and object of Christian worship, I come now to speak of the circumstances and manner of performing Divine service. And here it will be proper to examine in what language the ancients performed their worship, and to inquire into the use and original of what we commonly call 'liturgies,' or 'set forms of prayer;' and to take notice of the habits, and modes, and gestures, and different rites and ceremonies, observed without any breach of faith or Christian unity in different Churches; together with the solemn times of prayer and religious assemblies, whether weekly or daily, generally observed and set apart for the exercise of public devotion.

^c Ang. in Psalm. xcvi. (Antwerp. 1700, iv. 787.) *Discant pagani adorare Deum. Angelos volunt adorare: angelos imitentur, et illum adorent qui ab angelis adoratur.*

As to the first of these, there is nothing more certain in history, than that the service of the ancient Church was always performed in the vulgar or common language of every country; that is, such as was either commonly spoken, or at least commonly understood. And so it continued for above a thousand years in the Church. And it is even monstrous to think that, in so inquisitive an age as the present is, there should be any men of learning to defend, or whole nations so tamely to submit to, the imposition and tyranny of the contrary practice; so absurd and unreasonable in itself; so prejudicial to devotion; so contrary to the use of speech, whose end is edification; so reproachful to human nature, as if men were asses indeed, as Thomas Aquinas once made the comparison; so derogatory to the Christian's birthright; so flatly contradictory to the apostle's reasoning; and so diametrically opposite to the universal practice of the Church for so many ages. But I shall not think myself obliged to dispute against it upon all these topics, nor to say all that might be said in a historical way against it. He that pleases, may see that done already in an excellent book^a of Bishop Usher's, published by Mr. Wharton. I shall content myself to suggest a few things, agreeable to the design of treating matters succinctly, which will be sufficient to satisfy any candid reader as to the sense and practice of the Primitive Church.

And first I observe, that the ancients declare unanimously, "That Divine service was performed in the vulgar tongue of every nation." "The Grecians," says Origen,"^b "use the Greek language in their prayers, and the Romans the Roman; and so every one in his own dialect prays to God, and gives thanks as he is able: and the God of all languages hears them that pray in all dialects, understanding their different languages, as well as if they all spake with one tongue." This, he says, in answer to an objection of Celsus, who

^a Usser. *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis cum Auctario* H. Wharton, Lond. 1690, 4to.

^b Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. viii. p. 402. 'Εν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οἱ μὲν Ἕλληες ἑλληνικοῖς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον εὐχεται τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὑμνῇ αὐτὸν ὡς δύναται καὶ ὁ πάσης διαλέκτου κύριος τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου εὐχαριζόντων ἀκούει, ὡς μιᾶς (ἢ οὕτως ὀνομάσω) φωνῆς, τῆς κατὰ τὰ σημαίνοντα, ἀκούων, δηλουμένης ἐκ τῶν ποιούντων διαλέκτων.

charged them with using of barbarous and unintelligible names and words in their prayers. Justin Martyr, says,^c “The Scriptures were first read in their assemblies to the people; and then the president made a discourse to them, exhorting them to observe and follow the good instructions they had heard out of the prophets and apostles;” which had been an absurd admonition, had not the lessons been read in a language which they understood. St. Jerom tells us,^d “That at the funeral of the famous Lady Paula, the psalms were sung in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, because there were men of each language present at the solemnity.” And for the same reason, Cæsarius, bishop of Arles,^e is said “to have appointed the people to sing the psalms and hymns, some in Greek, and some in Latin:” no doubt that the Divine service might be understood by men of different languages then present in the assembly. Aurelius Cassiodore, writing upon those words of the psalmist, “She shall be brought unto the king in raiments of divers colours,” says,^f “This variety signified diversity of tongues, wherewith every nation sang to God in the church, according to the difference of their own country language.” And it being then the way of the Church, that all offices should be performed with the understanding and edification of the people, Justinian provided for this in one of his laws,^g “Obliging all bishops and presbyters to

^c Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λειτουργίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων, κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μινόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκονται, μέχρις ἐγχαρῆς ὥστε παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, προιστῶς διὰ λόγου τὴν νομισθεῖσαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιῶνται.

^d Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, Ep. xxvii. c. xiii. (p. 184, e. edit. Paris. 1643.) Græco, Latino, Syroque Sermone psalmi in ordine personabant; non solum triduo, donec subter ecclesiam et juxta specum Domini conderetur, sed per omnem hebdomadam, cunctis, qui venerant, suum funus et proprias credentibus lacrimas.

^e Cyprian. Vit. Cæsar. Arelat. apud Surium, Aug. xxvii. p. 947. Compulit laicos et populares homines psalmos et hymnos promere, altaque et modulata voce, instar clericorum, alios Græce, alios Latine, prosas et antiphonas decantare, &c.

^f Cassiodor. in Psalm. xlv. al. xlv. Hæc varietas linguas multiplices significat; quia omnis gens secundum suam patriam in ecclesia psallit auctori.

^g Justin. Novel. cxxxvii. c. vi. Κελεύομεν πάντας ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, μὴ κατὰ τὸ σισιμνημένον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φωνῆς τῇ πιστοτάτῃ λαῷ ἐξακουρίνης

repeat the prayers used in the communion and baptismal service, not in secret, but with an audible voice, so as the minds of the hearers might be raised to greater devotion, and stirred up to glorify the Lord God. For so the holy apostle directs in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, saying, ‘If thou blestest only with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say the holy Amen to God at the giving of thanks? for he knoweth not what thou sayest. For thou verily givest thanks well; but the other is not edified.’” It is plain by this, that Justinian thought all prayers which the people either could not hear, or could not understand, were equally blamed by the apostle, as not contributing to edification; and, therefore, as he made a law against private muttering of prayers, which ought to be public, so he would, no doubt, have been as severe against praying in an unknown tongue, had there then been any occasion (as there was not) for the like prohibition in the liturgy of the Church; which may be collected from another of his laws, which was made upon occasion of a dispute, which in his time arose among the Jews. Some of them, who were superstitiously inclined, were for having the law read only in Hebrew, though not understood by the people. Others were for having it read in Greek, or any language which the people understood. The matter at last was brought before Justinian, and he determined in favour of the latter,^h “That it should be read in Greek, or any other language which the

τὴν θείαν προσημυδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ βαπτίσματι προσευχὴν ποιῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ πάντῳ τὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων ψυχὰς εἰς πλείονα κατενύξιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δισπότην Θεὸν διανοῖσθαι δοξολογίαν· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λίγων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ, Ἐπεὶ ἰὰν ἐυλογῆς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπλῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἔρει τὸ ἀμήν τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ; ἰσχυρὰ τί λίγαις, οὐκ οἶδ’· σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστῇς, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἀποδομαίται.

^h Justin. Novel. cxlvi. Θεσιζόμεν, ἄδικον εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Ἑβραίῃς, κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, καθ’ ὃν Ἑβραῖοι ὅλως τόπον εἰσὶ, διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκειν τοῖς συνοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τῆς πατρίου τυχόν (τῆς Ἰταλῆς ταύτης φωνῆς) ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλῶς τοῖς τόποις συμμεταβαλλομένης τῆς γλώττης, καὶ τῆς δι’ αὐτῶν ἀναγνώσεως· ἵφ’ ὃ σαφὴν τι εἶναι τὰ λιγόμενα τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἅπασιν ἰφελῆς, καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ζῆν τι καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ παρῆρσιαν εἶναι τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἑξηγηταῖς, μόνην τὴν Ἑβραϊδα παραλαμβάνουσι, κακουργυν ταύτην, ὡς ἂν ἰδιώσεσιν τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοίᾳ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν περικαλύπτουσαν κακοήθειαν.

place where they lived had made more useful and known to the people." Hitherto, therefore, we are assured, this corruption had made no attempt to gain admittance in the service of the Christian Church, since it was corrected by the civil magistrate, as soon as it was observed to be creeping into the Jewish synagogue.

SECT. II. — *Secondly, From the People's joining in Psalmody and Prayer, and making their Responses.*

Secondly, as a further evidence of this matter, we may observe, that all the people anciently were allowed to join in psalmody and prayers, and make their proper responses, The learned and unlearned ; nay, even women, young virgins, and children, in those times, bare a part in the public service of the Church. St. Chrysostom,ⁱ and the author of the Constitutions,^k speak of children praying with the rest of the congregation for the catechumens and the faithful also. And St. Jerom speaks of young virgins singing the psalter at morning and evening, at the third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and at midnight in their course, and says,^l "They were obliged to learn the psalms, and some portion of Scripture every day." St. Basil^m and many others (as we shall see hereafter, when we speak of psalmody) say, "All the people sung the psalms alternately." And Basilⁿ par-

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. lxxi. in Matth. p. 624, (p. 768, c. edit. Francof.) 'Ἡ τρίτη (δίδασκε) πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ παῖδια τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἱεροῖς παρακαλοῦντα· ἵπαιδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὶ κατιγνώσκουσιν ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήματα, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πολλὰ ἁμαρτηκότων, καὶ ἰσχυροῦνται ὀφειλόντων αὐτοὶ βοῶμεν· ὑπὲρ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ παῖδες, ὧν τῆς ἀπλότητος τοὺς ζήλωντας ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν μέλει.

^k Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. 'Ἐφ' ἑκάστη δὲ τούτων, ὧν ὁ διάκονος προφρονεῖ, ὡς πορεύομεν, λογίζου ὁ λαὸς, Κύριε, ἐλίσσον· καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὰ παῖδια.

^l Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, Ep. xviii. c. x. (p. 181, b. edit. Paris. 1643.) Mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis medio, per ordinem psalterium cantabant. Nec licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare psalmos, et non de Scripturis quotidie aliquid discere.

^m Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. p. 96, e. 'Ἐκ νυκτὸς ἐρρήξου παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ, καὶ ἐν θλίψει, καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τιλιωταῖον ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται· καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανομήντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μελίτην τῶν λογίων ἐντιῶθιν κρατύνοντες, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Ibid. Proœm. in Psalmos, (tom. i. opp. p. 108, a.) Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἱεραρχία

ticularly takes notice of children performing this office in common with the rest of the people. And we shall meet with the people's prayers and responses almost in every part of the liturgy, such as the Κύριε, ἐλέησον, 'Lord, have mercy,' subjoined to every petition of the deacon's prayers; and in those mutual prayers of ministers and people, 'The Lord be with you; And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts: We lift them up unto the Lord;' with abundance more that need not here be mentioned. All which suppose the service to be in the vulgar and known language: else it were absurd to think, that the people should know how and when to make their responses; or that children and young virgins should learn the Psalms and Scripture by heart, and join in psalmody and other parts of the service of the Church.

SECT. III.—*Thirdly, From the frequent Exhortations of the Fathers to the People to hear, and read, and pray with Understanding.*

Thirdly, there is nothing more common among the ancients, in their discourses to the people, than to admonish and exhort them both to hear, and read, and pray with understanding, attention, and fervency of spirit; which had been very incongruous admonitions, obliging them to impracticable rules, had the lessons and prayers been in an unknown tongue. St. Basil thus exhorts his people;° "Thou hast the Psalms; thou hast the prophets, the precepts of the gospel, the preachings of the apostles; let thy tongue sing, and thy mind search the meaning of what is spoken, that thou mayest sing with the spirit, and sing with understanding also." In another homily, he tells them,ᵑ "That the Divine

ταῦτα μίλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐκινύονται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἣ καὶ ὅλος οἱ νεοὶ τὸ ἥθος, τῷ μὲν δοκῇ μελοῦσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύονται.

—Venant. Fortun. lib. ii. Poëmat. in Laudem Cleri Parisiaci :

Pontificis monitis clerus, plebs psallit, et infans.

° Basil. Hom. in Psalm. xxviii. serm. i. (tom. i. p. 154, c.) Ψαλμὸν ἔχεις, προφητείας ἔχεις· εὐαγγελικὰ παραγγέλματα· τὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων κηρύγματα· ἢ γλῶσσα ψαλλίτω· ὁ νοῦς ἐκινύτω τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἐρημίων, ἵνα ψάλλῃς τῷ πνεύματι, ψάλλῃς δὲ καὶ νοῖ.

ᵑ Ibid. Hom. in Psalm. lix. p. 253, a. Τὰ ἡμέτερά ἐστι τὰ θεῖα λόγια, καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς διότιμπα, δῶρα, καὶ ἱεαστον σύλλογον ὑπαναγινώσκονται, αὖν τις τρεφᾷ ψυχῶν, χορηγουμένη διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

oracles were God's gifts to the Church, to be read in every assembly, as the food which the Spirit afforded us for the nourishment of our souls." And in another place,¹ putting the question, "How a man prays with the spirit, whilst his understanding is unfruitful?" he answers, "That this was spoken of those that prayed in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the apostle says, 'If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit indeed prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful.' For when the words of the prayer are not known to them that are present, the understanding of him that prayeth, is unfruitful, because his prayer is of no use or advantage: but when they that are present, understand the prayer, which is of advantage to the hearers; then he that prays, reaps the fruit of it, namely, the edification of those who receive benefit by it. And we are to conceive in like manner of all utterance of the words of God; for it is written, 'If any be useful for edification in the faith.'" By all this it is evident, the Scriptures, and psalms, and prayers, were read in a known tongue: for otherwise, it were in vain to exhort men to give diligence and attention to understand what they heard, if every thing was spoken in a language which they did not, or could not, understand.

SECT. IV. — *Fourthly, From the References made by the Fathers to the Prayers and Lessons in the Service of the Church.*

Fourthly, the fathers, in their sermons, frequently refer to the prayers of the Church, and to the lessons read before, as things the people were perfectly well acquainted with. They often argue from matters contained in the prayers, as Chrysostom does commonly from all parts of the liturgy: and

¹ Basil. Regul. Brev. quæst. cclxxviii. Πῶς τὸ πνεῦμά τις προσεύχεται, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἄκαρπός ἐστιν; ἀπόκρισις· Τοῦτο περὶ τῶν ἐν γλώσσῃ ἀγνωσίῃ τῷ ἀκούοντι τὰς προσευχὰς ἀναπιμπόντων ἐρρήθη· φησὶ γὰρ, Ἐὰν προσεύχωμαι γλώσσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμά μου προσεύχεται, ὁ δὲ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπός ἐστιν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἄγνωστα ἢ τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ ῥήματα τῆς προσευχῆς, ἄκαρπός ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ προσευχομένου, μηδὲν ὠφελουμένου· ὅταν δὲ οἱ παρόντες νοῶσι τὴν προσευχὴν ὠφελιῶν δυναμένην τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τότε ὁ προσευχόμενος καρπὸν ἔχει, τὴν τῶν ὠφελουμένων βελτίωσιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἐκφωνήσῃ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥημάτων· γίνεσθαι γὰρ, Ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀγαθὸς πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς πίστεως.

their sermons, for the most part, were upon such portions of Scripture as had just been read before, as I shall shew when I come to the office of preaching. Now this supposes, that both the prayers and lessons of Scripture were in a known tongue: else it were absurd for the preachers to appeal to their auditors as well acquainted with them, or draw arguments from thence, as motives grounded upon their own experience, if yet indeed they had no knowledge of them.

SECT. V. — *Fifthly, From the Scriptures being translated into all Languages, from the first Foundation of Churches.*

Fifthly, this is evident, from that pious care which the Church took to have the Bible translated into all languages; and, as soon as any nation was converted, that spake an uncommon tongue, immediately to procure a new version of the Scriptures into their language. Eusebius says,^r “They were translated into all languages, both of Greeks and barbarians throughout the world, and studied by all nations as the oracles of God.” Chrysostom assures us,^s “That the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and a multitude of other nations translated them into their own tongues, whereby barbarians learned to be philosophers; and women and children, with the greatest ease, imbibed the doctrine of the gospel.” Theodoret says the same,^t “That

^r Euseb. de Præparat. Evangelic. lib. xii. c. i. “Ἐντεν παρ’ ἡμῶν, τοῖς μὲν ἄρτι εἰσαγομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ἀτελείσιν, ὡς ἂν τὰς ψυχὰς νηπίους, ἀπλούστερον ἢ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀνάγνωσις παραδίδοται, μετὰ τοῦ διῆν πιστεύειν ὡς Θεοῦ λόγοις τοῖς ἐμφερεμένοις παρακινούμενοις τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἔξιν προεβίηκότες, καὶ πολλοὶς τὸ φρόνημα, ἐμβυθύνειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιτίτραπται. — Id. de Laud. Constant. c. xvii. Καὶ τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς ἀριτήντι καὶ δύνανται παρασχῆναι, ὡς καὶ γενοφῶς συντάξαι, καὶ βίβλους παραδόντας καὶ πάντας εἰς τοσοῦτο κρατύνειν, ὡς καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης παντοίῃς γλώσση βαρβαροῖσι τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων μεταβαλλομένοις, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι μιλιᾶσθαι καὶ πιστεύειναι θεία εἶναι λόγια τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς καταβεβλημένα, κ. τ. λ.

^s Chrysostom. Hom. i. in Joan. al. ii. edit. Savil. tom. ii. p. 561, (p. 14, edit. Francof.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ Σύροι, καὶ Αἰγύπτια, καὶ Ἰνδοί, καὶ Πέρσαι, καὶ Αἰθίοπες, καὶ μύρια ἕτερα ἔθνη, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλῶτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου (Ἰωάννου) δόγματα εἰσαχθίνας, ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφίᾳ. . . . τοσαύτην τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἰγκατέμεινεν εὐκολίαν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀνδράσι συνιταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖξιν καὶ νήσις ἅπαντα εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα δῆλα.

^t Theodoret. de Curand. Græcor. Adfect. serm. v. (tom. iv. p. 555, d.) Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν καὶ προφητικῶν δογμάτων τὰ κρᾶτος ἰσχυροῦς ἐπιδείκνυμεν πᾶσα

every nation under heaven had the Scripture in their own tongue. The Hebrew books were not only translated into Greek, but into the Roman, Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Armenian, Syethian, and Sauromatic languages; and, in a word, into all tongues used by all nations in his time." The like is attested by St. Jerom,^u and St. Austin,^x and many others. Ulphilas is said, by all the historians,^y to have translated the whole Bible into the Gothic tongue. St. Jerom translated it into the Dalmatic,^z as he himself seems to intimate, when he calls it his own tongue; as Scaliger and most others understand him; though Bishop Usher^a thinks he meant the Latin rather, by his own tongue. St. Chrysostom^b sometimes mentions the Syriac translation; and he is said, by the author of his life,^c to have procured, during his exile at Cucusus, in Armenia, a Translation of the Psalms and

γὰρ ἡ ὀφθαλμὸς τῶνδ' ὅτων λόγων ἀνάπλιος· καὶ ἡ Ἑβραίων φωνὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβλήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ Περσῶν, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ Σκυθῶν, καὶ Σαυροματῶν, καὶ συλλήθεον ἰσχυρῶς, εἰς πάσας τὰς γλώσσας αἷς ἑκαστα τὰ ἴδια κειμήλια διατελεῖ.

^u Hieron. Præfat. in iv. Evangel. ad Damasum. Novum opus me facere cogis ex veteri: ut post exemplaria Scripturarum, toto orbe dispersa, quasi quidam arbiter sedeam, &c. — Ibid. Quum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse, quæ addita sunt.

^x Aug. Epist. xlviii. ad Vincent. (tom. ii. opp. p. 177, c.) Clama et contende, quantum potes, etiam si apud Persas et Indos evangelium prædicetur, ubi quidem jam diu prædicatur, &c. — Ibid. p. 184, d. Neque enim sic potuit integritas atque notitia litterarum unius quamlibet illustris episcopi custodiri, quemadmodum scriptura canonica, tot linguarum litteris, et ordine, et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticæ custoditur, &c. (Paris. 1688, ii. 246.)

^y Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. Τότε καὶ Οὐλφίλας, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἐπίσκοπος, γραμματα ἐφίπυρε Γότθικὰ καὶ τὰς θείας γραφὰς εἰς τὴν Γότθων μεταβαλὼν, τοὺς βαρβάρους μαθήναι τὰ θεία λόγια παρισκίασεν. — Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxvii. Πρῶτον γραμμάτων εὐρετὴς αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο (Οὐλφίλας) καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν φωνὴν μετέφρασε τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους.

^z Hieron. Epist. cxxxiv. ad Sophronium. Nec hæc dico, quo prædecessores meos mordeam, aut quidquam his arbitrer detrahendum; quorum translationem, diligentissime emendatam, olim meæ linguæ hominibus dederim, &c.

^a Usser. de Sacr. Vernac. p. 220.

^b Chrysost. Hom. iii. in 2 Cor. p. 754. (In edit. Francof. non invenio. Vid. autem Hom. in Joan. p. 14, edit. Francof. cit. sub. litt. autec. (*), p. 92. Grischov.)

^c Gregor. Alex. Vit. Chrysostom. n. lix. tom. viii. edit. Savil. p. 236. Εὗρε κατὰ χάριν Θεοῦ τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν πισταμένους τὴν Ἑλληνίδα γλῶσσαν, καὶ παρισκίασεν αὐτοὺς μεταφράσαι τὴν νῦν διαθήκην καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ, ὥπως γνώσιν λάβωσι τῆς θείας γραφῆς.

New Testament for the use of the Armenian Churches. Not to mention that of Methodius, or Cyril, into the Slavonian tongue, or any others of later ages; of which the curious reader may find exact accounts in Bishop Usher,^d Bishop Walton,^e Dr. Milles,^f and Hottinger,^g and others upon this peculiar subject of the Scripture versions.

SECT. VI.—*Sixthly, From the Use of the Order of Interpreters in the Church.*

As to the ancient practice, it may be evidenced further, and confirmed from the use of interpreters in the Church, whose office, as has been shewed in another place,^h out of Epiphaniusⁱ and other writers, was to render one language into another, as there was occasion, both in reading the Scriptures, and in the homilies that were made to the people. For it happened sometimes, that there were men of different languages in the same Church; as in the Churches of Syria and Palestine, some understood Syriac only, and others Greek; and in the African Churches, some spake Latin, and others Punick: in which cases, whatever was said in one language, was immediately rendered into the other by the interpreter for the benefit of the people. In confirmation of which custom, to what has been said before, I shall here add the observation of Theodoret^j upon the practice of Chrysostom, “who, by the help of such an interpreter, often preached to the Arian Goths in Constantinople; whom, by that means, he reduced to the Catholic faith.”

^d Usser. de Script. Vernac. p. 220.

^e Walton. Proleg. c. v. pp. 34, 35.

^f Millii Proleg. in Nov. Testam.

^g Hotting. de Translat. Biblior. Heidelb. 1660.

^h Book iii. c. xiii. sect. iv.

ⁱ Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. Ἐρμηνεύται γλώσσης εἰς γλώσσαν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις.

^j Theodoret. lib. v. c. xxx. Αὐτός τε γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκείναι φοιτῶν διλίσγιστο, ἑρμηνεύσῃ χρόμινος τῷ ἱερατικῶν γλώσσαν ἰπισταμένῳ τινί, καὶ τοὺς λίγους ἰπισταμένους τοῦτο παρισκιάζῃ δὲ αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν ἴδον ἐν τῇ πόλει διττίλῳ παῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐξηπαστημένων ἐξώγει, τῶν ἀποστολικῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐκιδιανὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

SECT. VII. — *Seventhly, From the Custom of having Bibles laid in the Churches for the People to read in Private.*

Another custom, observed in the ancient Church, was to have Bibles in the vulgar tongue laid in a convenient part of the Church, for the people at their leisure to employ themselves, as they were piously inclined, in reading of the Scriptures before or after the times of Divine service. Of which custom, those verses of Paulinus,^k which he wrote upon the wall of the *secretarium* of the Church of Nola, are an infallible proof, which were in these words :

Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas ;
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris :

‘If any one is piously disposed to meditate in God’s law; here he may sit, and employ himself in reading the holy books.’ Thus Constantine himself, as is observed by Eusebius,^l was wont to employ himself in the church ; partly, by joining in the public prayers with the people ; and, partly, by taking the books of the Divine oracles into his hands, and exercising his mind in contemplation of them. And, probably, for this reason, he ordered Eusebius to prepare fifty copies of the Bible for the use of the Church in Constantinople,^m as his letter to Eusebius witnesses : for it is observed and spoken to his praise by Eusebius, in another place,ⁿ “ That, by his means, innumerable multitudes, both of men and women, exchanged the food of their bodies for that of their souls ; that rational food which was so agreeable to rational minds ; and which they obtained by reading

^k Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever.

^l Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xvii. Μιστὰ χεῖρας γίνεται λαμβάνων τὰς βίβλους, τῇ τῶν Θεοπνεύστων λογίῳ θεωρίᾳ προσανίχκει τὸν νοῦν ὑπὲρ εὐχὰς ἰστίους σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασιλεῖον οἰκονομοῦσιν ἀπειδιδου.

^m Ap. Euseb. ibid. lib. iv. c. xxxvi. Πλείστοι κατεφάνη, τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει, ὅπως ἂν πινυτήκοστα σώματα ἰν διφθέραις ὑγκατασυνύουσ, ὑπανάγνωστά τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χεῖρσιν ἐμμετακόμεστα, ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν εἰχὴν ἱστοταμίουν, γραφῆναι κελεύσεις.—Vid. eadem Epist. Constant. verba ap. Theodoret. lib. i. c. xv. et ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. ix.

ⁿ Euseb. Orat. de Laudibus Constant. c. xvii. p. 661, (p. 546, edit. Amstelod. 1695.) Τίς γύναια καὶ μύρια πλήθη ἀνδρῶν ἀνατίπτει, λογικὰς τροφὰς ψυχαῖς λογικαῖς καταλλήλους, δι’ ἰθὺν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἀντικαταλλάττασθαι τῶν τοῦ σώματος τροφῶν ;

the Holy Scriptures." This must necessarily relate either to their reading the Scriptures by the help and benefit of his copies in the church; or else will argue that they were encouraged by him to read them at home in their private houses; which had been denied them under pain of banishment or death before, in the preceding reigns of the persecuting princes.

SECT. VIII.—*Eighthly, From the general Allowance granted to all Men to have, and read, the Scriptures in their Mother-Tongue. Which Privilege was never infringed by any but the Heathen Persecutors.*

And this leads us to another plain evidence of the primitive practice: which was the privilege and encouragement all Christians had to read the Scriptures at home, for the exercise of themselves and families in private devotion, and better preparation for the public. None ever denied them this privilege, but those persecuting tyrants, who intended to destroy the name and faith of Christians, together with their Bibles, out of the world: for which reason they made the strictest search after them, and used all imaginable art and force to make them deliver them up to be burnt: which they who did, were branded by the infamous name of *traditores*, 'traitors,' and betrayers of their religion. A certain argument, that then private Christians had the use of the Scriptures; else they could not have been impeached for delivering them up to the enemy. It cannot be pleaded here that the Scriptures were then only in the hands of the bishops, and readers, and others of the clergy: for Baronius himself has published the Acts of several martyrs, where not only private men, but women, confess to the inquisitors that they had the Holy Scriptures in their houses with them. I will give a single instance out of the Acts of Agape, and Irene, and their companions.* Where the grand inquisitor

* *Acta Agapes et Sociarum*, ap. Baron. an. ccciv. n. xlii. Quisnam tibi auctor fuit, ut membranas istas atque Scripturas in hodiernum usque diem custodires? Irene inquit: Deus omnipotens, qui jussit nos ad mortem usque ipsum diligere: qua de causa non ausa sumus eum prodere; sed maluimus aut viventes comburi, aut, quæcumque alia nobis acciderint, perpeti, quam talia scripta prodere.

asks this question of Irene, "Who advised you to keep those parchments and Scriptures to this time?" To which Irene answered, "God Almighty, who has commanded us to love him unto the death; for which cause we durst not betray him; but had rather be burnt alive, or suffer any other things that may befall us, than treacherously deliver up those writings." It is plain from this, that private Christians, both men and women, then enjoyed the Scripture as their birthright, and none pretended to ravish them from them, but only the persecuting heathen. The fathers of the Church were so far from doing this, that, on the contrary, they used all manner of arguments to induce men to read and study them; exhorting them not only to hear them with attention in the church, but to read them privately, at home with their wives and families; commending those that studied them, and reproving those that neglected them; making large encomiums upon the use and excellency of them, and requiring men to peruse them privately, as the best preparation for the public service and instruction; answering all objections and pretences that men could make to the contrary: as that they were ignorant and unlearned, and that the Scriptures were difficult and hard to be understood; that they were only for the use of monks and religious, and not for secular men, and men of business; assuring them that the Scriptures were for the use of all men, and that it was the neglect of them that was the cause of all ignorance, heresies, errors, and irreligion. These were the general topics, upon which the fathers then pressed the common people to read the Scriptures, which are diametrically opposite to the arguments used, in later ages, to dissuade and deter men from the use of them. A man cannot look into the fathers, but he will see such arguments every where running through their writings. So that it is needless here to insist upon them: the reader that pleases, may see them collected together, from first to last, by Bishop Usher and Mr. Wharton. I shall only relate one passage of Chrysostom, out of his famous sermons upon Lazarus, where he at once proposes the several arguments, and answers the several objections I have now mentioned. "For

this reason," says he,^p "we often acquaint you, many days beforehand, with the subject of our discourse: that, taking the Bible into your hands in the meantime, and running over the whole passage, you may have your minds better prepared to hear what is to be spoken. And this is the thing I have always advised, and shall still continue to exhort you to, That you should not only hear what is said in this place, but spend your time at home continually in reading the Holy Scriptures. And here let no one use those

^p Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Lazar. tom. v. p. 59, (p. 55, a. edit. Francof.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθῆσθαι πολλάκις ὑμῖν προλόγοιμι πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς μεταξὺ ταύταις ἡμέραις τὸ βιβλίον λαβόντες, καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν ἅπασιν ἱπνόντες, καὶ καταμαθόντες τί μὲν εἴηται, τί δὲ ὑπελείπεται, εὐμαχιστίρας ὑμῶν ποιήσῃτε τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθσομένων καὶ τοῦτο αἰὶ παρακαλῶ καὶ παρακαλῶν οὐ παύσομαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν ταῦθα τοῖς λιγομένοις προσίχηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκοι γινόμενοι, τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει συνεχῶς ἐνδυναστεύονται· τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ συγγινόμενοις ἡμῖν οὐ δέλιποι αἰὶ παρὶ γυνῶν μὴ γὰρ μοι λιγίστω τις τὰ ψυχρὰ ῥήματα ἐκείνα, καὶ πολλῆς καταγνώσεως ἄξια, ὅτι δικαστηρίῳ προσήλωμαι, τὰ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτα πρᾶγματα, εἴχηνη μισέωμαι, γυναῖκα ἔχω, παῖδια τρέφω, οἰκίαν προΐσταμαι, ἀνὴρ εἰμι βιωτικός· οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν γραφὸς ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποταξομένων, τῶν τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὁρίων κατυληφόντων, τῶν τοῦτο τὸν βίον ἔχοντων διηنيκῶς· τί λίγους, ἀνθρώποις· οὐκ ἔστι οὐδ' ἔργον γραφῶν προσέχιν, ἐκείνῃ μυρίας περιέλην φροντίσι· οὐ μὲν οὖν μᾶλλον ἔστιν, ἢ ἐκείνων· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκείνοι χρῆζουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν βοηθείας, ὡς οἱ ἐν μίσῳ στεριόμηναι πραγμάτων πολλῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μοναχοὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπαλλαγίντες θορύβων, καὶ τὰς καλύψας ἐν ἱερμῇ σπηλαίνῃ, καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν τι ποιεῖν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἰμφολοσοφούντες μετὰ ἀδείας τῇ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἐκείνης γαλήνῃ, καθάπερ ἐν λυμῇ καθήμενοι, πολλῆς τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἀπολαύουσιν· ἡμῖς δὲ, οἱ καθάπερ ἐν μίσῳ πελάγῳ σαλιούντες, καὶ μυρίαν ἀμπερημάτων ἀνάγκας ἔχοντες, συνεχῶς καὶ διηنيκῶς αἰὶ διάμειθα τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν παρακλήσεως· ἐκείνοι πόρρω τῆς μάχης κέθονται, διότι οὐδὲ πολλά δέχονται τραύματα· οὐ δὲ διηنيκῶς ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἵστησας, καὶ συνεχῶς δέχῃ τὰς πληγὰς, διὸ καὶ πλείονον σοι δι' τῶν φαρμάκων καὶ γὰρ γυνὴ παροξύνει, καὶ οὐδὲ λυπεῖ, καὶ οἰκίτης εἰς ἐργὴν ἐμβέλλει, καὶ ἔχθρος ἐπιβουλεύει, καὶ φίλος βασκαίνει, καὶ γείτων ἐπηρεάζει, καὶ συστρατιώτης ὑποκυκλίζει, πολλάκις καὶ δικαστὴς ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ πινία λυπεῖ, καὶ ἀποκολλὰ τῶν οἰκίαν πίνους ἐργάζεται, καὶ εὐμερία φυσᾷ, καὶ δυσπραγία συστίλλει καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐργῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ φροντίδων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀθυρίας καὶ λύπης, πολλοὶ δὲ κινδυνείας καὶ ἀπειρίας ἀφορμαὶ καὶ ἀνάγκαι πάντοθεν ἡμᾶς περιστοιχίζονται, καὶ μύρια πανταχόθεν τὰ βίῃ φέρονται· διὸ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν παντοπίας χρυσὴν διηنيκῶς. . . . Καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ πολιορκούντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν καὶ δι' τῶν θείων φαρμάκων ἡμῖν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ἔλην διασπύωμεν, καὶ τὰ μηδίσαν μὲν γινόμενα, μίλλοντα δὲ γίνεσθαι, προναστίλωμεν, πόρρωθεν τοῦ διαβόλου τὰ βίῃ κατασφινύντες καὶ ἀποπερνούμενοι διὰ τῆς συνεχῆς τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσεως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τινὰ σωθῆναι μὴ συνεχῶς ἀναγνώσεως ἀπολαύοντα πνευματικῶς.

frigid and vain excuses, I am a man engaged in the business of the law, I am taken up with civil affairs, I am a tradesman, I have a wife, and children to breed up, I have the care of a family, I am a secular man: it belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to those who have bid adieu to the world, and are retired into the mountains, and have nothing else to do but to exercise themselves in such a way of living. What sayest thou, O man? Is it not thy business to read the Scriptures, because thou art distracted with a multitude of other cares? Yes, certainly, it belongs to thee more than them. For they have not so much need of the help of the Holy Scriptures as you have, who are tossed in the waves of the multiplicity of business." Then enumerating what sins and temptations secular men are exposed to, he infers, "That they have perpetual need of Divine remedies, as well to cure the wounds they have already received, as to ward off those they are in danger of receiving: to quench the darts of the devil, whilst they are at a distance, and drive them away by continual reading of the Holy Scriptures. For it is impossible that a man should attain salvation without perpetual exercise in reading spiritual things. But some again will say, 'What if we cannot understand the things that are contained therein?' Why (says he),⁹ even in that case, though

⁹ Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Lazar. tom. v. p. 62, (pp. 58, 59, edit. Francof.)

τί οὖν, ἐν μὴ εἰδῶμεν τὰ ἱερειμένα, φησι; μάλιστα μὲν καὶ μὴ εἰδῶς τὰ ἱερειμένα· ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀναγιώσεως πολλὸς ὁ ἀγιασμός γίνεται· ἄλλως δὲ ἐδύνατον πάντα ἱερίως ἀγνοεῖν· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκκλήσις χάρις τιλῶνας, καὶ ἀλυσίς, καὶ σκηνοποιούς, καὶ ποιμένας, καὶ αἰπόλους, καὶ ἰδιώτας, καὶ ἀγραμμάτους, ταῦτα συνθεῖναι τὰ βιβλία, ἵνα μηδὲς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν εἰς ταύτην ἔχῃ καταφυγεῖν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἵνα πᾶσιν εὐσύνοστα ἢ τὰ λιγόμενα· ἵνα καὶ ὁ χειροτόχης, καὶ οἰκίτης, καὶ ἡ χρέα γυνή, καὶ ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθίστατος, πειρᾶν τι καὶ ἀφιλητῇ παρὰ τῆς ἀπεροσίας· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς κινδοξίαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀκούοντων ταῦτα πάντα συνήκων οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταξιώντες τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες φιλόσοφοι, καὶ συγγραφεῖς, οὐ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ζητοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτοὶ θαυμασθεῖεν μόνον σκοποῦντες, εἴ τι καὶ χρήσιμοι εἴπω, καὶ τοῦτο, καθάπερ ἐν ζῆφῳ τινί, τῇ τῆς συνήκης ἀσφαρίᾳ κατέκρυψαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπύστολοι καὶ οἱ προφήται τοὺς πάντας ἄπαν ἐποίησαν· σαφῆ γὰρ καὶ ὅλα τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν κατίστησαν ἄπαντας, ἅτι κοινὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄντας διδάσκαλοι, ἵνα ἵκαστος καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὴν δύνηται ἐκ τῆς ἀναγιώσεως μόνος τὰ λιγόμενα· καὶ τοῦτο προαιφανῶς ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγει, "Ἔσονται πάντες διδασκοὶ Θεοῦ· καὶ οὐ μὴ ἰσῇ ἵκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, γινῶσι τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσι μὲ ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἵως μεγάλου αὐτῶν. Καὶ ὁ Παῦλος φησὶ· Κἀγὼ, ἀδελφοί, ἦλθον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγου, ἢ σοφίας, καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ πάλιν· 'Ὁ

you do not understand every thing that is contained therein, yet, by reading, you shall obtain much sanctification. For it is impossible that you should be equally ignorant of all things in those books. For the grace of the Spirit so ordered it, that they should originally be composed and written by publicans, and fishers, and tent-makers, and shepherds, and private and illiterate men, that none of the most ignorant and unlearned might have this excuse of difficulty to fly to; that the things there spoken, might be easy to be looked into by all men; that the handicraftsman, the servant, the widow, the most illiterate and unlearned among men, might reap benefit and advantage by hearing them read. The apostles and prophets (he says) wrote not like the philo-

λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πιυτοῖς ἀνθρώπων σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμει· καὶ πάλιν· Λαλοῦμεν γὰρ σοφίαν, φησὶν, οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων· τίτι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ὅλλα τὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἅπαντα; τίς δι' ἀκούων, ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ περὶ τῆς μακαρίας οἱ ἱλιήμονες, μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, διδασκαλίου διήσεται, ὡς τι μαθεῖν τῶν λογόμενων; ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν σημείων, καὶ θαυμάτων, καὶ ἱστοριῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῷ τυχόντι γνώριμα, καὶ σαφῆ; σκῆψις ταῦτα καὶ πρόφασις καὶ νοθείας παρακαλύμματα. οὐ νοῖς τὰ ἱγνύμενα; πῶς γὰρ δύνησιν νοῆσαι ποτε, μηδὲ ἅπλως ἱγνύσαι βουλόμενοι; λάβε μιστὰ χεῖρας τὸ βιβλίον· ἀνάγνωθι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἅπασαν καὶ τὰ γνώριμα κατασχών, τὰ ἀσαφῆ πολλὰκις ἔπαλθε· καὶ μὴ δυνήσῃς τῇ συνερίᾳ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἐρεῖν τὸ λογόμενον, βάδισον πρὸς τὸν σοφώτερον, ἰλθὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον, ἀνακοίνωσαι περὶ τῶν ἱερμίων, πολλὴν ἐπιδιώξει τὴν σπουδὴν. καὶ ἴδῃ σὺ ὁ Θεὸς τσαύτην κειρημένην τῇ προθυμίᾳ, οὐ περιόψεται σου τὴν ἀργυρίαν καὶ τὴν φροντίδα· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄθροπος μὴ διδάξῃ τὸ ζητούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύψει πάντως. ἀναμνήσθητι τοῦ ἐννοῦχου τῆς βασιλίδος Διόβων, ὃς ἄνθρωπος βάρβαρος ὦν, μυρίαὶ συνερίαι φροντίσι, καὶ πανταχόθεν πολλοῖς περικυκλούμενος πρᾶγμασι, οὐκ ἰδὼς ἅπτε ἀνιγίνωσκειν, ὅμως ἀνιγίνωσκει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀχλήματος καθήκοντος· εἰ δὲ ἐν ἰδῷ τσαύτην σπουδὴν ἐπιδείκνυτο, ἐνύνησον τίς οἶποι διατρέχων· εἰ τὸν καὶ ἐρὸν τῆς ὑδορίας οὐκ ἠνείχιστο χωρὶς ἀναγνώσεως μίνει, πολλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καθήκοντος· εἰ μὴν ἰδὼς ὦν ἀνιγίνωσκειν, οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς ἀναγνώσεως, πολλὰ μᾶλλον μιστὰ τὸ μαθεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ ἅπτε ἀνιγίνωσκειν οὐκ ἔδυνάμην, ἀποῦσαν, τί φησὶν αὐτῷ ὁ Φίλιππος; Ἀρᾶς γινώσκεις ὃ ἀναγινώσκεις; καὶ εἰπὼς ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὐκ ἠρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἠσχύνθη, ἀλλ' ὁμολόγησε τὴν ἀγνοίαν, καὶ φησὶ, Πῶς γὰρ ἂν δύναμην, ἰὰν μὴ τις διηγήσῃ μοι; ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐδέπω τὸν διηγουμένον ἔχων, οὕτως ἀνιγίνωσκει, διὰ τοῦτο ταχίως ἐπαλάττει τοῦ χιμαργουόντος· εἶδεν αὐτῷ τὴν προθυμίαν ὁ Θεός, ἀπεδίξατο τὴν σπουδὴν, καὶ ἔπαλθε αὐτῷ διδάσκαλον ἐθίως· ἀλλ' οὐ πάριστις ὁ Φίλιππος νῦν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ κηρῶν τὸν Φίλιππον πάριστι· μὴ καταφρονῶμεν τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ἀγαπητέ· ταῦτα πάντα ἱγρᾶθι δι' ἡμᾶς πρὸς νοθεσίαν ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντησι· μεγάλη ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, τῶν γραφῶν ἡ ἀνάγνωσις· μέγας κηρὸς καὶ βάραθρον βαθύ, τῶν γραφῶν ἡ ἀγνοία· μεγάλη προδοσία σωτηρίας, τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν θείων εἶδεναι νόμων· τοῦτο καὶ αἰετίς ἔτι· τοῦτο καὶ βίον διδασκάλους ἐσθλαγ· τοῦτο τὰ ἔνθα πάντα πιστοῦται.

sophers of the Gentiles, in obscure terms, but made things plain to the understandings of all men, as being the common teachers of the world, that every man by himself might learn, by reading alone, the things that were spoken. To whom are not all things in the gospel manifest and plain? Who is there, that, hearing those sayings, 'Blessed are the meek, blessed are the merciful; blessed are the pure in heart,' and the like, would desire a teacher, to understand the meaning of them? Moreover, the signs, and miracles, and histories, are they not all intelligible and plain to any ordinary reader? This, therefore, is only a pretence, and excuse, and cloak for idleness. Thou dost not understand the things contained in the Scripture? How shouldst thou understand them, when thou wilt not so much as look into them? Take the book into thy hands, read the whole history, and remember those things that are intelligible and easy; and those things that are more obscure and dark, read over and over again: and if thou canst not, by frequent reading, dive into the meaning of what is said, go to a wiser person, betake thyself to a teacher, and confer with him about any such passage; shew thy diligence and desire to be informed. And when God sees thy willingness and readiness of mind, he will not despise thy vigilance and care. But though man inform thee not in the things about which thou makest inquiry, he himself will certainly reveal it unto thee. Remember the eunuch of the Ethiopian queen, who, though he was a barbarian, and immersed in a multitude of cares and business, and understood not what he read, yet he read for all that, sitting in his chariot. And if he shewed so great diligence by the way, consider how he behaved himself at home. If he would not omit reading in the time of a journey, much less would he omit it, when he sat quietly in his own house. If, when he understood nothing of it, he still continued to read; much more would he do it, when he came to understand it. Wherefore, because he read when he had no guide, he quickly found a guide. God knew the willingness of his mind, and accepted his diligence, and presently sent him a teacher. But Philip, you will say, does not now stand by us. No: but the Spirit that moved Philip, is still by us.

Let us not neglect our own salvation, beloved. These things were written for our salvation, upon whom the ends of the world are come. The reading of the Scriptures is our great guard against sin. Our ignorance of them is a dangerous precipice, and a deep gulf! It is an absolute betraying of our salvation, to know nothing of the Divine law. It is this that has brought forth so many heresies; this that has brought so much corruption into our lives: this that has turned all things into confusion."

One would think St. Chrysostom had foreseen all the little pleas and sophistry of the Romish Church, and was here disputing and inveighing against them. So apposite is every word to refute their trifling pretences; that ignorance is the mother of devotion; that the Scriptures are obscure; that there is need of an infallible guide on earth, besides the Spirit, to understand them; that the promiscuous use of them is the cause of all errors and heresies: that laymen and secular men are not fit to be intrusted with them; each of which positions is as plainly combated by St. Chrysostom, as if he had been directly disputing against the insufferable tyranny and frivolous pleas of the present Church of Rome. And his whole discourse, with some hundreds of the like passages that might be alleged out of him and other writers, do irrefragably shew, that it was as much the care and concern of the Primitive Church to have the service of God and the Scriptures to be understood by all, as now it is the concern of the Roman Church to have them concealed from their knowledge, and locked up in a language which the unlearned do not understand.

SECT. IX.—*Ninthly, From the Liberty granted to Children and Catechumens to join in the public Prayers, and read the Scriptures.*

For it is very observable, further, that in the Primitive Church, not only men and women, but children, were encouraged, and trained up from their infancy, to the reading of the Holy Scriptures: and the catechumens were not only admitted to some of the prayers of the Church peculiarly appropriated to their condition, but also obliged to learn the

Scriptures, as part of their discipline and instruction. Of their obligation to learn the Scriptures we have treated before,^r in speaking of the method for training them up for baptism: and of their admission to certain prayers of the Church, we shall see more hereafter in that part of the worship, called,^s ‘The service of the catechumens.’ All, then, that is further here to be shewed is, that children were trained up to the use of the Holy Scriptures. And of this we have undoubted evidence from many eminent instances of their practice. Eusebius^t remarks of the great care of Leonides the martyr, and father of Origen, in the education of his son, “That he made him learn the Scriptures, before he set him to the study of the liberal arts and polite learning.” And Socrates^u makes the like observation upon the education of Eusebius, surnamed Emisenus, who was born of noble parentage at Edessa, a city of Osrhoene, in Mesopotamia, “That he was first taught the Holy Scriptures from his infancy, and then human learning.” And Sozomen, in relating the same story, says^v this was done *κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος*, ‘according to the custom of the country;’ which shews that it was no singular instance, but a general practice, to bring children up, from their infancy, to the use of the Holy Scriptures. Gregory Nyssen notes it in the Life of his sister Macrina,^w “That the first part of her instruction, in her infancy, was to be taught the easy portions of Scripture, that were most suitable to her age.” And he says also,^x “She

^r Book x. chap. i. sect. vi.

^s Book xiv. chap. v.

^t Euseb. lib. vi. c. ii. Οὐ μυστήριον καὶ περὶ ταύτας (γραφαῖς) ἐπισκόνοντο, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείᾳ, καὶ τούτῳ οὐ κατὰ πάτριον τὴν φροντίδα πεποιθμένου ἔξ ἀπαντος γούν αὐτὸν, πρὸς τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων μελίτης, ἵηγε τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνσκηπῖσθαι παιδεύμασιν ἱμαθῆσιν καὶ ἀπαγγελίας ἡμέρας ἐκείνης αὐτὸν ἐσφραττόμενος.

^u Socrat. lib. ii. c. ix. Τίς δὲ οὗτος (Εὐσέβιος ἐπικληθεὶς Ἐμισηνὸς) ἦν, διδάσκει Γιώργιος ὁ Λαοδικεὺς, ὃς τότε παρῆν ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ· φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν πεποιημένῳ βιβλίῳ, ὡς εἴη Εὐσέβιος ἐκ τῶν ἐπατριδῶν τῆς ἐν Μισσοποταμίᾳ Ἐδίσσης καταγόμενος ἐκ νιᾶς τε ἡλικίας τὰ ἱερὰ μαθὼν γράμματα. : . . ὅτα τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδιούθεις παρὰ τῷ τνηκαύτῳ τῇ Ἐδίῳ ἐπιδημάσαντι παιδιουτῇ.

^v Sozom. lib. iii. c. vi. Ἐκ νίου δὲ κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἱμαθῶν λόγους, κ. τ. λ.

^w Gregor. Nyssen. Vit. Macrin. (tom. ii. p. 179.) Ὅσα τῆς θιοπισύστου γραφῆς ὑληπετότερα ταῖς πρώταις ἡλικίαις δοκί, ταῦτα ἦν τῇ παιδί τὰ μαθήματα.

^x Ibid. p. 185, d. Αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην γίνεσιν μετασχόντα, ὡς αὖτε

did the same for her younger brother, Peter, taking him from his mother's breasts, and instructing him in the Scriptures, that he might have no time to spend upon vain studies." It is noted by Sozomen¹ and Palladius, of Marcus the hermit, that he was so expert in the Scriptures, when he was but a youth, that he could repeat all the Old and New Testament without book. And it is observable, that as there were many catechetical schools, in those times, for explaining the Scriptures to the catechumens; so there were also schools appointed in many churches to instruct the youth in the knowledge of the Scriptures. When Gregory, the apostle of the Armenians, first converted that nation, it is said in his Life,² "That he set up schools in every city, and masters over them, by the king's command, to teach the Armenian children to read the Bible." And Theodoret relates a remarkable story of Protogenes the scribe,³ "That when Valens, the Arian emperor, banished him to Antinoe, in Thebais, in the utmost parts of Egypt, he, finding the greatest part of the city to be heathens, set up a charity school among them, and taught them the Holy Scriptures; dictating to them, in writing short-hand, David's Psalms, and making them learn such doctrines of the apostolical writings as were proper for them to understand; by which means, he brought many, both of the children and parents, over to the Christian faith. And it has been observed before,⁴ "That by the canons of some Councils, such sort of charity schools were appointed to be set up in cathedrals

σπάσασα τῆς τῆνουμένης, δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀνατρέψει τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ἡγάγει παιδύσιν, τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶν μαθημάτων ἐκ νηπίων αὐτὸν ἐκασκῆσασα, ὥς μὴ δοῦναι τῇ ψυχῇ σχολὴν, πρὸς τι τῶν ματαίων ἐπικλιθῆναι.

¹ Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxix. Φασὶ δὲ Μάρκον μὴν, καὶ ἐν τῇ νήφ τῆς ἡλικίας, εἰς ἄγαν πρῶτον καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ μνήμονα ἱερῶν γραφῶν γινώσκειν.—Pallad. Histor. Lausiaca. c. xxi. Μάρκος δὲ οὗτος νωτίστος ὦν παλαιῶν καὶ καινῶν γραφῶν ἀπὸ στήθεος.

² Acta Gregorii. ap. Simeon. Metaphrast. Sept. xxx. cit. ab Usserio.

³ Theodoret. lib. iv. c. xv. (al. xviii.) Πρωτογενὴς δὲ ὁ ἀξιάγαστος, τὰ ἐκ νόμου [al. ἱερὰ] γράμματα πεπαιδευμένος, καὶ γράφειν εἰς τάχος ἡσκημένος, τόσον εὐρὺν ἱκανότατον, καὶ τρυφὴν διδασκαλῶν καὶ παιδιωτέρων ἀποφῆνας, μιρακίων πατίστη διδάσκαλος, καὶ κατὰ ταυτὸν γράφειν τι εἰς τάχος ἰδίδασκε, καὶ τὰ θεία ἐκπαίδυσε λόγια· Δαυιδικὰς τε γὰρ ᾠδαῖς ὑψηλότερον μελεθῆναι, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἱκανοτάτην τὰ πρόσφορα παρισκηνάζειν, κ. τ. λ.

⁴ See Book viii. chap. vii. sect. xii.

and other churches, where, no doubt, according to the custom of those days, children were taught to read the Scriptures."^c These rules were renewed in several councils under Charles the Great and the following princes. Particularly in the second Council of Chalons,^d an. 813, it was appointed, "That according to the order of Charles the emperor, bishops should set up schools to teach both grammar and the knowledge of the Scriptures." And in the Council of Toul, or Savonieres, in Lorraine, the decree was renewed,^e "That schools of the Holy Scripture, and human learning, should be erected;" forasmuch, as by the care of the religious emperors in former days, by this means both ecclesiastical knowledge and human learning had made a considerable progress in the world. And Mr. Wharton will furnish the inquisitive reader with many other rules and canons made about the same time, to promote and encourage the learning of the Scriptures.

^c Conc. VI. General. c. iv. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1204.) Si quis ex presbyteris voluerit nepotem suum aut aliquem consanguineum ad scholas mittere in ecclesiis sanctorum, aut in cœnobiis, quæ nobis ad regendum commissa sunt, licentiam id faciendi concedimus. — Can. v. Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habeant. Et si quislibet fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas litteras eis commendare vult, eos non renuant suscipere et docere, sed cum summa caritate eos doceant, attendentes illud quod scriptum est: 'Qui autem docti fuerint, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti: et qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos, fulgebunt quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.'

^d Conc. Cabillon. II. c. iii. (tom. vii. Conc. p. 1272.) Oportet, ut sicut dominus imperator Carolus, vir singularis mansuetudinis, fortitudinis, prudentiæ; justitiæ, et temperantiæ præcepit, episcopi scholas instituant, in quibus et litteras solertia disciplinæ, et sacræ Scripturæ documenta discantur, et tales ibi erudiantur, quibus merito dicatur a Domino; 'Vos estis sal terræ,' &c.

^e Conc. Tull. ad Saponar. c. x. ibid. (tom. viii. Conc. p. 692.) Ut scholæ sanctarum Scripturarum, et humanæ quoque literaturæ, unde annis præcedentibus, per religiosorum imperatorum studium magna illuminatio ecclesiæ et eruditionis utilitas processit, deprecandi sunt pii principes nostri, et omnes fratres et cœpiscopi nostri instantissime commonendi, ut ubicumque omnipotens Deus idoneos ad docendum, id est, fideliter et veraciter intelligentes donare dignetur, constituentur undique scholæ publicæ. Scilicet ut utriusque eruditionis, et divinæ scilicet et humanæ, in ecclesia Dei fructus valeat accrescere: quia, quod nimis dolendum est, et perniciosum maxime, divinæ Scripturæ verax et fidelis intelligentia jam ita dilabitur, ut vix ejus extrema vestigia reperiantur. Et idcirco ingenti cura et studio remedium procurandum est.

^f Wharton. Auctar. ad Usser. Hist. Dogmat. c. iv. p. 346.

SECT. X. — *Lastly, From the Form and Tenour of the Ordination of Readers in the Church.*

I only observe one thing more, that the very form and tenour of the ordination of readers anciently did manifestly imply, that the service of the ancient Church was always performed in a known tongue. For they were sometimes ordained with prayer to God for his Holy Spirit, to qualify them to read his word to the instruction and edification of the people. The form of their ordination in the book of the Constitutions, prays,^g “That God would give the reader wisdom, as he did to Esdras, to read his laws to the people.” Now, it is well known how Esdras read the law to them, by causing them to understand the reading. (Neh. viii. 7, 8): “They read in the book, in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading.” And if all readers read as Esdras did, they certainly either read, or interpreted the reading, in a known tongue. For he rendered that which was written in the Hebrew tongue, into the Chaldee or Syriac; which was, after the captivity, the common language of the people. Cyprian, twice or thrice, speaks of the ordination and office of readers; and he plainly intimates, that the people understood what they read out of the gospel to them. In one place, speaking of Celestinus the confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, he says,^h “It was very fitting he should read the gospel, who had so courageously and faithfully observed it; and that the same tongue which had confessed the Lord, should be daily heard to repeat what the Lord hath spoken: since there was nothing wherein a confessor could more advantage his brethren, than

^g Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. ‘Ο σφίσις “Εσδραν τὸν θεράποντά σου ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναγνώσκαι τοὺς νόμους σου τῇ λαῷ σου” καὶ νῦν παρακαλούμενος ὑφ’ ἡμῶν σφίσις τὸν δεῦλόν σου, καὶ δις αὐτῷ, ἵεραι ἀκατάγνωστοι διανύσμετα τὸ ἰσχυρισθῆν αὐτῷ, ἄξιον ἀναδυσχῆναι μίξιονος βαθμοῦ, διὰ Χριστοῦ.

^h Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. p. 68, (p. 224, edit. Fellii Amstelod. 1700.) Plebi universæ, pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter et fideliter sequitur. Vox Dominum confessa in his quotidie, quæ Dominus loquutus est, audiat. Nihil est, in quo magis confessor fratribus prosit, quam ut dum evangelica lectio de ore ejus auditur, lectoris fidem, quisquis audierit, imitetur.

to have them hear the gospel read by the mouth of such a confessor and reader, whose faith was so brave an example." In another epistle, speaking of Aurelius the confessor, whom he also ordained a reader, he says,ⁱ "There was nothing more agreeable than that that voice, which had so gloriously confessed the Lord, should sound forth in reading the lessons of the Lord: and after those lofty words, whereby he proclaimed the martyrdom of Christ, he should read the gospel of Christ, which makes martyrs." The gospel was then so read, that the hearers might reap advantage by it, whilst they understood the doctrines and precepts that were read to them out of it. And such was the advantage which some hearers, in those days, reaped from the benefit of having the Scriptures read in their own tongue, that it is very remarkable what is related of one or two of them, that being men of good memories, they got the Scriptures by heart, without any knowledge of letters, only by hearing them constantly read in the church or elsewhere. St. Austin^j remarks this of St. Antony, the famous Egyptian monk, that, without being able to read himself, he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the Scriptures, as both by hearing them read, to be able to repeat them, and, by his own prudent meditation, to understand them. And Gregory the Great^k gives a like instance in one Servulus, a poor man at Rome, who, though he knew not a letter in a book, yet, purchasing a Bible, and entertaining religious men, he prevailed with them to read it continually to him, by which means he perfectly learned the Holy Scriptures. It is a yet more astonishing instance, which Eusebius^l

ⁱ Cyprian. Ep. xxxviii. al. xxxiii. p. 65, (p. 222, edit. cit.) *Nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia, quæ Christi martyrium proloquuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt.*

^j Aug. de Doctrina Christiana in Prologo, (tom. iii. p. 6, edit. Basil. 1669.) *Sine ulla scientia litterarum, Scripturas divinas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse, et prudenter cogitando intellexisse, prædicatur.*

^k Gregor. Hom. xv. in Evangelia, tom. iii. p. 40. *Nequaquam litteras noverat, sed Scripturæ sacræ sibi met codices emerat, et religiosos quosque in hospitalitate suscipiens, hos coram se legere sine intermissione faciebat. Factumque est, ut quantum ad mensuram propriam, plene sacram Scripturam disceret; quum, sicut dixi, litteras funditus ignoraret.*—(Paris. 1705. i. p. 1491.)

^l Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. xiii. p. 344, (p. 281, edit. Amstelod.) *Ὁλως*

gives in one of the martyrs of Palestine, a blind man, called John, who had so happy a memory, that he could repeat any part of the Bible as readily as others could read it. And he sometimes supplied the office of a reader in the church: and he did this to so great perfection, that Eusebius says, "When he first heard him, he was perfectly amazed, and thought he had heard one reading out of a book, till he came a little more curiously to examine him, and found that he did it only by the eyes of his understanding, having the Scriptures written not in books or tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of his heart." These, and such like examples, of which there are many^m in ancient story, are enough to raise in a man another sort of astonishment than that which Eusebius speaks of: I mean, it would amaze a man to think that there should be a Church in the world, pretending to the height of purity and devotion, which yet runs counter to this indisputable practice of the ancient Church, whose public readers never once pretended to read any part of Scripture in an unknown tongue: that being as much against the design of their ordination, as it is against the design of Scripture itself; for the one was written, and the other ordained to read what was written, for men's learning and instruction. Yea, the very form of ordaining readers, as it stands still in the Roman pontifical, shews as much; for it is much ancients than the corruption that is now crept into their service, and only stands there as a monument of their reproach, who oblige

βίβλους τῶν θείων γραφῶν οὐκ ἐν πλατῇ λυθίναις . . . ἀλλ' ἐν πλατῇ ὡς ἀληθῶς καρδίας σαρκίαις, ψυχῇ τε διανογῇ καὶ καθαρωτάτῃ διανοίᾳ ὁμματα καταγινόμενον ὡς προφέρειν γιᾶν καὶ βούλοιο διὰ στόματος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τίνος λόγου Θεσαυροῦ, τοτὶ μὲν ἱερικὴν καὶ προφητικὴν γραφὴν, τοτὶ δὲ ἱστορικὴν, ἐπαγγελικὴν τε ἄλλοτε καὶ ἀποστολικὴν καταπλαγεῖναι ποτε αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶ, πρῶτον τὸν ἄνδρα διασάμινος μίσην ἰκανῶς πλῆθος ἐκκλησίας ἱστώτα, καὶ τίνα μέρη θείας γραφῆς διζέοντα· ἰὼς μὲν γὰρ φωνῇ αὐτὸ μόνον ἰσακροῦσθαι μοι παρῇ, ἀναγινώσκων οἷα δὲ ἴθως ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις, τίνα ἡγουμένην ὡς δὲ ἄγχιιστα γινόμενος τὸ σφαττόμενον συνίδον, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὕψισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιστῶτας· τοῦτον δὲ μόνους τοῖς τῆς διανοίας χρωμένους, καὶ ἀτιχῶς οἷα τινα προφήτην ἀποφθιγγόμενον.

^m Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxii. Τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ στήθους ἀπάγγειλιν. (Theodosius Junior.) — Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. xvii. p. 156, (edit. Paris. 1680, 4to.) 'Ο δ' ἱερεὺς Ἀμμώνιος σὺν δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἐν ἱερικῇ πόλει, οἱ καὶ κλωφορήσαντες ἐπὶ Οὐάλιντος, ἐξωρίσθησαν, ὡς πᾶσα ἐπιγινώσκου ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια, ἐξηκουσούσης· τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ἐν γνώσει, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτοὺς διαφύγῃν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπορουμένων.

their readers to act directly contrary to the design of their office, and the very instructions that are given them in their ordination : for there the bishop still, in conferring the order of readers, uses this form ;ⁿ “ Study to pronounce the word of God, that is, the sacred lessons, distinctly and plainly, to the understanding and edification of the faithful, without any error or falsehood ; that ye may teach your hearers both by word and example.” This was a very proper form of exhortation to be given to readers at their ordination, while the ancient custom continued of reading in a known tongue ; but now it is no better than mockery to tell men they are obliged, by the vow of their ordination, to read the Scriptures to the understanding, and instruction, and edification of the people ; and at the same time tie up their mouths, that they shall not read a word that may be understood, but it must all be in an unknown tongue. This monstrous contradiction in their own practice, one would think, might bring men to see their error, and (what some in their communion^o have been so long pleading for) oblige them to return to the useful and edifying practice of the Primitive Church.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ORIGINAL AND USE OF LITURGIES, IN STATED AND SET FORMS OF PRAYER, IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Every Bishop at Liberty, in the first Ages, to order the Form of Divine Service in his own Church.*

THE next inquiry is concerning the ancient manner of performing Divine service : whether they did it by stated liturgies, which we usually call set forms of prayer, or by unlimited liberty of prophesying and extempore conceptions ? The

ⁿ Pontifical. Roman. c. de Ordinat. Lectorum. Studete verba Dei, videlicet lectiones sacras, distincte et aperte, ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium, absque omni mendacio falsitatis prodere. . . . Quatenus auditores vestros verbo pariter et exemplo docere possitis.

^o Vid. Frederic. Turius Ceriolanus de Libris Sacris in Vernaculam Linguam Convertendis.

question about set forms of worship, has more disturbed the present Church than any other : and yet, after all, there can be no public prayer, but it will be a set form, at least to the congregation. For though we suppose the minister to pray extempore, and vary the method, the form, and the phrase, every time he prays ; yet, to make it common prayer to a congregation, it will be a form to them, though a new form every time, in spite of all contradiction. And I have often wondered that discerning men should not observe this, before they charged all forms of prayer as void of the spirit, or a stinting of the spirit ; since, if they were so, extemporary forms would be as much stinting the spirit of the congregation as any other : and, perhaps, in some measure, more so, since in stated forms, which every one knows beforehand, men may be supposed to make them their own hearty prayers by preceding meditation ; whereas, in extemporary forms, every man must wait till he hears what is said, and then join in that form, or else not pray at all, but only privately by himself, not in any public or common prayer jointly, with the rest of the congregation. For which reason, I shall not here inquire simply, Whether the public worship of the ancients was by a form or no ? since it is impossible there should be any public worship of a congregation, as a congregation joining in common prayer to God, without having a common form dictated to them some way or other for all to join in : but the question shall only be, Whether they used stated forms of worship, or new extempore forms in every church assembly ? And here we must distinguish first, between Divine forms, and forms of human institution. 2. Between ordinary and extraordinary occasions. 3. Between the times of extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and the times when those miraculous gifts abated. Now, there is no doubt to be made, but that the forms of Divine institution were always used in the Church without any variation. As the form of baptism, the Lord's Prayer, the singing of David's psalms, the forms of benediction, such as, "The Lord be with you ;" "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. The constant use of the form of baptism has been demonstrated already :^a

^a Book ii. chap. iii.

the use of the Lord's Prayer, and the rest, shall be shewed hereafter.^b As to forms of human institution, they were added by the bishops and governors of the Church, according to their wisdom and discretion; and this, with relation to the ordinary service: for still they were at liberty to compose new forms for extraordinary emergencies and occasions. And whilst the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit continued, there is little doubt to be made, but that prayers and hymns, immediately dictated by the Spirit, made up a part of the ordinary service; still retaining such forms as were antecedently of Divine appointment. When the extraordinary Spirit of prophecy ceased, then the rulers of the Church supplied this want by proper forms of their own composition, according to Christian prudence and discretion. And this seems to have been the true original of liturgies, or stated forms of Divine service. But why then have we none of these liturgies remaining entire and perfect to this day? I answer, there may be several reasons assigned for this: one is, that the bishops, at first, made every one their own liturgy for the private use, as we may call it, of their own particular Churches: and therefore the use of them not extending further than the precincts of their own diocesses, there was little knowledge of them beyond the bounds of those churches, and not much care to preserve them but only for the use of such churches, for which they were particularly designed. That every bishop had at first this power and privilege to compose and order the form of Divine service for his own Church, I have shewed in another place,^c where I had occasion to discourse of the independency of bishops, and their absolute power in their own Church; where, among other things, I observed, that as they had the privilege to word their own creeds, so they had the privilege to frame their own liturgy; which privilege they retained for several ages; as may be confirmed by this further and most certain observation, that when any new episcopal church was taken and erected out of another, the new erected church was not obliged to follow the model and prescriptions of the old church, but

^b Book xiii. chap. vii.

^c Book ii. chap. vi. sect. ii.

might frame to herself a form of Divine service, agreeable to her own circumstances and condition; of which Sozomen gives a clear evidence in the instance of Maiuma, a city raised from a village in Palestine, and once belonging to the diocese of Gaza; ^d “For as soon as it was erected into a distinct episcopal see, it was no longer obliged to observe precisely the rules and forms of the Church of Gaza; but had,” as he particularly remarks, “a calendar for the festivals of its own martyrs, and commemorations of their own bishops and presbyters that had lived among them:” which is the same thing as to say, they had a liturgy and service of their own, independent of the Church out of which they were taken.

SECT. II.—*In after Ages, the Churches of a whole Province, by Consent, conformed to the Liturgy of the Metropolitan.*

In after ages, bishops agreed, by consent, to conform their liturgy to the model of the metropolitan church of the province to which they belonged. And then it was enacted into a law by several councils, that the same order and uniformity should be observed in all churches. The rudiments of this discipline were first laid in the French churches: for, in the Council of Agde,^e a canon was made about the year 506, “That one and the same order should be equally observed in all churches of the province in all parts of Divine service.” And, in the Council of Epone, it is more expressly said,^f “That in celebrating Divine offices, the provincial bishop should observe the same order as was observed by the metropolitan.” And before these, the Council of Vannes, in Britany, in the province of Tours, made a like order for that whole province,^g

^d Sozom. lib. ii. c. iii. Ἐκατέρα ἰδίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον καὶ κληρὸν ἔχει, καὶ πανηγύρεις μαρτύρων, καὶ μνίας τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς γινομένων ἱερῶν.

^e Conc. Agath. c. xxx. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1388.) Quia convenit, ordinem ecclesiæ ab omnibus æqualiter custodiri, studendum est, ut sicut ubique fit, et post antiphonas collectiones per ordinem ab episcopis vel presbyteris dicantur, et hymni matutini vel vespertini diebus omnibus decantentur, et in conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de psalmis dicantur, et plebs collecta oratione ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur.

^f Conc. Epone. c. xxvii. (ibid. p. 1579.) Ad celebranda divina officia ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, provinciales eorum observare debebunt.

^g Conc. Venet. c. xv. (ibid. p. 1057.) Rectum duximus, ut vel intra pro-

“That one and the same custom in celebrating Divine service, and the same order of psalmody should be kept in all churches; that as they held one faith and confession of the holy Trinity, so they should keep to one rule of Divine offices, lest if they varied in their observations, that variation should be interpreted as a disagreement in some point or other.” And the same rule was made and concerted in the Spanish churches; for, in the Council of Gironde (an. 517), a like decree was made for the whole province of Tarragona or Catalonia,^h “That the same order of mass, and custom in psalmody, and other ministrations, should be observed in all churches of the province, as was observed in the metropolitical church.” The fourth Council of Toledo enlarged the order for uniformity in all the churches of Spain and Gallicia,ⁱ obliging all priests to perform Divine offices in the same manner, that there might be no diversity among them, and that such difference might neither offend the weak, nor look like a schism in the church to ignorant and carnal men; therefore they had appointed, “That one order should be observed in praying and singing, and the same method be kept in the morning and evening service, because they were all of the same faith, and the same kingdom.” And the first Council of Braga has four or five canons to the same purpose,^j

vincium nostram sacrorum ordo et psallendi una sit consuetudo: et sicut unam cum Trinitatis confessione fidem tenemus, unam et officiorum regulam teneamus: ne variata observatione in aliquo devotio nostra discrepare credatur.

^h Conc. Gerund. c. i. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1568.) *Ut institutio missarum, sicut in metropolitana ecclesia agitur, ita in Dei nomine in omni Tarraconensi provincia, tam ipsius missæ ordo, quam psallendi, vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur.*

ⁱ Conc. Toletan. IV. c. ii. (ibid. tom. v. p. 1704.) *Post rectæ fidei confessionem, quæ in sancta Dei ecclesia prædicatur, placuit, ut omnes sacerdotes, qui Catholicæ fidei unitatem complectimur, nihil ultra diversum aut dissonum in ecclesiasticis sacramentis agamus, ne quælibet nostra diversitas apud ignotos seu carnales schismatis errorem videatur ostendere, et multis exsistat in scandalum varietas ecclesiarum. Unus igitur ordo orandi atque psallendi nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliciam conservetur, unus modus in missarum solemnitatibus, unus in vespertinis matutinisque officiis, nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo; qui in una fide continemur et regno: hoc enim et antiqui canones decreverunt, ut unaquæque provincia et psallendi et ministrandi parem consuetudinem teneat.*

^j Conc. Bracar. I. c. xix.—xxiii. (ap. Labb. Conc. II. c. i.—v. tom. v. p. 840.) C. xix. *Placuit omnibus communi consensu, ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo*

appointing the same order of psalmody, and lessons, and salutations, and the same forms of celebrating baptism and the eucharist, to be observed in all Churches; so that though every bishop, at first, had liberty to frame a liturgy for the use of his own Church; yet, in process of time, they agreed by consent, to take the liturgy of the metropolitanical Church as a standard for the whole province. And when the Roman empire began to be cantonized and divided into different kingdoms, then came in the use of national liturgies, whose use was commensurate to the bounds and limits of their respective nations and kingdoms.

SECT. III.—*Why none of the ancient Liturgies are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were in their first Original.*

If it be inquired, Why then none of the ancient liturgies are now remaining, as they were at first composed for the use of particular Churches? I answer, several reasons may be assigned for this. 1. The very liberty which every bishop had to frame the liturgy of his own Church, was one reason, why none of these are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were at first composed for the use of such a particular Church. For the design of them being only for the use of such a particular Church, there was no great reason to be very solicitous, either to communicate and diffuse the knowledge of them to other Churches, or to preserve them entire to posterity, who were not precisely tied up to the use of them, but might frame others at their own discretion. 2. It

in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur; et non diversæ ac privatæ, neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtæ. — Can. xx. Item placuit, ut per solennium dierum vigiliis vel missas, omnes easdem et non diversas lectiones in ecclesia legant. — Can. xxi. Item placuit, ut non aliter episcopi, et aliter presbyteri populum, sed uno modo saluent, dicentes, Dominus sit vobiscum: sicut in libro Ruth legitur: et ut respondeatur a populo, Et cum Spiritu tuo; sicut et ab ipsis apostolis traditum omnis retinet oriens, et non sicut Priscilliana pravitas permutavit. — Can. xxii. Item placuit, ut eodem ordine missæ celebrentur ab omnibus, quomodo Profuturus, quondam hujus metropolitanæ ecclesiæ episcopus, ab ipsa apostolicæ sedis auctoritate suscepit scriptum. — Can. xxiii. Item placuit, ut nullus eum baptizandi ordinem prætermittat, quem et antea tenuit metropolitana Bracarenensis ecclesia, et pro amputanda aliquorum dubietate, prædictus Profuturus episcopus scriptum sibi et directum a sede beatissimi apostoli Petri suscepit.

is not improbable but that, as a late learned French writer has observed,^k “The ancient liturgies were for some ages only certain forms of worship committed to memory, and known by practice rather than committed to writing, which is the only certain way of preserving such sort of monuments to late posterity.” This seems very probable, because, in the persecutions under Diocletian and his associates, though a strict inquiry was made after the books of Scripture, and other things belonging to the Church, which were often delivered up by the *traditores* to be burnt, yet we never read of any ritual books, or books of Divine service, delivered up among them; which is an argument, that their forms of worship and administration of the sacraments were not then generally committed to writing, or, at least, not compiled in books, distinct from the Psalms, or other books of Scripture: otherwise, it is very probable that, as the Scriptures, with other utensils and treasures of the Church, were often found by the heathens, or betrayed by apostatizing Christians, and delivered up to be burnt; so we should have heard something of their books of Divine worship undergoing the same fate, since they who were so curious in inquiring after the cups, and lamps, and torches, and vestments, and other utensils and vessels of the Church (as in some of their calendars and breviats we find they were), would hardly have omitted their books of worship, as being more proper objects of their spite and malice, had they found any such in the Christian churches. Mr. Daillé^l argues well upon this foot against the use of images in the ancient Church, because no such thing was ever found or betrayed to the heathen in the times of their most furious inquisition after any thing that related

^k Renaudot. Collect. Liturgiarum Oriental. dissert. i. p. 9, tom. i. Paris. 1716. Orientales eandem disciplinam habentes, quæ reliquis Christianis communis erat, illam similiter in oriente propagaverunt et posteris transmiserunt, neque tamen statim illam perscripsisse videntur. Ut ita statuamus, facit insigne præ ceteris Basilii magni testimonium, qui multa, quæ ad nos sola traditione pervenerunt, enumerans, adjungit: ‘ Verba sacræ invocationis in consecratione panis et calicis, quis sanctorum nobis scripto tradidit? . . . Unde si non certo, saltem verisimiliter omnino concluditur, ante Basilii tempora, liturgias Græcas litteris non fuisse consignatas.

^l Dallæus de Cultu Relig. lib. i. c. xxv. tot. præcipue autem, p. 201, seqq.

to the Christian Church or religion. And I think the argument will hold as well against having their liturgies compiled into books and volumes, since it is scarce possible that such things, in difficult times, should have wholly escaped the notice and fury of their enemies. We are not hence to conclude (as some weak men perhaps would be inclined to do), that, therefore, they had no liturgies or set forms of Divine worship in these persecuting ages of the Church; because there are undeniable evidences to the contrary, as we shall see by and by. But we are only to conclude, that they did not so generally compile them in books, as in after ages, but used them by memory, and made them familiar to the people by known and constant practice, as many now use forms of prayer at this day without committing them to writing. 3. And this is another reason why none of those ancient liturgies are come to our hands perfect and entire, but only in scattered fragments, as the fathers had occasion to mention them incidentally in their writings. Nor need we wonder at this, since even those liturgies, which were most certainly compiled in books in the following ages, are now, in a great measure, lost also by the injuries of time, as the old Gallican, Spanish, African, and Roman liturgies, of which there is nothing but fragments and dismembered parcels now remaining; which is a third reason why none of those ancient liturgies are extant to this day. 4. The fourth and last reason, is the interpolations and additions made to the ancient liturgies in future ages: for though those ancient liturgies, which go under the name of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, might originally have something of their composition in them, yet so many additions and alterations have been made in them by the Greek Church in following ages, that it is not easy to discern, after they have passed through so many hands, and so much new modelling, what was the genuine composition of the first authors; and, therefore, I have made little use of them in this work, but rather chosen to collect the fragments of the ancient liturgy from the scattered remains in the genuine writings of the fathers; joining with them such forms as we find in the ancient book, called the Apostolical Constitutions; which, though it be not so ancient as the title

pretends, nor of so venerable authority as Mr. Whiston contends for, who would have it to be truly apostolical, yet it is owned to be a good collection of the liturgy and rituals of the Church in the third and fourth centuries, and less corrupted than any other liturgy that bears the name of an ancient writer; the true reason of which was, because it never being of that esteem as to be used as a standing liturgy in any Church, the book came down to us with less alterations than other liturgies, which were new modelled, according to the different taste and sentiments of the ages they passed through; as all things of this kind are commonly revised and altered by several hands when they are in constant use and practice: for proof of which, we need go no further than the example of our own liturgy, which has received many reviews, alterations, and additions, from the time it was first compiled in the days of King Edward. Upon this score, those liturgies, which bear the names of ancient authors, are not to be depended on as the genuine, unmixed liturgies of those authors, having undergone so many alterations, interpolations, and additions, by passing through various hands in succeeding ages. Forasmuch, therefore, as we have now no ancient liturgies perfect and entire, as they were first composed, we must take our accounts and estimate of them from other fountains: and, by the providence of God, there is so much of them remaining in the genuine writings of the ancient fathers, as both to shew us in general that the Church made use of stated forms of worship; and also, what was the particular order and method of her worship in the most considerable parts of her sacred service and devotions. We will, therefore, first give some account of the use of liturgies and sacred rites in general, and then proceed to explain in order, the several parts of the ancient service, in the same natural method as we find it was performed at several times, either in the daily or weekly assemblies for that purpose.

SECT. IV.—*What Forms were used in the Apostles' Days.*

Where of the Ancient Forms used in the Jewish Worship, and of the new Forms introduced into the Christian Service.

As to the use of liturgies in general, I shall begin with the apostolical times, and carry the history through the four first ages. The apostolical practice may be considered in a double respect; first, in their compliance with the stated forms settled among the Jews; and secondly, in the new forms introduced into the Christian service. As to the former, there seems to be nothing more uncontested among learned men than that the Jews had set forms of worship in all parts of Divine service; and that the apostles freely used these in all instances in which they thought it necessary or becoming to join with them. Their ordinary service was of two sorts; the service of the temple, and the service of the synagogue. These differed in many respects; but both agreed in this, that the public prayers in both were offered up in a certain constant form of words. For their private prayers, which every man made particularly by himself, which were like those silent prayers we shall hereafter meet with in the Christian Church,^m a late learned writer tells us,ⁿ "They had no public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein; but all prayed in private conceptions: but their public prayers were directed by public forms, both in the service of the temple and the synagogue." The temple service is very accurately described by Dr. Lightfoot, as it stood in the time of our Saviour. The sum of his description is this:^o first, before the offering of the sacrifice, the president called upon them to go to prayers, which they began with this form: "Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with an everlasting love; with great and abundant compassion hast thou had mercy on us, O our Father, our King, for our fathers' sake, who trusted in thee, and thou taughtest

^m See Book xv. chap. i.

ⁿ Prideaux Connection of Scripture History, part i. chap. vi. p. 382.

^o Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. ix. sect. iv.

them statutes of life. So be gracious to us also, O our Father ; O most merciful Father ; O thou compassionate one, pity us ; and put into our hearts to know, understand, obey, learn, teach, observe, do, and perform all the words of the doctrine of thy law in love ; and enlighten our eyes by thy law, and cause our hearts to cleave to thy commandments, and unite our hearts to love and to fear thy name," &c. After this prayer, they rehearsed the ten commandments ; and after the ten commandments they said over their phylacteries, in Hebrew, called *tephillin*, which contained four portions of the law, written in four parchments ; the first out of Exod. xiii., from ver. 3 to 10 ; the second out of Exod. xiii., from ver. 11 to 16 ; the third out of Deut. vi., from ver. 4 to 9 : the fourth out of Deut. xi., from ver. 13 to 21. After this prayer and rehearsal of the decalogue and of their phylacteries, at the time of offering incense, they had three or four prayers more ; the first of which was in this form, referring to their phylacteries : " Truth and stability, and firm and sure, and upright and faithful, and beloved, and lovely and delightful, and fair, and terrible, and glorious, and ordered and acceptable, and good and beautiful is this word for us, for ever and ever. The Truth of the everlasting God our King, the Rock of Jacob, the Shield of our Salvation, for ever and ever. He is sure, and his name sure, and his throne settled, and his kingdom and truth established for evermore," &c.

The second prayer was in this form ; " Be pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and with their prayer, and restore the service to the oracle of thy house, and accept the burnt-offering of Israel, and their prayer in love and complacency, and let the service of thy people Israel be continually well-pleasing unto thee." And they concluded thus : " We praise thee, who art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, the God of all flesh, our Creator, and the God of all creatures. Glory and praise be to thy great and holy name, because thou hast preserved and kept us, so preserve and keep us, and bring back our captivity to the courts of thy holiness," &c.

A third prayer ran thus : " Appoint peace, goodness, and blessing, grace, mercy, and compassion for us, and for

all Israel, thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us as one man, with the light of thy countenance ; for in the light of thy countenance, thou, O Lord our God, hast given us the law of life, and loving-mercy, and righteousness, and blessing, and compassion, and life, and peace : let it please thee to bless thy people, Israel, at all times. Let us, and all thy people, the house of Israel, be remembered, and written before thee, in the Book of Life, with blessing and peace," &c.

A fourth prayer was used on the Sabbath as a blessing, by the course that went out of their service, upon those that came in to do the service of the following week, in these words: "He that caused his name to dwell in this house, cause love, and brotherhood, and peace, and friendship to dwell among you."

After these things, the priests lifted up their hands, and blessed the people, in that form of words, which is in Numb. vi. 24 : "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee ; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee : the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." To which the people answered, "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting."

After this blessing, the meat-offering and the drink-offering were offered, and then began the singing of psalms, and the music. The constant and ordinary psalms which they sung, were these :

On the first day of the week, Psalm xxiv. : "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," &c.

On the second day, Psalm xlviii. : "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of God," &c.

On the third day, Psalm lxxxii. : "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among gods," &c.

On the fourth day, Psalm xciv. : "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth," &c.

On the fifth day, Psalm lxxxi. : "Sing aloud unto God our strength ; make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob."

On the sixth day, Psalm xciii. : "The Lord reigneth ; he is clothed with majesty."

On the Sabbath day, they sang Psalm xcii. which bears the title of "A psalm, or song, for the Sabbath day," both in the Hebrew Bibles, and the translation of the Septuagint.

These were the known, and constant, and fixed psalms for the several days of the week throughout the year.^p But, upon some certain days, they had additional psalms and hymns. For, on the Sabbath, as there was an additional sacrifice appointed (Numb. xxviii. 9); so, at the time of this additional sacrifice, the Levites sang the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), "Hear, O heavens, and I will speak;" which they divided into six Sabbaths for the morning service: and at the evening service, they sang that other song of Moses (Exod. xv.): "I will sing unto the Lord, for he triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea," &c. By which custom of singing the songs of Moses upon the Sabbath, Dr. Lightfoot observes,^q "That that passage in Rev. xv. 3, may be illustrated, where the saints are said 'to sing the song of Moses, the servant of God:' because they were now come to their everlasting Sabbath, having gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, and having the harps of God in their hands." Which allusion to the Sabbath service, in the time of St. John, is a good argument for the antiquity of the practice.

Besides this, there was an additional sacrifice appointed on the first day of the year, called the 'Feast of Trumpets,' (Num. xxix. 1); and, at this time, they sang Psalm lxxxi.: "Sing aloud unto God, our strength," &c. And, at the evening service of the day, Psalm xxix.: "The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness," &c.

Also at the Passover, besides many other forms, they were used to sing the hymn called the 'Egyptian Hallel,' because it was sung in remembrance of their delivery out of Egypt: which consisted of Psalms cxiii. cxiv. cxv. cxvi. cxvii. and cxviii. And this, as some observe,^r was sung also at the beginning of every month, and on the Feast of Dedication, and the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Tabernacles.

^p Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. vii.

^q Ibid.

^r Othon, Lexicon. Rabbin. p. 236.

And the latter part of it is generally supposed to be the hymn which our Saviour sung with his disciples, at the conclusion of his last Supper.

This is the sum of the Jewish temple service, as it stood in our Saviour's time, with which, notwithstanding its stated forms, both he and disciples complied, whenever they had occasion, upon any such solemnities, to frequent the temple.

The service of the synagogue was something different from that of the temple. For here were no sacrifices, but only these three things: 1. Prayers; 2. Reading of the Scriptures; 3. Preaching and expounding upon them. Their public prayers, like those of the temple, were all by stated forms. Among these, the most ancient and solemn were those which are called *Shemoneh Eehreh*, that is, 'the eighteen prayers,' which are said to have been appointed by Ezra, and the great synagogue, from the time of the captivity. These have been lately translated and published by Dr. Prideaux, in his *Connexion of Scripture History*;^a which, because it is a work that deserves to be in every one's hands, I shall not here transcribe, but refer the reader thither for the knowledge of them. Only, whereas, he observes rightly, "That another prayer, called the 'nineteenth,' was added a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of 'apostates' and 'heretics';" I shall confirm his observation from a passage in Epiphanius, who tells us, "That the Jews, in their synagogues, were used to pray against the Christians, in this form: 'Ἐπικατάρᾳσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους, 'O God, curse the Nazarenes.'" And the same thing is intimated by Justin Martyr, who says,^u "Imme-

^a Part i. book vi. p. 375, (in edit. Germ. Dresdens. p. 474-478.)

^u Epiph. Hæres. xxix. Nazaræor. n. cx. p. 124, c.

^u Justin. cum Tryphon. p. 335. Οὐ μόνον οὐ μισήσασθαι, μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς προεῖπον, ἄνδρας χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψασι κηρύσσοντας, ὅτι αἰρεσίς τις ἔστις καὶ ἄνομος ἐξηγίγεται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινὸς Γαλιλαίου πλάνου διὰ σταυρωσάντων ἡμῶν, οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλίψαντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος νεκρὸς, ἐπόθεν κατετίθη ἀφελωθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκαυροῦ, πλανῶσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λίγοντες, ἐξηγίγεται αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνεληλυθὴναι . . . καὶ ἀλώσεως ὑμῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρημαθίσης, οὐ μισανοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταρῶσθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς αὐτὸν πάντων τοιμᾶται.

diately after our Saviour's resurrection, the Jews sent forth their chosen emissaries to all the synagogues in the world, to tell them, that there was a certain impious, lawless sect risen up under one Jesus, a Galilean impostor, whom they had crucified; but his disciples came by night, and stole him away out of the grave, and deceived men by saying, 'He was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven.'" And he adds, "That after their city was demolished, they repented not, but even dared *καταρᾶσθαι αὐτοῦ*, 'to curse him, and all that believed on him.'" Which plainly refers to this additional prayer, inserted into their liturgy against the Christians. But, excepting this prayer, which was of later date, all the other seem to have been in use in the time of our Saviour and his apostles. And as we are sure they frequented the synagogues, so there is no doubt to be made, but that they joined in these usual forms of prayer, which were one part of the synagogue service.

The other parts of this service were the reading of the law and the prophets, and expounding of them to the people. Which was also done by a certain rule and order. For the five Books of Moses were divided into as many sections or lessons, as there are weeks in the year; one of which was read every Sabbath, and half of the same every Monday and Thursday, which were their days of assembly for the synagogue service. At these our Saviour was usually present; and sometimes assisted and officiated in reading, according to custom, as a member of the synagogue, as is expressly said of him (Luke, iv. 16); and at other times taught in their synagogues (Mark, i. 39; Luke, iv. 15, 44); which is also noted of St. Paul (Acts, xiii. 15; and xvi. 13; and xvii. 2; and xviii. 4), that it was his manner, on the Sabbath days, to go into the synagogues, where prayer was wont to be made; and there, after the reading of the law and the prophets, to preach to the people, and dispute or reason with them. So that, notwithstanding the public service of the synagogue was all performed by order and form, yet this was no reason to the apostles to refrain from it, as a thing simply sinful or unlawful; but they complied with it for some time, probably to gain upon the Jews the better, and

make them lay aside their prejudices against the Christian doctrine.

But besides their compliance with the stated forms of the Jewish liturgy and worship, they had some forms of their own in constant use among themselves. Among which we may safely venture to reckon: 1. The Lord's Prayer, as a form appointed by Christ to be used by all his disciples; of which the primitive Christians never made any dispute, as we shall see more fully hereafter. 2. The form of baptism, constantly used without any variation, as has been shewed in a former book.* 3. The forms of professing their faith in baptism, or the forms of sound words settled in every church. 4. The forms of renouncing Satan, and covenanting with Christ in baptism. 5. The forms of Scripture hymns and psalms, and glorifications of God. To which the ancients seem to add, sixthly, the forms of benediction, such as, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. And, lastly, the repetition of the history of Christ's institution of the Last Supper, as a necessary part of consecration, which, together with the use of the Lord's Prayer in the celebration of the eucharist, is generally thought to descend from apostolical practice. These things are sufficient to shew, that even the apostles themselves, notwithstanding the extraordinary gift of inspired prayer, whether in matter, or method, or words, or languages, sometimes confined themselves to forms, without any reflection on their gifts, or stinting of the Spirit, or want of edification to their hearers. If these things be rightly considered, some of them at least will evince, that the use of well chosen and well appointed forms, are noways disagreeable to apostolical practice, since the apostles themselves both complied with the forms in use in the Jewish temple and synagogue, and used some others of Christian institution. I now proceed to carry this inquiry through the three or four following ages of the Church.

And here, first, we may add what Josephus says of the Essenes,† "That they were used to rise before the sun was up, and offer unto God, *πατέριους τινὰς εὐχὰς*, 'cer-

* Book xi. c. iii.

† Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. ii, c. xii. p. 785, edit. Lips. 1691. *Πατέριους γὰρ μὴν*

tain prayers, according to the custom of their forefathers,' or such as they had received from them." And what Philo says of the Therapeutæ of Alexandria, the ascetics, whether Jews or Christians, that lived there in his time,² "That the president among them, after he had made a sermon, first began to sing a hymn to the praise of God, either such as he had composed himself, or one taken out of the ancient prophets, in the close of which they all, both men and women, joined in consort with him." Again, in their vigils,³ "They divided themselves into two choirs, the one of men, the other of women, each of which had their precentor; and so they sang hymns to the glory of God, composed in divers sorts of metre, sometime one side singing, and sometimes the other, in imitation of the children of Israel, under the conduct of Moses and Miriam, their precentors, at the Red Sea." This was so much a resemblance of the ancient Christian way of psalmody, that Eusebius,⁴ who transcribes a great many things out of this curious tract of Philo, was clearly of opinion, "That it was a description of the worship of such Jews, as had embraced the Christian religion." In which opinion he is followed not only by St. Jerom,⁵ but by many learned writers of this last age also.

τὸ θῆον ἰδίως ὑψιστοῦς. Πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχῶν τὸν ἥλιον, οὐδὲν φθίγγονται τῶν βιβήλων πατέριος δι' ἑνός εἰς αὐτὸν ὑψὺς ὡσπερ ἰκτινύοντες ἀνατίλλαι.

² Philo de Vita Contemplativa, p. 901, d. e. edit. Paris. 1690. . . . ἱερῆα δὲ προέδρους ἀναστάς, ὕμνον ᾄδει πιστοποιήμιον εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ἢ καινὸν αὐτὸς πιστοποιῶν, ἢ ἀρχαῖον τινα τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν . . . ὁπότε τὰ ἀκροστιχίδια καὶ ἰθύμνα ᾄδων δίδι, τότε ἔξηχοῦσι πάντες τι καὶ πᾶσαι.

³ Ibid. p. 902. 'Ανίστανται πάντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ κατὰ μίσην τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροὶ, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν ἡγμένων δὲ καὶ ἑξαρχος αἰρεῖται καθ' ἕτερον ἰντιμότητος τι καὶ ἡμιελίστατος· ὅσα ᾄδουσι πιστοποιήμιον εἰς τὸν Θεόν ὕμνοι πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλισσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνοις ἀρμονίαις ἐπιχυρομενοῦντες καὶ ἱσαρχοῦνται, καὶ ἐπιθυιάζοντες· τοῦ μὲν τὰ προσώδια, τοῦ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τι τὰς ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ ἀντιστροφάς ποιοῦντες· ὅσα ὅταν ἰσάστους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰστιάσῃ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχίαις ἀκράτου σάσαντες τοῦ Διοφίλου ἀναμίγνυνται, καὶ γίνονται χοροὶ ἐξ ἁμφοῦν, μέμνημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν Ἑρμῆν θάλασσαν, ἵνα καὶ θαυματουργηθῇ ταν ἰκτι· τὸ γὰρ φίλαγος προστάξι Θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αἴτιον, τοῖς δὲ πανωλερίας ἰγίνετο.

⁴ Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. tot. imprimis in fine. "Ὅτι δὲ τοὺς πρώτους κήρυκας τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας, τὰς τε ἀρχαῖας πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἰσὴ παραδιδόμενα καταλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων ταῦτ' ἔγραφε, παντὶ τῷ ὄντι.

⁵ Hieron. de Scriptor. c. xxi. de Philone. Exstat hujus de vita nostrorum

I shall not need to determine this question, whether they were Jews or Christians: it is sufficient to our present purpose, that their way of worshipping God by certain forms of praise, and those of human composition, was the same; or so much alike, that it was not easy to distinguish the one from the other.

SECT. V.—*What Evidence there is of the Use of set Forms in the second Century.*

In the beginning of the second century, lived Pliny, a Roman proconsul in Bithynia, who giving Trajan the Emperor an account of the Christian way of worship, which he had from the mouth of some apostates, says,^b “They were used to meet on a certain day, before it was light, and sing a hymn alternately to Christ, as God: binding themselves, by an oath or sacrament, (not to any wicked thing, but) that they would not steal, nor rob, nor commit adultery, nor break their faith, nor withhold the pledge.” The words *carmen dicere*, which Pliny uses, will signify, ‘a solemn form of prayer,’ as well as ‘praises,’ as Vossius,^c and Brissonius^d have observed out of the Roman writers: and then it will denote, that their whole Divine service was by a stated

liber unus, id est, de apostolicis viris, quem et inscripsit *πρὸς Σιγιστίνου ἱστῶν*, quod cœlestia contemplentur, et semper Deum orient.

^b Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvii. Quod essent soliti, stato die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem: seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furtâ, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati negarent.

^c Voss. Comment. in loc. p. 97, (p. 59, a. in Opusc. tom. iv. edit. Amstelod. 1688, fol.) Dixerunt carmen, atque id Christo. Carmen fuerit, etiamsi non caneretur. Nam carmen vocarunt Romani, quidquid conceptis verbis diceretur.

^d Brisson. de Formulâ, p. 97, edit. Francof. 1592, 4to. In ea votorum nuncupatione, quæ a censoribus lustrum condentibus fiebat, invenio ante Scipionis ætatem solemnî carmine Deos oratos, ut populi Rom. res meliores amplioresque facerent. . . . Valer. Max. lib. iv. Africanus quum censor lustrum conderet, in quo solito sacrificio scribe ex publicis tabulis solemnè ei precationis carmen præiret, quo dii immortales, ut populi Rom. res meliores facerent, rogabantur. — Ibid. p. 64. Solemnè fuisse aliquod carmen precationis, quod in concionibus, quæ ad populum habebantur, magistratus præfari consueverant, Livius, lib. xxxix. docet his verbis; ‘Ad hæc officia dimissis magistratibus, consules in rostra adscenderunt; et, in concione advocata, cum solemnè carmen precationis, quod præfari, priusquam populum alloquantur, magistratus sole t, peregisset, consul ita cœpit,’ &c.

form. However, in the most restrained sense, it implies, that they used certain forms, in some part of their service, in their alternate hymnody, which could not otherwise be performed, but by composition and prescription. And that makes it probable, that the rest of their service was then of the same nature and order.

In the beginning of the same century, Ignatius is said, by the ancient historians,* to have brought in the way of alternate singing into the Church of Antioch; that is, hymns sung alternately to the praise of the Holy Trinity. For they speak not only of the alternate singing of David's Psalms, as introduced by Ignatius, but of hymns composed by him to set forth the Divinity of Christ: which appears to have been a very ancient practice, not only from what has been already observed out of the account given by Pliny, but from what is said by that ancient author in Eusebius, who wrote against the heresy of Artemon, in the latter end of the second century; where, among other arguments which he brings for the Church's constant belief of our Saviour's Divinity, he urges this for one,' "That, from the beginning, there were psalms and hymns composed by the brethren, and written by the faithful, setting forth the praises of Christ, as the Word of God, and declaring the Divinity of his person." Among these hymns, we may reckon those of Ignatius, composed for the service of the Church of Antioch; which, probably, might continue in use till Paulus Samosatenensis removed them out of the Church, and introduced

* Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. (Cant. 1720, p. 322.) Λιστίον δὲ καὶ ὅτιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια. . . . Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας, τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδιέτριψεν, ὁπτασίαν ἰδὼν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνοῦντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρίδων. — Histor. Tripartit. lib. x. c. ix. Dicendum est, unde sumserit initium, ut in ecclesia antiphonæ decantentur. Ignatius Antiochiæ Syriæ tertius post apostolum Petrum episcopus, qui etiam cum ipsis vixerat apostolis, vidit angelorum visionem, quomodo per antiphonas sanctæ Trinitati dicerent hymnos. Isque modum visionis Antiochenæ tradidit ecclesiæ. Et ex hac ad cunctas transiit ecclesias.

† Euseb. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Cant. p. 252.) Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾄδει ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφῆσαι, τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι διαλογουμέντες.

others in their room : as the fathers of the Council of Antioch, mentioned in Eusebius,^s object against him.

It is not improbable, likewise, but that Ignatius, as he made hymns, so might compose a whole form of prayers for the use of his own Church, as was customary for bishops to do in those days. To which custom he seems to refer in his Epistle to the Magnesians,^h when he bids them “do nothing without the bishops and the presbyters; nor attempt any thing seemingly agreeable to their private fancies: but when they met together, to have one prayer and supplication.” Which not only forbids them to break out and divide into schisms and separate assemblies, but also to conform to the order of prayers agreed upon by the bishop and presbytery of the Church.

Not long after Ignatius, we meet with the collateral evidence of Lucian the heathen, who had some knowledge of the Christian service. From one of his dialogues, describing his coming into a religious assembly, he says,ⁱ “He there heard that prayer which began with the Father, and ended with the hymn of many names.” It is more than probable, that by the prayer beginning with the Father, he means the Lord’s prayer, which was of known and general use in the eucharistical service: but it is not so clear what he means by the hymn of many names, that came after it. Bishop Wetenhall^j takes it for the lesser, or common, doxology, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost:” Dr. Smith^k and others, for the great doxology,

^s Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Cant. 362, 1.) Ψαλμούς δι τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὴ νωτίτερος καὶ νωτίτερον ἀνδρῶν συγγεράμματα· εἰς ἑαυτὸν δι ἐν μίση τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψαλμοῦσιν γυναικας παρασκευάζων, ὧν καὶ ἀκούσας ἄν τις φρεῖται.

^h Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. n. vii. Μηδὲ τὶ φαίνεσθαι ὑμῖν ὑλογον, παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου [τοῦ ἐπισκόπου] γνώμην . . . πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ περισυχῇ ἅμα συνέρχεσθαι μία δῆσις ἔστω κοινή.

ⁱ Lucian. Philopatr. p. 1128. Τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρχάμενος, καὶ τὴν πολύνυμον ἥδη εἰς τέλος ἐπιθεῖς.

^j Wetenhall’s Gift of Singing, chap. xi. p. 273.

^k Smith’s Account of the Greek Church, p. 226. [Not. falsa mihi videtur allegatio. Latina editio, quæ mihi ad manus est, habet tantum paginas 165. Integrum libellum semel atque iterum percurri: locum autem, ad quem provocat auctor, nuspiam inveni. Grischov.]——Comber, Origin of Liturgies, chap. ii. p. 30, pro trisagio accipit.

“Glory be to God on high ;” which I think more probable : though it is not necessary, in our present inquiry, to determine what hymn it was : it being sufficient to our purpose, that he speaks of some prayers and hymns then of such common and vulgar use in the Christian worship, as that they were known to the very heathens.

Justin Martyr’s authority is commonly alleged on both sides, both for and against liturgies. The defenders of prescribed forms urge his mentioning κοινὰς εὐχὰς, ‘common prayers.’¹ The opposers, with great vehemence, argue for extempore prayer, because, he says,^m “The bishop offered prayers and thanksgiving ὅση δύναμις, ‘with all his might and power.’” Now, to speak freely, I think there is no demonstration in either of these expressions : for they are both ambiguous. Common prayer does not always imply, that the minister prayed by a prescribed form : for inspired prayer was doubtless common prayer, when offered in a public congregation : and though it was then a form prescribed to the people, yet it was not so to the minister ; but conceived by immediate inspiration. Therefore we cannot argue barely from the mentioning of common prayer, that the minister prayed by a prescribed form, unless it be added, as usually it is in Chrysostom, “That the congregation prayed μιᾷ φωνῇ, ‘with one voice,’ joining vocally in the whole prayer, or alternately, by way of responses, with the minister.” For that implies, that the people understood, beforehand, the words of their common prayers, before they were uttered by the minister. On the other hand, there is no solidity in the arguments brought against liturgies, from Justin’s saying, “That the bishop prayed and gave thanks, ὅση δύναμις, ‘with all his ability or power.’” For this may not at all relate to the invention of words, but to the

¹ Justin. Apol. i. p. 97, b. c. (Paris. 1742, p. 82.) Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λούσαι τὸν πσιπισμένον, ἵπλ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀδελφοὺς ἄγομεν, ἕστα συνηγμένοι εἰσὶ, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι ὑπὲρ σὲ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος, καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων ἐντόνως, κ. τ. λ.

^m Ibid. p. 98. Ἐπειτα ἐπιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πύμπομεν.— P. 83, D. Καὶ, ὡς προέφημι, παυσάμενον ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος, καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ὁ προϊστάς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτοῦ ἀναπέμψαι, καὶ ὁ λαὸς πισυφθῆμει λίγων τῶ ἀμήν.

ardency and intenseness of devotion, which may be in the use of prescribed forms, as well as those of immediate conception. And so it is plain the very same phrase is used by Nazianzen,ⁿ when he exhorts the Christians to sing *δση δύναμις*, ‘with all their might,’ that triumphal hymn upon the death of Julian, which the children of Israel sang when the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea. Which was not an extempore hymn, but a form composed by Moses, and appointed to be sung alternately by the congregation of Israel, (Exod. xv.) So that after all the pains that has been taken by some late writers to draw an argument against liturgies, out of this passage of Justin, there is no reason for such a conclusion. And yet this is the only passage that is brought against them. But it is more material to consider, that Justin lived among the Jews, who certainly used set forms of prayer, one of which he condemns, as I have shewed before, as an execration inserted against the Christians; but says nothing against the other; which yet, doubtless, he would have done, had he believed the use of liturgies to have been only a piece of Jewish superstition, unbecoming the spirit of a Christian. But he too well understood the practice of our Saviour and his apostles, in complying with the forms of the Jewish service, to put any such mark or brand of infamy upon them. And, therefore, this is of more weight with me, to persuade that Justin believed the known forms, both of the Jewish and Christian service to be lawful, than any ambiguous expressions are to persuade the contrary.

Not long after Justin, lived Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in France. And he takes notice of a certain form used in the Christian worship, so well known to the Valentinian heretics, that they made use of it as an argument to prove their own fabulous doctrine of the *Æones*: for, said they,^o “You yourselves of the Church, in your thanksgivings, say, ‘for ages

ⁿ Nazianz. Orat. iii. quæ est, Invect. i. cont. Jul. tom. i. p. 54. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνιπαθήσμεν τῇ λόγῃ τοῦ χοροῦ τὸ πλήρωμα· φέρι, ὅση δύναμις, ἀγνισάμενοι καὶ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς· καὶ μίαν ἀναλαβόντες φωνὴν, ἐν συναρμωσθέντι πνεύματι, τὴν ἱπινίκιον ᾄδωμεν ἱκίνην φθόγῃ, ἣν ποτε ἦσαν οἱ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ κατακαλυφθείσιν, ἔξαρχούσης Μαρίας, καὶ ἀνακρουομένης τὸ τύμπανον.

^o Iren. lib. i. c. i. Καὶ τὸν Παῦλον φανερῶτατα λίγουσι τοὺς Διῶνας ὁμομάζου

of ages,' or *æones of æones*; thereby intimating the *æones* which we contend for." This plainly refers to some form of thanksgiving, then of known use in the Church. Dr. Comber and some others take it for the *Gloria Patri*, because it ends as that in Irenæus did, with the words, "world without end, Amen." But I rather conceive, with Dr. Grabe,^p that it was the conclusion of the great thanksgiving in the eucharist; where the glorification of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ends with the words *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, 'world without end;' to which the people always answered, 'Amen;' as appears from the form remaining in the Constitutions; of which more in its proper place.

About the same time lived Clemens, of Alexandria, who, speaking of the Church, says,^r "It was the congregation of those who prostrated themselves in prayers, having, as it were, *φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν*, 'one common voice;'" which implies, that their prayers were such as that they could join vocally in them, either by repeating the whole, or at least by alternate responses. He also mentions a form of prayer, used over the penitents by the Valentinians, in imposition of hands, in the close of which were these words,^s "That they may obtain angelical absolution." Not to mention that common

πολλάκις, ἵτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν τιστηκεῖναι οὕτως ὑπὸντα, εἰς πάσας τὰς γενιάς τῶν αἰώνων τοῦ αἰῶνος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἐκείνους τοὺς αἰῶνας σημαίνου.

^p Grabe, Not. in loc. Irenæi. Non inepte notat Feuard. per 'eucharistias' hic intelligi preces atque laudes, in celebratione sacramenti eucharistiæ fundi solitas. . . . Harum enim clausulam jam primo ecclesiæ ævo fuisse, 'per omnia sæcula sæculorum' probare contendit ex liturgiis Jacobi, Clementis, &c. Atqui hæc quidem vel suppositas, vel interpolatas esse satis constat: attamen haud vane augurari licet, illos, qui in omnibus istis liturgiis exprimuntur, quique jam olim ubique inter sacra mysteria usitati fuere, ritus ex apostolica traditione fluxisse. Id saltem ex hoc Valentinianorum argumento liquet, secunda post Christum natum ætate dictam formulam in usu fuisse.

^q Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xii. Ubi clausula orationis ante oblationem sic habet: "Ὅτι σοι πᾶσα δόξα, εὐχαι, καὶ εὐχαριστία· τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τῇ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῇ Τίῃ, καὶ τῇ ἁγίῃ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνέλιπτους καὶ ἀτελιυτῆτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς λέγισα, Ἀμήν."

^r Clement. Alexand. Strom. vii. c. vi. p. 717, (p. 848, edit. Oxon.) Τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων, μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν, καὶ μίαν γνώμην.

^s Ibid. Epit. p. 974, edit. Oxon. Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους, εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικήν.

form of doxology, which he uses at the end of his *Pædagogus*,[†] “To whom be glory, both now and for ever, world without end. Amen.”

Next after him, Tertullian often tells us, “That they used the Lord’s Prayer as a form enjoined by Divine command ;” of which I shall say more in a following chapter.” He also says,[‡] “That the form of baptism was appointed and prescribed by Christ to be always in the ‘name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’” And not only so, but to this the Church added several other ceremonies and observations, which were not enjoined expressly in so many words by Christ: as the form of renouncing the devil,[¶] and his pomp, and his angels; the trine immersion; the interrogatories and responses, which were made in a certain form to the articles of the creed; the giving of milk and honey to the newly baptized; the obligation to abstain from bathing for a whole week after: all which observations were only of ecclesiastical institution and prescription. So again their receiving the eucharist in their morning assemblies^{*} before

[†] P. 115, (p. 311, edit. Oxon.) ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

[‡] Chap. vii.

[¶] Tertul. de Bapt. c. xiii. Lex tinguendi imposita est, et forma præscripta. ‘Ite,’ inquit, ‘docete nationes, tinguentes eas in nomen Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’

^{*} Ibid. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Paris. 1664, p. 101.) Quamdiu per hanc lineam serram recipocabimus, habentes observationem inveteratam, quæ præveniēdo statum fecit? Hanc si nulla Scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit, quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit. Quomodo enim usurpari quid potest, si traditum prius non est? Etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta. Ergo quæramus, an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi? Plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum, quas sine ullius Scripturæ instrumento, solius traditionis titulo, et exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindicamus. Denique, ut a baptismo ingrediar, Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamar, amplius aliquid respondentes, quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus: exque ea die, lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus.

^{*} Ibid. Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut paus etiam

day, which Christ instituted after supper; their annual oblations and commemorations for the dead; their avoiding fasting, and refusing to pray kneeling on the Lord's day and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost; their signing themselves with the sign of the cross upon all occasions; and their appointing of occasional fasts;¹ together with the fast of Lent and stationary days; none of which were of express Divine command, but were instituted by the Church; with many other observations of the like nature, for the edification of her children, as her rules of discipline, and psalmody, and singing a particular psalm at the eucharist, which is mentioned by our author.² Again he intimates,³ that in all their assemblies they had not only sermons and prayers, but also the Scriptures read, and psalms sung to the glory of God; which must be allowed to be forms of praise and glorification. Nor would it be material to suggest, that Tertullian, when he wrote this, was a Montanist; for both the Church and heretics commonly agreed in singing of David's psalms, and even vied in hymns of their own composition and prescription. Tertullian, indeed, does not expressly say, that their prayers,

nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies: traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, et fides observatrix.

¹ Tertul. de Jejun. c. xiii. (p. 551.) Præscribitis constituta esse solemnia huic fidei Scripturis vel traditione majorum, nihilque observationis amplius adjiciendum, ob illicitum innovationis. State in isto gradu, si potestis. Ecce enim convenio vos et præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablatus est sponsus, et stationum semijejunia interponentes, et vero interdum pane et aqua victitantes, ut cuique visum est. Denique respondetis, hæc ex arbitrio agenda, non ex imperio. Movistis igitur gradum, excedendo traditionem, quum quæ non sint constituta, obitis. Quale est autem, ut tuo arbitrio permittas, quod imperio Dei non das? plus humanæ licebit voluntati, quam Divinæ potestati? . . . Bene autem, quod et episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia adsolent, non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, ut vestræ capturæ est; sed interdum et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa, &c.

² Ibid. Vide quam bonum, et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum: hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas.

³ Ibid. de Anima, c. ix. (p. 270, a.) Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur; ita inde materiæ visionibus subministrantur

like their psalms, were offered in a certain form of words ; but he says what may incline a man reasonably to believe it. For, as a proof of the Christians' loyalty, he says,^b " They met together, and as if they were drawn up in battle, did jointly set upon God with their prayers, which violence was acceptable to him. They prayed for the emperors, for their officers and powers, for the state of the world, for the peace of their government, and for the continuance of their empire." And again he says, " They prayed constantly for all the emperors, that they might have a long life and quiet reign ; that their family might be safe, their armies valiant, their senate faithful, their people virtuous, and that the whole world might be in peace." Now these, as we shall see hereafter, were known parts of the Church's liturgy ; and if they had not been of constant use, they had been but poor arguments of the Christians' loyalty, for which Tertullian here produces them. In another place, he expressly mentions the same doxology, as Iræneus does before him ; for, speaking against Christians frequenting the Roman theatres, he asks them,^c " With what face they could go from the church of God into the church of the devil ? And with that mouth, wherewith they had said ' amen ' at the consecration or reception of the eucharist, give testimony to a gladiator ? or say ' world without end, ' to any besides God and Christ ; or to any besides Christ their God." I do not take this, with some learned men, to mean that common form of doxology, " Glory be to the Father," &c. at the end of the Psalms : but the conclusion of the consecration-prayer in the communion service,

^b Tertul. Apol. c. xxxix. (p. 31, a.) et c. xxx. p. 27. Coimus ad Deum, quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, et potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. . . . Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcumque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt.

^c Ibid. de Spectac. c. xxv. Paris. 1674, p. 83. Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei, in diaboli ecclesiam tendere ? de cœlo (quod aiunt) in cœnum ? illas manus, quas ad Dominum extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare ? ex ore, quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, *ἀπ' αἰῶνος* *εἰς αἰῶνας* alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo Christo ? [vel ut alia exemplaria habent, Deo et Christo.]

which, as I noted before, always ended with those words, *αἰῶνας*, 'world without end:' to which the people subjoined their 'amen.' And then it is an evident proof, that the African Churches had a certain form of prayer for consecrating the eucharist, the known words of which Tertullian could allege to the people, as an argument to dissuade them from frequenting the heathen theatres. He also intimates, that they sang psalms and hymns alternately in private :^d for to dissuade Christian women from marrying heathen husbands, he uses this argument ;^e "What will such a husband sing to his wife, or the wife to her husband? But if they married Christian husbands, then they would sing psalms and hymns between themselves, and mutually provoke one another, and strive who should make the sweetest melody to their God." And there is no doubt to be made, but that this private psalmody was an imitation of the public psalmody of the Church. So when he says,^f "That at their feasts of charity, after the communion was ended, in the close of all, when they had washed their hands, and brought in lights, every one was excited either to sing something out of Scripture, or some hymn of his own composing ;" this as plainly argues, that they made use of forms in this part of their private devotions ; for the Psalms of Scripture are undoubtedly forms : and hymns of private composition are no less so, unless we will suppose every one that sings, has words suggested to him by immediate inspiration ; which still will be a form to the congregation that hears it, though not to the person who is so extraordinarily inspired by the Holy Ghost.

But there is one expression in Tertullian, which the opposers of liturgies lay great stress upon, because, he says,^g

^d Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. vi. Quid maritus suus illi, vel marito quid illa cantabit ?

^e Ibid. c. ix. Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo provocant, quis melius Deo suo canet.

^f Ibid. Apol. c. xxxix. Post aquam manualet et lumina, ut quisque de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere : hinc probatur, quomodo biberit.

^g Ibid. c. xxx. Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis ; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus ; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore, oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus, &c.

“The Christians prayed for the emperor, *sine monitore, quia de pectore*, ‘without any monitor, because they prayed from their heart;’” which they expound, praying extempore. But if this be interpreted rigidly, it will prove much more than the objectors design: for if they prayed simply without any monitor, then it will exclude even the minister’s dictating to them his own conceptions; because these will be an admonition or direction to the people; and so all public prayer must cease, and all devotion be resolved into the private prayers of the people; which is such an absurdity as neither Tertullian ever thought of, nor the objectors themselves will allow. Whatever, therefore, be meant by this phrase, ‘Praying from the heart without a monitor,’ it cannot mean, that the people’s prayers were simply their own conceptions. Among the many interpretations which are put upon these words by learned men (which may be seen in Dr. Faulkner^b or Dr. Comber), I take these two to be the most natural; either first, that they prayed *memoriter*, saying their prayers by heart, and needing no prompter, as the heathens did; which is the sense that Rigaltiusⁱ and Bishop Fell^j put upon it; in which sense it is an argument for liturgies, and not against them. Or, secondly, that they prayed sincerely from the heart, and freely out of the loyalty of their own heart without compulsion, as Hamond Lestrangle and Dr. Comber^k interpret it; which seems to be the truest sense: for the heathens were neither sincere, nor hearty, nor zealous in their prayers for the emperor; but the Christians offered their prayers with all those due qualifications, as became the character of truly pious votaries and loyal subjects. The sense

^b Faulkner, *Libert. Eccles.* book i. chap. iv. sect. ii. — Comber, *Origin of Liturgies*, chap. ii. p. 47.

ⁱ Rigalt. in *Tertul. Apol. c. xxx.* Apud ethnicos monitor præibat preces, ac de scripto quidem, ne quid verborum præteriretur, aut præposterum, diceretur; rursusque alius custos erat, qui attenderet; alius qui faveri linguis juberet. — *Plin. c. ii. lib. xxxviii.*

^j Fell. *Not. in Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 152, (p. 107, edit. Amstelod.)* Nihil in Christiana pietate precum formulis antiquis. Sacerdos verbis conceptis præibat, plebs invicem respondebat, idque sine monitore, quod gentilibus solemne, ‘quia,’ ut ait Tertullianus (*Apol. c. xxx.*), ‘de pectore orabant,’ id est, preces memoriter tenebant.

^k Lestrangle, *Smectymniomastix*, p. 5. — Comber, of *Liturgies*, p. 49.

of this dark passage being thus cleared, it remains no argument against liturgies, unless a man will say, there can be no such thing as sincerity and heartiness in a form of prayer; which would be to condemn the whole Catholic Church in the time of Tertullian, from whose testimonies it is evident, that forms were generally used in most parts of Divine service.

I have nothing further to add in this century, but only one or two small observations out of the Acts of St. Perpetua and Felicitas, two African martyrs, who suffered in the latter end of this age. There it is remarked of Perpetua,¹ “That seeming in a vision to receive the eucharist into her hands and eat it, all that stood round her, said, ‘Amen:’” alluding to the custom of saying ‘amen’ at the reception of it from the hands of the minister in the church. There is a like allusion to the use of the *trisagion*, ‘holy, holy, holy,’^m which the angels use in heaven. And a further intimation of the solemn custom of giving the peace, and the kiss of peace in the communion: for it is said,ⁿ “That Perpetua and her brother Saturus, saluted one another with a kiss before they suffered, that they might consummate their martyrdom by the solemn rites of giving the peace.”

SECT. VI.—*What Evidence there is for the Use of set Forms in the third Century.*

In the beginning of the third century, about the year 220, lived Hippolytus the martyr, and bishop of Adana, or Portus Romanus in Arabia. Among other learned works, he wrote a book, called *Ἀποστολικὴ Παράδοσις περὶ Χαρισμάτων*, ‘the Apostolical Tradition concerning Ecclesiastical Offices;’ which, according to the general opinion of the most learned critics, Dr. Bernard, Dr. Gale, and others,^o is no other than the

¹ *Passio Perpetuæ ad calc. Lactant. de Mort. Persecutor. p. 10. Ego accepi junctis manibus, et manducavi: et universi circumstantes dixerunt, Amen.*

^m *Ibid. p. 23. Introivimus et audivimus vocem unitam, Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, sine cessatione.*

ⁿ *Ibid. p. 35. Ante jam osculati invicem, ut martyrium per solemnia pacis consummarent.*

^o *Vid. Cave, Histor. Litterar. vol. ii. p. 45, (p. 27, edit. Genev. 1699.) Περὶ χαρισμάτων.] Opus aliunde incognitum. Suspicio partem fuisse ἀποστολικῶν διατάξεων; quas Hippolytus ex Oriente Romam attulit, quæ etiam nunc exstant.*

eighth book of those called the Apostolical Constitutions; which they think were compiled and published at Rome by this author. And if so, there can be no question what his opinion was about the use of forms in Divine service; for that book is nothing else but a collection of such forms as either were in use, or made in imitation of those that were then in use, in the Church. I will not allege any of them here, because I do it in every part of this work: and it would be very needless and superfluous here to repeat them.

Besides this, Hippolytus wrote a book of odes or hymns upon several parts of Scripture, some of which, most probably, were of use in the public service. For in another treatise of the Consummation of the World and Antichrist,^p he commends the use of doxologies, and psalms, and spiritual odes; and makes it one of the signs of the reign of antichrist, that liturgy shall be extinguished, psalmody shall cease, and reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard. It is true indeed, some learned men, Bishop Usher,^q Combefis, and Du Pin, reject this as a spurious tract, composed by some modern Greeks; but, as learned critics, Labbè^r and

^p Hippolyt. de Consummat. Mundi, Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. ii. p. 357, b. *Λειτουργία σβηθήσεται· ψαλμῳδία παυσθήσεται· ἀνάγνωσις τῶν γραφῶν οὐκ εἰσ-
ακουσθήσεται.* — Id. p. 362, a. *Τὸ στόμα ὑμῶν πρὸς δοξολογίαν, καὶ αἶνοι, καὶ
ψαλμοὺς, καὶ ᾠδὰς πνευματικὰς ᾠσέτε· λαλεῖτε, καὶ μελετᾶτε διὰ πάντος τὴν
ἀνάγνωσιν, κ. τ. λ.*

^q Usser. Biblioth. Theol. ap. Caveum, Histor. Litter. tom. i. p. 70, (p. 51, edit. Genev.) Genuinum Hippolyti opus non esse, pluribus probare nititur Rever. Usserius in Biblioth. Theol. MS., argumenta sua his demum verbis claudens: 'Apparet igitur tum ex ipso Græcæ dictionis genere, tum ex rei veritate, atque pondere libelli istius, auctorem hominem illiteratum fuisse atque indoctum. — Combef. Auctar. Biblioth. Patr. p. 51. — Du Pin. Biblioth. vol. i. p. 104, (p. 177, edit. Paris. 1692, 4to.) Valde incertum est, an hic sit de Antichristo tractatus, qui nunc Hippolyto adscriptus est, cujus meminit Eusebius.

^r Labb. de Scriptor. Eccles. p. 471. Scio hæreticorum procures, Jo. Juellum, Robertum Cocum, Isaacum Casaubonum, similesque heterodoxos, orationem illam (de Consummatione Mundi) conatos arguere falsi.—1. Quia incipit *ἰαυδὴ γὰρ*. Novum crimen, superi! atque inauditum! —2. Quod somnia narret. Quæ? At esto, id ita sit: an quoties aberrat aliquis et varia sectatur, ejus continuo repudianda et abdicanda ratio? —3. Quia existimat, Joannem evangelistam minime mortuum. At idem dixerunt alii, quorum tamen opera indubitata sunt et inconcussa. Certe de antichristo et resurrectione scripsisse, testis est mox laudatus Hieronymus, c. lxi. Catalogi.

Bishop Bull^s have undertaken to defend it, and answer all the arguments that are produced against it. I will not enter

* Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. iii. c. viii. sect. iv. p. 369, (p. 220, edit. Grab. Lond. 1703, folio. Bull's Works, Oxford, 1827, vol. v. p. 596.) Sunt tamen viri quidam docti inter Neotericos, qui hoc Hippolyti opus abjudicant satis fidenter; sed rationibus inducti, meo quidem iudicio, levissimis; immo quæ, si accuratius expendantur, contra ipsos militent. Primo ipsis displicet Græcæ dictionis genus, quodque liber incipiat ab *ἰσχυρὴ γὰρ*. Quam objectionem merito ita irrisit Philippus Labbeus: 'Novum crimen, superi, atque inauditum!' Sane præterquam quod eruditi in hoc litterarum genere probe norunt, ab omnibus Græcis scriptoribus ecclesiasticis perpolitum Græcæ dictionis genus frustra requiri, Photius, qui indubitata Hippolyti scripta legerat, de ejus phrasi expresse monuit (cod. cxxi.) quod *πρὸς τὸν Ἀστικὸν οὐκ ἰσιστρέφεται λόγος*, 'ad sermonem Atticum non tendat.' Et alibi (nempe cod. ccii.) rursus de Hippolyti dicendi genere loquutus, ait: *Τὸς Ἀστικούς ὄντι μάλα διασημοὺς δυσωπιῖται* 'Atticas revera leges valde repudiat.' Præterea id offendit hos censores, quod in eo opere multæ reperiantur de natalibus et vita Antichristi inanes conjecturæ; v. g. Antichristum non hominem, sed dæmonem fore humana figura præditum. Sed quis nescit, illorum temporum scriptores multa perabsurda de Antichristo, ut de re obscura, tradidisse? Ac de Hippolyto diserte testatur Photius codice proxime citato, quod in interpretatione Danielis, ubi de Antichristo etiam agit, *πολλὰ ἀρχαιοτρόπως, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ ὑστερον διηκριβωμένοι, καταλίγου*, 'multa veteri more, non, ut postea fuere accuratius excussa, recenseat.' Quin et de hoc ipso Hippolyti opere, quod de Antichristo inscribitur, ibidem, ut audivimus, monet, in ipso esse *τὸ τῶν νοημάτων ἀπλούστερόν τι καὶ ἀρχαιοτρόπον*, 'sensuum simplicitatem majorem' (ubi *τὸ ἀπλούτ.* quod a Græcis fieri solet, *τῷ ἀκριβοῦ* opponitur) et vetustatem.' Antichristum vero malo spiritu conceptum fore, receptor fuit doctorum in veteri ecclesia opinio. Hinc id ipsum pro indubio et rato tradidit ille vere *Θαυμάσιος* Martinus, apud Severum Sulpicium, dialog. ii. c. xvi. Et auctor Tractatus de Antichristo apud Augustinum de Antichristi Conceptione sic scribit: 'Diabolus simul in uterum matris ejus introibit, et totam eam replebit, totam circumdabit, totam tenebit, et totam interius exteriusque possidebit.' Quid? quod ipse Irenæus (cujus auditor Hippolytus fuisse perhibetur) eandem sententiam tradidit. Nam de Antichristo hæc refert, (lib. v. c. xxv.) 'Ille enim omnem suscipiens diaboli virtutem, venit non quasi rex justus, nec quasi in subjectione Dei legitimus; sed impius, et injustus, et sine lege, quasi apostata, et iniquus et homicida, quasi latro, diabolicam apostasiam in se recapitulans.' Hæc itaque librum istum Hippolyti genuinum esse, non parum confirmant. Denique obijciunt, scriptorem illum adfirmare, animas hominum a sæculis fuisse; quod fuit Origenis figmentum. Sed hinc etiam non leve argumentum arripio, quo probem, Hippolytum esse revera libri auctorem. Quippe Origenem aliquando Hippolyti auditorem fuisse, constat ex Hieronymo, qui ait ipsum . . . Hippolytum fuisse Clementis Alexandrini discipulum. Clemens autem ille de creto Platonis, de animæ præexistentia, favisse deprehenditur, Strom. lib. i. et clarius, lib. iii., uti etiam ab Huetio observatum est. Ab hoc itaque Clemente et Hippolytus et Origenes, uterque ejus discipulus (quæquam Hippolytus in ea schola senior fuit) dogma illud hauserunt. Ut verbo igitur dicam; omnia in libro de Antichristo ita Hippolyto conveniunt, ut, etiamsi titulus non moneret, facile per se nasutiores possent odorari, ipsum ab Hippolyto revera profectum esse.

into this debate, but only say, that as there is nothing in this passage now alleged, dissonant to the sense of Hippolytus's other works, we may be allowed to cite it in this cause, till some clearer evidence can be produced against it. Hippolytus wrote also a book, called *Canon Paschalis*, which Scaliger^t and Gothofred^u take to be a calendar, shewing what lessons were to be read on several festivals; as the first of St. Matthew, called *Γένεσις*, the generation of Christ, on the vigil of Christ's nativity; and the *Πάθος*, or the history of his sufferings out of the gospel of St. Matthew, on the day of his crucifixion. And it is certain, from many passages in St. Chrysostom, St. Austin, and others, that such calendars were used in the Church, as shall be shewed in another place,^v when I come to speak of the ancient method of reading the Holy Scriptures by a certain rule and order in Divine service. But because Ægidius Bucherius, who has since republished this Paschal Cycle, and Dr. Cave,^w give another interpretation of it, I will lay no greater stress upon it than it will bear, contenting myself in so critical a point to have suggested the sense of learned men, and leave the matter to the further disquisition of the curious reader; having otherwise given sufficient evidence, that the Church, in the time of Hippoly-

^t Scaliger. de Emendat. Tempor. lib. vii. p. 726, edit. Genev. 1629, folio. Hæc omnia, quæ inclusa sunt in cellulis aræ Laterculi, sunt lectiones ex utroque testamento, quarum usus erat eo tempore in ecclesia. Sed quædam earum statæ sunt ex orbe hebdomadum, et eidem diei hebdomadis hærent, aliquando fortassis eidem diei mensis: quædam vaga pro ratione termini. Ut ecce, *γένις Χριστοῦ* quotannis ex primo Matthæi *ἐν προδιανυκτερίῳ*, sive *παραμοναῖς* natalis Christi legebatur mense Pharmuthi, quo tempore quidem natum Dominum putabant, ut scribit Clemens Alexandrinus.

^u Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. v. p. 356. In genere notum jam aliunde vel ex Ambrosio et Augustino, lectiones ex utroque testamento solemnes in ecclesia olim fuisse, et quidem statas, ex orbe, ac nominatim ex Novo Testamento, quæ *ἀποστολο-ἐνάγγιλα* postea dicta, et *ἐνάγγιλιστάρια*: cujus rei luculentum testimonium in Hippolyti episcopi 'Paschali' occurrit, ubi lectiones hujusmodi designantur in cellulis aræ Laterculi; ut ecce, *γένις Χριστοῦ*, quotannis ex primo Matthæi, *ἐν προδιανυκτερίῳ*, sive *παραμοναῖς* natalis Christi legebatur xi. Pharmuthi, quo tempore quidam natum Dominum putabant, ut scribit Clemens Alexandrinus. Ita *πάθος Χριστοῦ*, die passionis Dominicæ, id est, ex quorundam sententia, xxv. Matthæi, aliaque quæ in eo canone videre est, et Scaliger explicavit.

^v Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii.

^w Vid. Cave, Histor. Litt. vol. ii. p. 47.

tus, used stated forms of prayer and praises in her public service.

Not long after Hippolytus, lived Origen, who was one of his scholars, and took some of his opinions from him. Now this writer, in his Homilies upon Jeremy, expressly mentions one of the prayers of constant use in the Church. "We frequently say in our prayers," says he,^x "Grant us, O Almighty God, grant us a part with thy prophets; grant us a part with the apostles of thy Christ; grant that we may be found at the feet of thy only-begotten Son;" which is a testimony so clear, that the Centuriators^y made no scruple to conclude hence, "That forms of prayer were undoubtedly used in the Church in the time of Origen." He elsewhere says,^z "The Christians used the ordered or prescribed prayers, as became them, continually, night and day, whereby they were preserved against the power of magic and the devil." For Celsus, in his spiteful way, had advanced an egregious calumny against the Christians, pretending that he had seen in the hands of some of their presbyters certain barbarous books, containing the names of the devils and their impostors; hereby insinuating, that the prayers which the Christian presbyters had in their books, were only magical enchantments: which calumny Origen not only rejects with scorn, appealing to the experience of the world, which knew it to be a fiction; but also tells his adversary further, "That the prayers which they used by order and appointment, were such as rendered them invincible and proof against all the force of magic and power of the devils." Now, considering that the objection of Celsus lay against the service-books of

^x Origen. Hom. xi. in Jerem. p. 606, edit. Basil. *Frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da, Omnipotens, da nobis partem cum prophetis; da cum apostolis Christi tui; tribue, ut inveniamur ad vestigia Unigeniti tui.*

^y Centur. Magdeb. cent. iii. c. vi. p. 94. *Formulas quasdam precationum absque dubio habuerunt. Origenes enim ad eas, quas Collectas hodie vocant, adludere videtur; ubi, inquit, 'Frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da, Omnipotens, &c.*

^z Origen. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 302. *Διαβιβάζομεθα δὲ ἡμῖς, καὶ τῇ πίστεϊ παραλαβόντες, ὅτι οἱ κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θειασάμενος Θεὸν, καὶ βιοῦντες κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ταῖς προσταχθείσαις τε εὐχαῖς συνιχίστιρον καὶ διόντως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρώμενοι, οὔτε μαγίᾳ, οὔτε δαιμονίοις εἶσιν ἄλωτοί.*

the Christian presbyters, it is reasonable to conclude, that Origen's answer relates to the same; for Origen does not deny that they had any such books, but only says, "Their prayers, which they were ordered to use, were of a different nature from what the adversary had represented them."

To this we may add what Origen says in his Comments upon Job,^a "That by ancient custom of the Church, the book of Job was always read in Lent, and particularly in Passion Week, as most properly adapted to that occasion." The reader may find this passage at length hereafter:^b and therefore it is sufficient to hint in this place, that the Scriptures, in his time, were methodized and brought under rule, being read by some certain order and prescription.

Not long after Origen, St. Cyprian testifies not only that the Lord's Prayer was used as a form, and as a spiritual form, most acceptable to God, as we shall see hereafter; but also mentions several other forms of common and noted use in Divine service. As in the administration of baptism, every one was to renounce the devil and the world in a certain form of words,^c then vulgarly known in the Church, which Cyprian more than once has occasion to mention. They were likewise to make profession of the several articles of the Christian faith in a certain form of words; which every Church had for that purpose, and for this particular use, collected into a creed. Cyprian^d often specifies both the interrogatories and the answers that were made upon this occasion; and, he assures us,^e "They were so precise to a

^a Origen. in Job. lib. i. p. 366, edit. Basil. (p. 227, edit. Paris. 1604.) Nos illud pro certo adfirmamus, experti, quod, qui ritu Christiano per Jesum colunt Deum, universorum Dominum, vivuntque juxta ejus evangelium, solemnibus precibus utentes noctu et interdiu, nec magis nec dæmonibus sint expugnabiles.

^b Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii.

^c Cyprian. de Lapsis, p. 125, (p. 89, edit. Amstelod.) Stare illic potuit Dei servus, et loqui, et renuntiare Christo, qui jam diabolo renuntiaret et sæculo?—It. Epist. vii. al. xiii. ad Rogat. p. 37, (p. 190, edit. Amstelod.) Sæculo renuntiaveramus, quum baptizati sumus.

^d Ibid. Epist. lxx. ad Episc. Numid. p. 190, (p. 301, edit. Amstelod.) Sed et ipsa interrogatio, quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam quum dicimus; 'Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam?' intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari.

^e Ibid. Epist. lxx. al. lxxvi. ad Magnum, p. 183, (p. 296, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Quod si aliquis opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere,

form, that the Novatians themselves used the very same words in their questions and responses, as the Catholics did: they observed the same rule as the Church did; they baptized with the same creed; they asked the party, 'Whether he believed in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Whether he believed in the remission of sins, and eternal life, by the holy Church?' which were the first and last words in the Creed. So they kept close to the same form of words, though they differed about the sense of them in some particulars relating to remission of sins, and the Church; which is so clear an argument for the observation of a form in baptism, that I see not what can reasonably be replied to it.

Then, again, for the prayers in the administration of the Eucharist, nothing can be more evident, than that the people bare a part in them. I will not insist on those expressions of his,^f that "They had public and common prayer," because they are capable of an evasion; but what he says of the people's answering to the priest, is not to be evaded. For persuading the people to use diligence and attention in their prayers, he puts them in mind of a usual form of speech, which the whole Church used to raise their souls to a spiritual and heavenly temper. "The priest," says he,^g "before prayer prepares the hearts of the brethren, by premising a preface, and saying, 'Lift up your hearts;' that whilst the people answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord,' they may be admonished, at that time, to think of nothing but the Lord only." What Cyprian says here of this preface coming

quam Catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos, baptizare; eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare; sciat, quisquis hoc opponendum putat; primum, non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem; neque eandem interrogationem. Nam quum dicunt, 'Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam;' mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam.

^f Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 141, (p. 100, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Publica est nobis et communis oratio. — It. Epist. viii. al. xi. ad Cler. p. 26, (p. 187, edit. Amstelod.) Oratione communi et concordii prece pro omnibus jussit orare.

^g Ibid. de Orat. Dominic. p. 152, (p. 107, edit. Amstelod.) Sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, 'Sursum corda;' ut, dum respondet plebs, 'Habemus ad Dominum,' admoneatur, nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere. (Paris. 1632, ii. p. 271.)

before the prayer, is not so to be understood, as if it came before all the prayers of the Church, but immediately before the prayer of consecration in the communion service; for, as we shall see hereafter, there came before this both the prayers for the catechumens and penitents, and the prayers for the faithful, or the whole state of Christ's Church; but when the solemn prayer of the oblation was to be made, then it was that the priest called upon the people in this form, "Lift up your hearts." And they answered, "We lift them up unto the Lord." The priest went on again, and said, "Let us give thanks to our Lord God;" and the people answered, "It is just and right so to do." Then followed the eucharistical or consecration prayer, and the Lord's Prayer; and after that the salutation, *Pax vobis*, 'Peace be with you.' To which the people answered, "And with thy spirit." After which they gave one another, mutually, the kiss of peace, and then proceeded to receive the holy sacrament. This was the form and order of the communion service in St. Austin's time, in the African Church. And it is very probable it might be much the same in the time of Cyprian: but Cyprian had no occasion to mention any other part of the prayers, but only that which related to his particular subject; which one is sufficient to prove, that stated forms of prayer were then allowed in the public service of the Church of Carthage, and probably in the rest of the African Churches.

At the same time with Cyprian, lived Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; who, having occasion to speak of a certain woman, an impostor, who pretended to the spirit of prophecy, he says,^b "She took upon her to conse-

^b Firmil. Epist. lxxv. ad Cyprian. p. 223, (p. 323, edit. Amstelod.) Atqui illa mulier, quæ prius per præstigias et fallacias dæmonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cetera, quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est; ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino [non] sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis offerret; baptizaret quoque multos usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans, ut nil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur. . . . Numquid et hoc Stephanus, et qui illi consentiunt, comprobant? Maxime cui nec symbolum Trinitatis, nec interrogatio legitima et ecclesiastica deficit? Potest credi aut remissio peccatorum data, aut lavacri salutis regeneratio rite

crate the eucharist with the venerable invocation, and ceremony of predication, then commonly used in the Church :” he means the commemoration of God’s great blessings bestowed upon man, and the repetition of the history of the first institution of the Lord’s Supper, which by the ancients is called *ἀνάμνησις*, and ‘*solita prædicatio*,’ a thing seldom or never omitted in the consecration of the eucharist. He adds also, that the same impostor baptized many, using the common and appointed interrogatories, that she might not seem to vary in any thing from the rule of the Church. She made them answer to every article of the Creed, the *Creed*, as he calls it, “of the Holy Trinity.” She put the usual questions to them prescribed by the Church ; that is, ‘Whether they renounced the devil, his angels, his pomp, and his service?’ and, ‘whether they made a covenant with Christ?’ And she did every thing, *ad imaginem veritatis*, according to the exact method and form that was observed in the Church. Now, though all this was done by the devil, speaking in an impostor, yet, being done according to the exact rules of the Church, it argues, that the Church, at that time, had a stated rule and order for administering both the sacraments ; and that the forms were so well known, that this woman could imitate them so exactly, as in nothing to vary from the usual solemnities, either of prayers or other ceremonies then observed in the Church. And if we consider, that the administration of the two sacraments was then the most considerable part of the Church’s service, this is as clear an evidence as we can desire, to prove that prescribed forms were now in use in the Asiatic Churches.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, was contemporary with Firmilian, and he was a man famous for working miracles by the Spirit, whence he had the name of Thaumaturgus, ‘the wonder-worker.’ There is no doubt but that he prayed also by the Spirit, yet he prayed by a form ; which shews, that praying by a form, and praying by the Spirit, are not inconsistent. As he was the founder of his Church (finding but seventeen Christians when he

perfecta, ubi omnia, quamvis ad imaginem veritatis, tamen per dæmonem gesta sunt? (Paris. 1632, p. 201.)

came thither, and leaving but seventeen heathens when he was taken from it), so he left them a liturgy, or form of Divine service, which they were so tenacious of, that, as St. Basil testifies of them,¹ "They would not suffer one ceremony, or one word, or one mystical form, to be added to those which he had left among them." He settled the way of singing psalms, not alternately, but by the common voice of the people all joining together. And the clergy of Neocæsarea were such admirers of this rule, that when St. Basil had introduced the alternate way into his own Church, they were offended at it, and objected against him, that it was not so in the days of Gregory the Great. Upon which, St. Basil was forced to write an apologetical epistle to them in vindication of his practice, wherein he shews, that the way of alternate song was now conformable to the practice of all the Eastern Churches, except that of Neocæsarea; and that however tenacious that Church had formerly been of the ways and forms of Gregory, yet in one particular they had now made an alteration: for, in the days of Gregory, they^j had none of that peculiar form of prayers, called litanies, which now, in St. Basil's time, they had admitted into their service, and were very zealous in the use of it, notwithstanding that it was neither of St. Gregory's composition, nor used at all in his days. As this shews that the use of litanies was brought into the Church of Neocæsarea, some years after the time of St. Gregory; so it as evidently proves that their other forms were instituted by him, and derived their original from his composition, who was the first founder of the Church.

Not long after this, we find a complaint made by the Council of Antioch (an. 270), against Paulus Samosatensis, the heretical bishop of that place, that he had forbidden the use of such^k psalms or hymns as were used to be sung in the

¹ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix, p. 360, c. Οὐ πρᾶξιν τινα, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τύπον τινὰ μυστικόν, παρὰ δὲ ἰκύνους κατέλιπε, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέθηκεν.

^j Ibid. Epist. lxi. ad Neocæs. p. 97, b. 'Αλλ' οὐκ ἦν, φασί, ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λυτανίαι, ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιστηδεύετε, κ. τ. λ.

^k Conc. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὲ νωτέρους καὶ νωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγραμματα.

Church to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, under pretence that they were only the novel compositions of late and modern authors. I have already produced this passage more at length,¹ to prove the worship of our Saviour; and here it serves to prove, that they worshipped him by certain forms of praise, which the bishop cast out of the Church, upon a pretence of novelty: which was but a mere pretence; for such forms of praise had been in use in the Church, ἀπαρχῆς, 'from the beginning,' as the ancient writer against the heresy of Artemon, in Eusebius,^m words it. And about the same time, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, composed hymns of the like nature for the service of the Church, for which he is commended by Dionysius,ⁿ bishop of Alexandria, who also himself used a certain form of doxology to the whole Trinity, as is reported by St. Basil; who also tells us, in the same place,^o "That Athenogenes, the martyr, composed hymns to the glory of the Holy Ghost;" and adds, "that the hymn, called *Hymnus Lucernalis*, 'the hymn to be sung at lighting of candles in the evening service,' containing a glorification of the Holy Trinity, was of ancient use in the Church; so ancient, that he knew not who was the author of it." But I have already alleged these more at large^p in vindicating the worship of our Saviour, and therefore content myself

¹ Chap. ii. sect. iii.

^m Euseb. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Cant. 225, 20.) Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὄναι καὶ ὅτι ἀδελφῶν ἄπ' ἀρχῆς, ὑπὲρ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν Δόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι διολογούντες.

ⁿ Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxiv. (Cant. 350, 12.) Ἐν ἅλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδίδχμαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νίσωτα, τῆς τι πίστεως καὶ τῆς φιλοπνεύας, καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διατριβῆς· καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμωδίας, ἥ μίχρη νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐδουλοῦνται.

^o Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (p. 218, B.) 'Ο Ἀλεξανδριὺς Διονύσιος ἐν τῇ διουσίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ὁμόνυμον ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ· . . . τοῦτοις, φησί, πᾶσιν ἀπολοῦσθαι καὶ ἡμῖς, καὶ δὴ [καὶ] παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν τόπον καὶ πάντας παρηνληθόντες, ὁμοφώνως [τι] αὐτοῖς προσευχαριστοῦντες· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλοντες, καταπαύσμεν τῇ δὲ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, καὶ Τῷ τῇ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν τῇ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Ἀμήν.—Id. p. 220, A. Ἐδοξε τοῖς πατέραςιν ἡμῶν, μὴ σιωπῇ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἱσχυρινοῦ, φωνεῖς διχισθαι, ἀλλ' ἰὺς φανέντος ὑχαριστῶν καὶ δε τις μὲν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν βημάτων ἰαίωται τῆς ἰσχυρινοῦ ὑχαριστίας, ἰαίωται οὐκ ἔχοντες, κ. τ. λ. Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ τὸν ὅμιον Ἀθηνογίους ἴγων, κ. τ. λ.

^p Chap. ii. sect. ii.

barely to hint them, as accustomed forms of praise, in this place.

I shall only note one thing more in this century, out of the epistle of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabian, bishop of Antioch, recorded by Eusebius; which is, “That it was customary, in those days, for the minister to use a form of words at the delivery of the bread and wine in the eucharist, saying, ‘The body of Christ, or the blood of Christ,’ to which the people always answered, ‘Amen.’” For Cornelius, speaking of the wickedness of Novatian, says,^q “When he delivered the eucharist to the people, he obliged them, instead of saying ‘amen’ at the naming of it, to swear by the body and blood of Christ that they would not desert his party, nor return to Cornelius.” Which custom of saying “amen,” in answer to the minister, when he named the body or blood of Christ, is both an ancient and universal practice. For Tertullian,^r as has been shewed already, mentions it long before; and we find it frequently in the writers of the next age, St. Ambrose, St. Cyril, St. Austin, St. Jerom, and the author of the Constitutions, of which I shall have occasion to speak more in another place.

SECT. VII. — *Evidence of the Use of set Forms in the fourth Century.*

In the beginning of the fourth century, Arnobius, apologizing for the Christian devotions, tells the heathens,^s “They might know that they worshipped the supreme God, and called upon him for what they desired, by the sound of

^q Cornel. Epist. ad Fabian. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. p. 245, (p. 199, edit. Amstelod. verius Colon.) Cant. 315, 3. Ποίησας γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς, καὶ διατίμων ἰκάνσθαι τὸ μέρος, καὶ παίδιδούς τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκάζει, κατῆχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος, καὶ μὴ ἄφαις ἔσθ' ἂν ἡμύνοντες εἴπωσι ταῦτα· τοῖς γὰρ ἱκίνου χρῆσσομαι λόγοις· ὁμοσόν μαι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μηδὲ ποτὶ μὲ καταλαπιῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορηλίον· καὶ ὁ ἄθλιος ἄνθρωπος οὐ πρότερον γίνυται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ καταράσαιο· καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἱκίνον, τὸ ἄμην, οὐκίτι ἀπῆλθον πρὸς Κορηλίον λίγυ.

^r Tertul. de Spec. c. xxv.

^s Arnob. lib. i. p. 24, (p. 9, l. 5, seq. edit. Hamb. 1610, fol.) Summum invocare nos Deum, et ab eo quod postulamus orare, vel auribus poterit, scire, vel ipsius vocis sono, qua utimur in precibus, noscitare.

their voice, which they used in prayer." He says,^t "They all prostrated themselves before him, adoring him with joint supplications." And he gives us the general heads of their prayers, which are very agreeable to the ancient forms of the Church, viz.^u "That God would grant peace and pardon to all men, to the magistrates, to the armies, and to the emperors; to their friends, and to their enemies; to those that were alive, and those that were set at liberty from the bonds of the body." Which petitions are so conformable to the method and order of the ancient Liturgies, that one might have imagined them to be offered by a form, though Arnobius had said nothing of their joint prayers, or vocal consent in their devotions.

Lactantius and Eusebius wrote after the great persecution under Diocletian and his associates was over; and they both take notice of forms of prayer, appointed by the first Christian emperors for their soldiers to use, in imitation of those of the Church. Lactantius says expressly, that "When Licinius was about to join battle with Maximinus, Maximinus made a vow to Jupiter, that if he got the victory, he would utterly extinguish and blot out the very name of Christians. Upon which, the night after, an angel of God came and stood by Licinius as he lay at rest, bidding him rise quickly, and pray to the most high God with all his army, promising him the victory if he did so. As soon as he heard this, he thought with himself that he arose and stood with the angel who gave him this warning, and who then taught him after what manner, and in what words, they should pray; therefore awaking out of sleep, he ordered a notary to be brought to him, to whom he dictated the prayer in these very words, as he had heard them :^v ' O

^t Arnob. lib. i. p. 25, (ibid. edit. cit.) Huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus.

^u Ibid. lib. iv. (Lipsiæ, 1816, i. p. 163.) Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, et resolutis corporum vinctione.

^v Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. c. xlv. Discussio somno, notarium jussit asciri, et sicut audierat, hæc verba dictavit. Summe Deus, te rogamus : sancte Deus, te rogamus. Omnem justitiam tibi commendamus ; salutem nostram tibi com-

thou most high God, we beseech thee. O holy God, we beseech thee. We commend all the justice of our cause to thee: we commend our safety unto thee: we commend our empire unto thee. By thee we live; by thee we are victorious and happy. O most high and holy God, hear our prayers. We stretch forth our arms unto thee. Hear us, O most high and holy God.' These words were written in many books, and sent by the generals and tribunes, that they might teach them to their soldiers. When the day of battle came, the soldiers laid aside their shields, and put off their helmets, and lifting up their hands to heaven, said the prayer after the emperor, their generals repeating it before them; and this they did so loudly, that the adverse army, ready to be sacrificed, heard the echo of their prayer. Which, when they had repeated three times, they were inspired with courage, and resuming their arms, though they were but a few, they without any loss gained a complete victory over their enemies; whom the most high God," says our author, "delivered up to be slaughtered, as if they had come not to engage in battle, but as men devoted to death, and destined to destruction."

It is not many years since this little golden tract of Lactantius came to light, and therefore, probably, this testimony may not very often have fallen under the observation of every ordinary reader. But as there is no dispute to be made of the truth of the relation upon the authority of Lactantius, so it is an illustrious evidence both of the opinion of Lactantius, and the general sense of Christians, that they did not think forms of prayer unlawful, because they were written in a book, nor the repetition of them any offence; for this prayer was thrice repeated. If it should be said, that this prayer was dictated immediately by an angel, the

mendamus; imperium nostrum tibi commendamus. Per te vivimus, per te victores et felices existimus. Summe sancte Deus, preces nostras exaudi. Brachia nostra ad te tendimus. Exaudi, sancte summe Deus. Scribuntur hæc in libellis pluribus, et per præpositos tribunosque mittuntur, ut suos quisque milites doceat. . . . Erat jam utraque acies in conspectu. Liciniani scuta deponunt, galeas resolvunt, ad cælum manus tendunt, præeuntibus præpositis, et post imperatorem precem dicunt: Audit acies peritura precantium murmur. Illi oratione ter dicta, virtute jam pleni, &c.

the same and more may be said of the Lord's Prayer, that it was dictated by Christ himself, and the Psalms were written, as forms of prayer and praise, by an inspired penman; and yet there are those, who for no other reason, but because they are forms, despise the use of them, when inserted into any liturgy of the Church.

Parallel to this testimony of Lactantius is that other relation of Eusebius concerning Constantine, that "He ordered all his soldiers, as many of them as were heathens, to go forth into the field on the Lord's day, and there, with hands and hearts lift up to heaven, to offer up to God *μεμλειστημένην εὐχὴν*, a certain prayer, which they had learned and premeditated before." The prayer was to be said in the Latin tongue, which was the vulgar language, and in this express form of words:^{*} "We acknowledge thee to be the only God; we profess thee to be our King; we call upon thee as our Helper. It is from thee we have our victories; by thee, we are superior to our enemies. We give thee thanks for the by-past favours and benefits we have already received; and we hope in thee for those that are to come. We are all humble supplicants unto thee, beseeching thee to preserve Constantine, our king, with all his pious children, and grant him long to reign over us, with safety and victory." This was the prayer which he enjoined the heathens in his army to use every Lord's day.

As for those that were Christians, he commanded them to follow his own example, and attend the prayers of the Church on the Lord's day, setting them a pattern in his own practice. He ordered his own palace after the manner of a church, first taking the Bible into his hands, and reading and meditating therein, and then repeating the prescribed

^{*} Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. xix. (Cant. 636, 4.) Τῷ δὲ μέσῳ τοῦ θείου λόγου μετασχοῦσιν, ἐν διωτέρῳ νομῷ διακλιούτο, τὰς κυριακὰς ἡμέρας ἐν προσκυτίῳ ἐπὶ καθαροῦ προΐναι πιδίου πάνταυθα μεμλειστημένην εὐχὴν ἐξ ἱνὸς συνθήματος ἰμοῦ τοὺς πάντας ἀναπίμπειν Θεῷ.

^{*} Ibid. c. xx. Σὺ μόνον οἶδαμιν Θεόν· σὲ βασιλία γινώσκουμεν· σὺ βοηθὸν ἀναπαλόμεθα· παρὰ σοῦ τὰς νίκας ἡράμιθα· διὰ σοῦ κρείττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατίστημεν· σοὶ τῇ τῶν ὑπαρξέντων ἀγαθῶν χάριν γινώσκουμεν· σὲ καὶ τῶν μιλόντων ἐλπίζουμεν· σοὺ πάντες ἰκίται γινόμεθα· τὸν ἡμίτερον βασιλία Κωνσταντῖνον, παιδάς τε αὐτοῦ Διοφιλῆς, ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἡμῖν βίου, σῶσον καὶ νικητὴν φυλάττεισθαι ποτινόμεθα.

prayers^y with all his royal family. Which shews, that forms of prayer were then generally used in the Church, since Constantine used the prescribed prayers in his own family, and thereby made it to resemble the Church.

Eusebius highly extols and applauds Constantine for all this; which argues that Eusebius himself was no enemy to prescribed forms. And, indeed, we are beholden to his history both for the knowledge of this of Constantine, and many other forms, which had been lost, had it not been for his care and diligence in preserving them; of which any reader may be sensible, that considers how many things have already been alleged out of his treasury, especially the account which he gives of the Essenes, and their way of worship, out of Philo Judæus: for as it is evident that they worshipped God by certain forms, so it is as evident that Eusebius took them for Christians, and their worship for the way of worship settled by the first Christians at Alexandria.^a It may not be improper also to observe, that Eusebius, in one of his letters recorded by Socrates, expressly says,^a “That in the Church of Cæsarea, where he was bishop, they always had a creed in a certain form of words (which he there repeats), whereby their catechumens were to be instructed, and their answers in baptism to be made in the words of it; and that thus it was that he himself had been there both catechized and baptized.” And if his Church allowed a form in baptism, there is reason to believe, from what has been said, that she was not averse to it in other parts of Divine service. Moreover, from the time of the Council of Nice, we are well assured that the Creed, composed in that council, was used

^y Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. xvii. ὅς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείαις ἐκκλησίαις Θεοῦ τρεῖς διότι, σπουδῇ ἐξάρχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἰδῶν ἐκκλησιαζομένων μετὰ χεῖρας γίγται λαμβάνων τὰς βίβλους, τῇ τῶν διοκυνύστων λογίῳ διωρίᾳ προσαναίχῃ τὸν νοῦν. ἵπ' ἐν ἑκῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασιλεῖον οἰκοῦν πληροῦσιν ἀπιδίδου.

^a Ibid. lib. ii. c. xvii. tot.

^a Socrat. lib. i. c. viii. Τὸ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν γράμμα, ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Διοφιλιστάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως ἀναγνωσθῆναι, εὐτε ἔχουσιν καὶ δοκίμως ἀποφάνθηναι, τοῦτον ἔχουσιν τὸν τρόπον· καθὼς περιλάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πιστόνων, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτι τὸ λουτρὸν ἱλαμβάνομεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μνησθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ προεβουλεύσει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστυύσαμιν τε καὶ ἰδιδάσκομεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες, τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προσαναφίρομεν· ἵσται δὲ αὕτη· Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, κ. τ. λ. (Cant. 1720, p. 23.)

in most of the Eastern churches as a precise form, by which all catechumens were to make their responses in baptism (as I have proved elsewhere^b upon another occasion), though it was not presently admitted as a form to be repeated, as now it is, in the ordinary service of the Church: but its being allowed as a form in baptism, is an argument that the Church had then no exception against forms, since she enjoined them in the administration of her sacraments, which are the most considerable part of Divine service.

Athanasius, as well as Eusebius, was a member of the Council of Nice; and there are plain footsteps of a liturgy in his writings. In one place he declares, that when he said,^c “Let us pray for the safety of the most religious Emperor Constantius, all the people immediately, with one voice, answered, ‘Christ, help Constantius;’” which is exactly agreeable to the ancient way of praying for kings and others in the prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church, where the people were used to answer to every petition, Κύριε, ἐλέησον, or Σῶσον, ‘Lord have mercy upon them,’ or ‘Lord save and help them,’ as will be shewed in its proper place.

Again, speaking of the communion service, he says,^d “The people offered up their prayers with one voice, and without any manner of disagreement; and that, in that great multitude, there was but one voice, when they unanimously answered, ‘Amen.’” It is evident also, that, in his time, psalmody was in great request at Alexandria; for Sozomen takes notice,^e “That it was by the advantage of this practice that

^b Book x. chap. iv. sect. xvii.

^c Athan. Apol. ad Constant. p. 679, edit. Paris. 1627, (p. 301, d. edit. Paris. 1698.) Μόνοι γὰρ ἔλιγον, Εὐξώμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὐθὺς μιᾷ φωνῇ ἰδοὺς, Χριστὶ, βοήθῃ Κωνσταντίνῳ.

^d Ibid. p. 683, (p. 305, a.) Πῶς ἦν βίλτιον, κατὰ μέρος καὶ διηρημένως τὸν λαὸν μὲν ἰσχυροῦς συνεχῆς, ἢ ὅπως ἦδη τόπου τοῦ δυναμένου διέσπασθαι πάντας, ἐν αὐτοῖς συνελθὺν, καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ συμφωνίας τῶν λαῶν γίνεσθαι τὴν φωνήν; . . . τί ἰὰν τοσοῦτον λαῶν συνελθόντων μία γίνεται φωνή, λιγόντων τῷ Θεῷ, Ἀμήν.

^e Sozom. lib. iii. c. vi. (Cant. 1720, p. 100.) Ἦδη τι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταλαβόντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εὐχὴν ἀποτιλίσας, πρότερον ψαλμὸν ῥηθῆναι παρῃκελεύσας· συμφώνου δὲ τῆς ψαλμωδίας γινομένης, οἱ στρατιῶται τίως ἡσύχαζον, ὥς οὐκ εὐκαιρον ὄν ἰπιδίσθαι τότε· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ διαδύς ὑπὸ τοῦς ψάλλοντας, ἔλαβεν ἔξιλθόν, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη. — Socrat. lib. ii. c. xi. Προστάξας διακόνῳ κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, αὐτοῖς ψαλμὸν λίσσασθαι παρῃκεύσας· συμφωνίας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ψαλμωδίας γινομένης, διὰ

Athanasius, when he was beset in the church by his enemies, escaped their hands, whilst he got out secretly in the company of those that were singing psalms." St. Austin also speaks of it, and tells us,^f "That Athanasius made some regulation in the way of singing, and brought in the custom of plain song, ordering the readers of the psalms to pronounce their words with so little inflection or variation of the tone, that it looked more like reading than singing." It is further observable, out of Ruffinus,^g and the other historians who relate the story of Athanasius baptizing the catechumens whilst he was but a youth; that the questions and answers, and all other ceremonies of baptism were then performed by such a certain rule and order in the Church, that Athanasius was able to imitate them exactly, and omit nothing that was used to be done, but observed every rite to a tittle; as Alexander, the bishop, found upon inquiry, when he came more strictly to examine them. And this shews, that not only in the time of Athanasius, but in the days of Alexander, his predecessor, such sort of forms were of constant use in the

μᾶς τῶν πυχῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντας ἐξήσαν τούτου γινώσκοντες, οἱ σφεταῖται ἀπώμαχον ἱμῖνον ἡ δὲ Ἀθανάσιος ἐν μέσσοις τοῖς ψαλμοῦδοις ἀελάσας διεσώζοντο. — Theodoret, lib. ii. c. xiii. Ἐγὼ δὲ . . . καθίσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου προέτρεπον, τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ἵνα ἡ σὺν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλκος αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

^f Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. Tutius mihi videtur, quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio sæpe mihi dictam commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti.

^g Ruffin. lib. i. c. xiv. Tempore, quo apud Alexandriam Petri martyris diem Alexander episcopus agebat, quum, post expleta solemnia, conventuros ad convivium suum clericos exspectaret in loco mari vicino, videt eminus puerorum supra oram maris ludum, imitantium, ut fieri solet, episcopum atque ea, quæ in ecclesiis geri mos est. Sed quum intentius diutius pueros inspectaret, videt ab his geri quædam etiam secretiora et mystica. Perturbatus illico vocari ad se clericos jubet, atque eis, quid eminus ipse videret, ostendit. Tum abire eos, et comprehensos ad se perducere omnes pueros imperat. Quumque adessent, quia eis, ludus, et quid egissent, vel quomodo, percunctatur. Illi, ut talis habet ætas, pavidum, negare primo, deinde rem gestam per ordinem pandunt, et baptizatos a se esse quosdam catechumenos confitentur per Athanasium, qui ludi illius puerilis episcopus fuerat simulatus. Tum ille diligenter inquirens ab his, qui baptizati dicebantur, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve responderint, simul et ab eo, qui interrogaverat. Ubi videt secundum religionis nostræ ritum cuncta constare, conlocutus cum concilio clericorum, statuisset traditur, illis, quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerat infusa, iterari baptismum non debere, sed adimpleri ea, quæ a sacerdotibus mos est.

Church. Athanasius himself, also, not only mentions their psalmody, but tells us, that it was so ordered, the people might bear a part in it. For though the antiphonal way of singing verse for verse, by way of alternate song, was not yet brought into the Church in repeating David's Psalms; yet it was usual sometimes for the people to join in the close of a verse, and repeat it together with the reader. And this was called *ὑπαρχεῖν* and *ὑπακούειν* 'to come into the consort at the close.' Whence Athanasius, speaking of that great assault made upon his Church, mentioned before by Socrates and Sozomen, says,^b "He commanded the deacon to read a psalm, to which the people did *ὑπακούειν*;" that is, not barely *hearken*, as the unskilful translator renders it, but repeat in the close these words, "For his mercy endureth for ever." Of which way of singing I shall say more hereafter in its proper place, book xiv. chap. i. sect. xii. Here I shall note further, that Athanasius, describing the great barbarities and indignities which the Arians shewed to the matrons and virgins in the very church, mentions one virginⁱ whom they despitefully used, having her Psalter in her hand; which, no doubt, she had to join in singing David's Psalms, according to the custom of the Church. And the book, *de Interpretatione Psalmorum*, is nothing else but a direction how to use the psalms as forms of prayers and praises upon all particular occasions: where, among other things, he observes,^j "That the Psalm lxiii. or lxiii. 'O God, my God, early will I seek thee,' was always a psalm to be used at morning prayer." And the author of the Book of Virginitie,^k among his works, says the same; which is also mentioned by St. Chrysostom, and some others,

^b Athan. Apol. ad Constant. p. 717, (p. 334, d. edit. Paris. 1698.) *Προέτριπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον, κ. τ. λ.*—Vid. sub litt. (c), p. 226, ex Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xiii.

ⁱ Ibid. Epist. ad Orthodox. p. 947, (p. 114, f. edit. cit.) *Ἐν δὲ μίαν παρθένον φιλολογούσαν, καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον ἵσι κατέχουσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, μαστιχέην μαρτυροῦσαν δημοσίᾳ.*

^j Ibid. de Interpret. Psalm. ad Marcellin. tom. i. p. 975, (p. 995, e.) *... ἔρχον δὲ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκβεῖζον ψάλλει τὸν ἱερακιστὸν διύστηρον.*

^k Ibid. de Virginit. p. 1075, (tom. ii. p. 122, a. edit. Paris. 1698.) *Πρὸς ἔσθρον δὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λίγιστ' ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σὲ ἐκβεῖζω ἰδίψησέ με ἢ ψυχὴ μου.*

about this time; of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly, in considering the order and method of morning service.¹

Athanasius lived forty-six years bishop of Alexandria, and continued in being till the year 371. During which interval we have the concurrent testimony of Juvencus and Pachomius, and all the Egyptian monasteries; of Flavian, bishop of Antioch; Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem; Hilary, bishop of Poitiers; Optatus, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Ephraem Syrus, St. Basil, and Apollinaris, the supposed author of the books under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, together with the Council of Laodicea. And not long after, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, St. Austin, and St. Chrysostom, with several African councils, all within the fourth age in which Athanasius lived.

Juvencus flourished under Constantine in Spain; and, being a poet, turned the History of the Gospel into verse; and St. Jerom adds,^m that “He wrote a book in the same way, giving an account of the order of the sacraments of the Church.” Now if we consider, what has been observed before,ⁿ that, in the ecclesiastical style, *Ordo Sacramentorum* commonly denotes a book of divine offices, it is most probable that this work of Juvencus was no other but the offices or forms of divine service turned into verse.

Pachomius, about the year 340, brought the Egyptian monks into communities, and settled them under rules; one of which was, to meet twice a-day, and sing a certain number of psalms, with prayers intermixed, as may be seen in the accounts which Cassian,^o Palladius,^p and St.

¹ Infra, c. x. sect. ii.

^m Hieron. de Scriptur. Eccles. c. lxxxiv. Juvencus, nobilissimi generis Hispanus presbyter, quatuor evangelia hexametris versibus pene ad verbum transferens, quatuor libros composuit, et nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. Floruit sub Constantino principe.

ⁿ Book xiii. chap. i. sect. vi.

^o Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. v. Quumque sedentibus cunctis . . . et in psallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixis, xi. psalmos, orationum interjectione distinctos, contiguus versibus parili pronuntiatione cantasset, duodecimum sub Alleluia responsione consummans, ab universorum oculis repente subtractus est.

^p Pallad. Histor. Lausiæ. c. xxxviii. Ἐρύπαστο δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας ποιεῖν

Jerom,¹ give of them. Now it must be owned, that whatever their prayers were, their psalmody was matter of form, whether sung singly or alternately; and though they did not repeat the usual doxology, "Glory be to the Father," as was usual in the Western Church at the end of every psalm, yet they did it, at other times, at the end of their *antiphonæ*; as Cassian,² an eye-witness of their service, informs us.

About the year 350, lived Flavian, first a presbyter, and then bishop of Antioch. Whilst he was presbyter, it happened that Leontius, the Arian bishop, made an alteration in the common doxology, "Glory be to the Father," &c. to make it favour his heresy. Upon this, Flavian and Diodorus withdrew from his communion, and assembled with the people at the monuments of the martyrs; where, dividing the people into two parts, they taught them to sing the Psalms of David³ alternately; which custom beginning first at Antioch, was from thence propagated all the world over. After this manner Theodoret relates the story; where it is easy to observe, 1. That the form of glorification was an ancient thing, and only Leontius made an innovation in it. 2. That the singing of David's Psalms was ancient too, which are forms both of prayers and praises; and Flavian was not the author of that service, but only of the alternate way of singing them. And whereas it is said by Socrates, that Ignatius had introduced the antiphonal way of singing before, that is not to be understood of David's Psalms, but of other hymns composed to the glory of the Holy Trinity;

αὐτοὺς εὐχὰς δάδιναι, καὶ ἐν τῇ λυχνικῇ δάδιναι, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πανυχίαις δάδιναι, καὶ ἐνέστην ἄραν τρεῖς· ὅτι δὲ δευρὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἰσθίου, ἐκαστὴ τέγμαται καὶ ἐκαστὴ εὐχὴν ψαλμὸν προάδισθαι ἰνύωνσιν.

¹ Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur: psalmi resonant: Scripturæ recitantur ex more: et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem patrem vocant, incipit disputare.

² Cassian. lib. ii. c. viii. (Lips. 1733, p. 20.) Illud etiam, quod in hac provincia vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula, psalmi omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto,' nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus, sed cum omnium silentio ab eo qui cantat, finito psalmo orationem succedere.

³ Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxiv. Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς.

which, as we have seen before, were always in use in the Christian Church. And Theodoret adds, 3. That this way of singing was so taking to the people of Antioch, that they all deserted Leontius, and he was forced to beg of Flavian, that he would bring back this (λειτουργίαν) 'liturgy' or service into the Churches.

About the same time lived Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, who, in his Catechetical Discourses to the newly baptized, takes notice of many forms that had been of ancient use in the Church. In his first Catechism, he tells them the meaning of the ceremonies used in baptism: "Ye were first brought in," says he, "into the ante-room of the baptistery, and placed towards the west, in a standing posture; and then commanded to renounce Satan, by stretching out your hands against him, as if he had been present." A little after he explains the meaning of their doing this toward the west. "The west," says he, "is the place of darkness, and Satan is darkness, and his strength is in darkness. For this reason ye symbolically look toward the west, when ye renounce that prince of darkness and horror. For what did every one of you then say, standing? 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy worship and service.'" "After this," he tells them, "they turned from the west to the east, which is the region of light and place of paradise; and then were commanded to say, 'I believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance.'" In his second

¹ Cyril. Catech. Mystag. l. sect. ii. p. 278. Εἰσῆντι πρῶτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου εἰσιν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θυρὰς ἑστῶτες ἀκούσασθαι καὶ πρωτεύουσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ χεῖρι, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀποστάντι τῷ Σατανᾷ.—Id. p. 279. Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ φαινομένου σκοπούς εἶπες αἱ θυρᾶς· ἐκῆτος δὲ σκοπὸς συγχέσθαι, ἐν σκοτῇ ἵσθαι καὶ τὸ πρῶτος· τούτου χάριν συμβολικῶς πρὸς θυρὰς ἀποβλέποντες, ἀποστάντι τῷ σκοτεινῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ζοφιεῖ ἀρχοντὶ· τί οὖν ὑμῶν ἴσαστες ἑστῶτες ἱλγῶν· Ἀποστάσσωμαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ περὶ σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λειτουργίᾳ σου. (Paris. 1609, p. 509.)

² Ibid. n. vi. p. 283. "Οτι οὖν τῷ Σατανᾷ ἀποστάντι, πᾶσαι τὰν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντως διαθέκην λύσας, τὰς παλαιὰς πρὸς τὸν ἄδην συνήκας, ἀνοίγεται σοι ἡ παράδιος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν ἰδόντις κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, ἴδιν διὰ τὴν παράδεισον, ἔξωστος γίγνεται ὁ ἡμίτερος προπάτωρ· καὶ τούτου σύμβολον τὸ στραφῆναι σε ἀπὸ θυρᾶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ φωτός τὸ χωρίον· τότε σοι ἱλγῶν εἰπῶν, Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἡ βάπτισμα μετανοίας. (P. 513.)

discourse, he reminds them of their unction in the baptism, and their repeated confession of the Holy Trinity, and their trine immersion. In his third discourse,^x he treats of the second unction with the holy chrism, which was then used in confirmation, immediately after they were come out of the waters of baptism. In his fifth discourse,^y he treats of the ceremonies used in the communion service, where, first, he speaks of the deacon's bringing water to the bishop and presbyters to wash their hands, in token of men's obligation to purify themselves from sin. "Then the deacon cries out," 'Embrace and salute one another with a holy kiss.' After this, the priest cries out,^z 'Lift up your

^w Cyril. Catech. ii. n. iii. Εἴτα ἀποδυθῆντες, ἱλαίῳ ἡλείφῃσι ἱεροκιστῇ, ἀπ' ἑαυτῶν τριχῶν ποροφῆς ἡμεῖς τῶν κάτω.—Num. iv. Καὶ ἡρώτατο ἱερατοῦς, εἰ πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ ἀμολογήσαντες τὴν σωτηρίαν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ κατιδύειν τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνιδύειν. (P. 518.)

^x Ibid. iii. n. ii. 'Τριμῆς δὲ μύρῳ ἐχρίσθητε, κοινοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γινόμενοι.—Conf. n. iii. tot.

^y Ibid. v. n. i. 'Ἐαρέκαστε τὸν διέκλινον τὸν νύψασθαι δίδοντα τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ τοῖς πυκλῶσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυτίροις· εὐμερόλῳ ἵσσι τοῦ δῶν ἡμᾶς καθαρῶν πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀνομημάτων τὸ νύψασθαι. (Paris. p. 535.)

^z Ibid. n. ii. Εἴτα βοᾷ ὁ διάκονος, 'Ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβετε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπάζεσθαι.

^a Ibid. n. iii. Μὲτὰ τοῦτο βοᾷ ὁ ἱερεὺς, "Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας . . . ὥτα ἀποκρίνεσθε, ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.—Num. iv. Εἴτα ὁ ἱερεὺς λίγει, Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ . . . ὥτα λίγισι, Ἄξιοι καὶ δίκαιοι.—Num. v. Μὲτὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάσσης, ἡλίου, καὶ σελήνης, ἀστρων, καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως λογικῆς τε καὶ ἀλόγου, ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου, ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, δυνάμεων, κεραιότητων, ἀρχῶν, ἑξουσιῶν, θρόνων, τῶν Χερουβὶμ τῶν τὸ πρόσωπον δυνάμει καλυπτόμενων, λίγοντες τὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ, Μεγαλύνετε τὸν Κύριον σὺν μου· μνημονεύομεν εὖν καὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, ἃ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἰδιάσκατο Ἡσαΐας παριστηκότα κύκλῳ τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυοῖς πτέρυξιν κατακαλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῖς δὲ δυοῖς τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυοῖς πιστόμιναις, καὶ λίγοντά, Ἄγιος, Ἄγιος, Ἄγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθῆσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν Σεραφὶμ θιολογίαν ταύτην λίγομεν, ὅπως κοινοὶ τῆς ὑμνοδίας ταῖς ὑπερεκκομίαις γινώμεθα στρατιῶν· ἵνα ἀγρίσαντες λαοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων παρακαλῶμεν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεόν, τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστείλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ, τὸν μὲν ἔρπον, σῶμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν δὲ οἶνον, αἷμα Χριστοῦ.—Num. vi. Εἴτα μὲτὰ τὸ ἀπαρτιθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀνάμακτον λατρίαν ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεόν ὑπὲρ ποιῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλείαν, ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ συμμάχων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθινίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονομένων, καὶ ἀπαξασπλῶς, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας διόμενων· διόμιθ' σου πάντες ἡμεῖς, καὶ ταύτην προσφέρομεν σοὶ τὴν θυσίαν· ὥτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεικοιμημένων, πρῶτον πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς ἐν χάριτι αὐτῶν καὶ περιστάσεως προσδίδεται ἡμῶν τὴν δέσιν· ὥτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεικοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ ἱερέων,

hearts;' and ye answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' He says again, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord;' and ye answer, 'It is meet and just so to do.' After this, we make mention of heaven, and earth, and sea, the sun, moon, and stars, and the whole creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible, angels and archangels, dignities, dominions, principalities and powers, thrones and cherubims, and with them we sing the seraphical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." After which, we beseech the merciful God, that he would send forth his Spirit upon the elements, and make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ. Then, after this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice and service is performed, we beseech God for the common peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, and their armies and allies, for the sick and afflicted; and, in a word, for all that want assistance, saying, 'We beseech thee for them, and offer this sacrifice unto thee.' Then we make mention of those that are fallen asleep; first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs; that God, through their prayers and intercessions, may receive our prayers; and after, we pray for our holy fathers and bishops, and all that are departed this life before us. Then we say that prayer which our Saviour gave to his disciples, calling God by the name of Father, and saying, 'Our Father, which art in heaven;' after which the priest says, 'Holy things for those that are holy;' and the people answer, 'There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ.' Then one is appointed to sing those words of Psalm xxxiii.; 'O, taste and see that the Lord is gracious,' as an excitement to receive the communion; and every one communi-

καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκικοιμημένων.—Num. viii. Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν λέγουσιν ἐκείνην, ἣν ὁ Σωτὴρ παρίδωκε τοῖς οἰκίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μετὰ καθαρᾶς συνειδήσεως Πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, καὶ λέγοντες, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.—Num. xvi. Μετὰ ταῦτα λίγην ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις' . . . εἶπα ὑμῖς λίγατε, Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.—Num. xvii. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούει τοῦ ψάλλοντος μετὰ μίλους θείου, προτροπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ λέγοντος, Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδτε, ὅτι χρηστός ὁ Κύριος.—Num. xviii. Δέχου σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπιλίγων τὸ Ἄμην.—Num. xix. Προσέρχου καὶ τῇ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος . . . λίγων τὸ Ἄμην . . . εἶπα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχὴν, εὐχαρίστει τῷ Θεῷ καταξιώσαντί σε τῶν σκληροῦτων μυστηρίων. (Paris. p. 546.)

cates, saying, 'Amen' twice, when first he receives the body of Christ into his hand, and afterward the cup of his blood. Finally, when all have communicated, he tells them they are to wait for prayer again, and give God thanks for making them partakers of so great mysteries."

Now, one must be blind that cannot see the plain footsteps and forms of a stated liturgy in all this; and, therefore, I shall make no other descant upon them, but only this, that, undoubtedly, before St. Cyril wrote those lectures, there was a prescribed liturgy, and offices in form for the administration both of baptism and the eucharist in the Church of Jerusalem, and those handed down from their forefathers, though it be not possible to trace every thing precisely to its first original.

Contemporary with Cyril, was Hilary, bishop of Poitiers; of whom St. Jerom says,^b "That he wrote a book of hymns and mysteries, which most probably were the forms of the holy offices then used in the Church." It is certain his hymns, together with those of St. Ambrose, were afterwards in great request in the Church: and when some excepted against them, as only of human composition, the fourth Council of Toledo ordered them^c to be retained in the Church's service, together with the hymns, "Glory be to the Father," and, "Glory be to God on high;" threatening excommunication to any who, in the Churches of Spain and Gallicia, should reject them. Hilary himself plainly intimates, that both the prayers and hymns were such as all the people, with an audible voice, might join in them.^d "Let every profane

^b Hieron. de Scriptoribus, e. cxi. Et liber hymnorum et mysteriorum alius.

^c Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1709.) Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt. . . . Sicut igitur orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos, nullus vestrum ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Gallicia Hispaniaque celebret: excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.

^d Hilar. in Psalm. lxxv. p. 232. Terrendus est confessionis nostræ sermone omnis profanus auditor: et adversum diabolum armaque ejus orationum nostrarum sonitu certandum est, et belli nostri victoria exultationis voce monstranda est. Audiatur orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem; spectet

hearer," says he, "be terrified with the words of our confession; 'Let us fight against the devil and his weapons with the sound of our prayers, and let the victory of our war be proclaimed with the voice of exultation.' Let him that stands without the church, hear the voice of the people praying; let him perceive the glorious sound of our hymns, and hear the responses of our devout confession in the offices of the Divine sacraments." He that can make out all this from the people's silent consent in heart only to the minister's prayer, without any vocal joining in forms of prayer and praises, may make any thing out of any thing; and it were not worth while to produce any manner of evidence for such a man's conviction. I only note further, out of Hilary,^e "That these prayers and hymns were both for morning and evening service. The Church had her outgoings both morning and evening to praise God. She began the day with prayers, and ended the day with hymns to God."

Chronologers are not exactly agreed about the time of the Council of Laodicea. Labbè and others place it before the Council of Nice, about the year 389; Bishop Beveridge, about the year 365: but, on all hands, it is agreed to be within this century. Now here are several canons, which plainly shew the use of prescribed forms in the service of the Church. The seventh Canon orders,^f "That such as returned from the heresies of the Novatians, the Photinians, and the Quartadecimani, should first learn the creeds of the Church, and be anointed with the holy chrism, before they were admitted to the communion of the holy mysteries;" which implies, that the creeds were then in a certain form, since they were obliged to learn them. The fifteenth Canon orders,^g "That none should sing in the church except the celebres hymnorum sonitus; et inter divinorum quoque sacramentorum officia responsionem devotæ confessionis accipiat. (Paris. 1693, 174.)

^e Hilar. in Psalm. lxiv. p. 231. Progressus ecclesiæ in matutinarum et vesperinarum hymnorum delectationes maximum misericordiae Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies hymnis Dei clauditur, &c.

^f Περὶ τοῦ, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν αἱρέσεων, τοῦτ' ἔστι, Ναυατικῶν, ἢ τοι Φωτινιανῶν, ἢ Τισσαρισκαδικατικῶν πιστοποιημένους . . . ἐκμανθάνοντας τὰ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολα, χρισθίντας τε τῷ ἁγίῳ χρίσματι, οὕτω κοινωνεῖν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ἁγίων.

^g Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν πλὴν τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἱερέως τινὸς ψάλλον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, or 'reading desk,' and sang from a book, ἀπὸ διφθέρας." The seventeenth^b Canon forbids the continuing of psalms one after another, and orders a lesson to be read after every psalm. The eighteenthⁱ orders the same liturgy of prayers to be used at the *nones*, that is, three o'clock in the afternoon, and at evening service. The nineteenth^k orders the method of Divine service, that after the bishop's sermon, should follow the prayers for the catechumens; and after they were gone, the prayers for the penitents; and when they had been under the bishop's hand, and were retired, then the three prayers for the faithful or communicants; the first whereof were to be in silence, the second and third, by way of bidding prayer and audible invocation. Then the presbyters were to give the kiss of peace to the bishop, and laymen to one another: after which, the holy oblation was to be made; those only of the clergy communicating within the rails of the altar. This canon plainly describes the order and method of the ancient service, as it was performed in that age; and though the several forms of prayer here mentioned are not set down, yet we are sure they were in use at that time; and, therefore, a brief reference, such as was suitable to the compass of a short canon, is made to them, as shall be shewed more at large in another place.^l The twenty-second Canon orders,^m that the sub-deacon shall not wear the *orarium*, which was a 'scarf' or 'tippet' belonging to the deacons, by which they were used to give the signal or directions to the people in the

^b Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ διὺ ἐπισυνάπτειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου καθ' ἑκάστον ψαλμὸν γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν.

ⁱ Περὶ τοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ἐφίλειν γίνεσθαι.

^k Περὶ τοῦ, διὺ ἰδίᾳ πρῶτος μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κληρικῶν εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχομενούς, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ ταύταις προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χιτῶν, καὶ ὑποκαυρημάτων, αὐτοὺς τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι ἐν ἑνὶ μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δεύτεραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι, εἰς οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ περισυστερεῖν δοῦναι τῇ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε λαϊκοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοι· καὶ οὕτως τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ μόνοις ἔξω εἶναι τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ κομνύν. (Cono. I. 1500.)

^l Book xv. chap. i.

^m "Οτι οὐ διὺ ὑπερέστην ὁράριον φορεῖν.

performance of the several parts of Divine service. The forty-sixth Canon^a orders those that are to be baptized, to learn the Creed; and on the Thursdays before Easter, to rehearse it to the bishop or presbyters. The forty-seventh Canon^a appoints those that were baptized in sickness, afterwards to learn the Creed also; which implies, that the Creed was then in a certain form of words. The fifty-ninth Canon^a orders, that no psalms composed by private men should be sung in the church; which argues, that hymns composed by private men were only to be discarded, but others were allowed that were authentic. And this is full proof, that forms of Divine service were in use at the time of this Council.

About the year 368, Epiphanius was made bishop of Salamis or Constantia, in Cyprus; and that he approved forms of prayer, appears from the frequent testimony he gives to the book called, the Apostolical Constitutions; the eighth book of which is nothing but a collection of such forms. Cotelierius^a has compared the several places in the Constitutions with those that Epiphanius alleges out of them, and shewed them to be the same in substance: particularly he observes, that Epiphanius, in one place, gives the Constitutions this character, "That they contain all canonical order, and nothing contrary to the faith, or confession, or the administration and rules of the Church;" which no man could say, that did not approve of the several forms of worship contained therein. And, therefore, when Epiphanius says, in another place,^b "That the Church observed her

^a "Οτι δι' τοὺς φωτισζομένους τὴν πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ τῇ πίμπτῃ ἰδομάδος ἀπαγγίλλειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

^a "Οτι δι' τοὺς ἐν νόμῳ παραλαμβάνοντας τὸ φῶτισμα, καὶ οὕτω ἀναστάντας, ἐκμανθάνειν τὴν πίστιν.

^p "Οτι οὐ δι' ἰδιωτικῶν ψαλμῶν λίγισθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^a Cotelier. Testimonia Veter. præfixa Constitut. Apost. tom. i. Patr. Apostol. pp. 189, 190.

^r Epiphan. Hæres. lxx. u. x. ibid. Εἰς ταῦτο δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ Αὐδιανοὶ παραφέρουσι τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων διάταξιν, οὖσαν μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ἀμφιλείᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδόκιμον. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ κανονικῇ τάξει ἰμφέρεται, καὶ οὐδὲν παρακίχαραγμίνον τῆς πίστεως.

^a Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxiii. tom. i. p. 1106. 'Εσθινοὶ τι ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηγουμένως γίνονται, καὶ προσηυχαὶ ἰσθιναὶ, λυχνικοὶ τι ἅμα ψαλμοὶ, καὶ προσηυχαί.

morning hymns and prayers, and her evening psalms and prayers," it is reasonable to suppose that all these were according to prescribed forms; as it is certain, at least, the psalms and hymns were. But there is one place in Epiphanius's epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, which evidently proves that the communion service was then performed by a prescribed office and form. For Epiphanius having been accused to John, as if he had reflected on him in his prayers, saying thus, "Lord, grant that John may believe aright;" to clear himself of the accusation, he denies that ever he prayed so for him in public (though he did so privately in his heart): and for the truth of this, he appeals to the words of the communion offices then in public use.^t "When we offer up prayers in the communion office," says he, "we use these words for all bishops, and for you also; 'Keep him who preacheth the truth:' or, certainly, thus; 'Lord, grant our requests, and keep him that he may preach the word of truth,' as the occasion of the words requires, and as the order of the office for prayer directs." To understand which aright, we are to consider, that anciently, in the communion service, there were two prayers where bishops were prayed for; one in the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church before the oblation; and the other, in the prayer immediately after the oblation, when all states of men were again solemnly commemorated and recommended to God; as we shall see hereafter. Now, in reference to these two prayers, Epiphanius says, "They prayed either thus or thus, as the occasion of the words required, and the order of the office directed." Which is a manifest reference to the two prayers

^t Epiphan. Epist. ad Joan. Hierosolym. tom. ii. p. 313. Illud quoque audiens admiratus sum, quod quidam, qui solent ultro citroque portare rumusculos, et his, quæ audierunt, semper addere, ut tristitias et rixas inter fratres concitent, te quoque turbaverunt, et dixerunt, quod in oratione, quando offerimus sacrificia Deo, soleamus pro te dicere, 'Domine, præsta Joanni, ut recte credat.' Noli nos in tantum putare rusticos, ut hoc tam aperte dicere potuerimus. Quamquam enim hoc in corde meo semper orem, tamen, ut simpliciter fatear, numquam ie alias aures protuli, ne te viderer parvi pendere, dilectissime. Quando autem complemus orationem secundum ritum mysteriorum, et pro omnibus, et pro te quoque dicimus, Custodi illum, qui prædicat veritatem: vel certe ita: Tu præsta, Domine, et custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis: sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit, et habuerit oratio consequentiam.

in which these words were contained, and as plain an argument for prescribed forms as can be required. And, indeed, the word *consequentia*, which in Greek, no doubt, was ἀκολουθία, shews as much: for that always signified ‘a stated form,’ or ‘prescribed order of prayers.’ Of which the reader may find examples enough in Suicerus’s *Thesaurus*, or Meursius’s Glossary, which need not here be inserted.

Optatus, bishop of Milevis, was contemporary with Epiphanius; and he has a great many plain references to the forms then used in the public service. He tells the Donatists,^w “That, by confining the Church to their own party, they had frustrated the intent of the Holy Spirit, which had prefigured that the name of God should be praised with psalms and hymns, over all the earth, ‘From the rising of the sun to the going down thereof:’ and that, in effect, they had defrauded God of his praise: for if they only were the true Church that was to praise him, the rest of the world, ‘from the rising of the sun, to the going down thereof, must be silent:’ they had shut the mouth of Christian nations, and imposed silence upon all people, however desirous to praise God at the proper seasons.” Which manifestly implies, that psalmody was then a part of the people’s devotions all the world over, and that the Donatists were injurious to God, whose principles tended to defraud him of it. Again, he speaks of the prayer for the whole Church in the time of the oblation, as a form so firmly established by law, that the Donatists themselves would not venture to make any alteration in it. “Who doubts,” says he,^x “but that you continue to use that settled form of words in the celebration of the sacrament, and never omit to say, ‘That you offer for that one Church, which is diffused over all the world?’” He says the same of the use of the Lord’s Prayer in the communion service, that the Donatists continued to

^w Optat. lib. ii. p. 47, (p. 34, edit. Paris. 1679.) Fraudatis laudes Dei: si vos soli laudatis, totus tacebit orbis, qui est ab ortu solis usque ad occasum. Clausistis ora omnium Christianarum gentium: indixistis silentium populis universis, Deum per momenta laudare cupientibus.

^x Ibid. p. 53, (p. m. 45, edit. cit.) Quis dubitet vos illud legitimum in sacramentorum mysterio præterire non posse? Offerre vos dicitis pro una ecclesia, quæ sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa.

use it as well as the Catholics: for he observes,^y "That though they gave imposition of hands, and absolution, to sinners, in such a haughty and supercilious manner, as if they themselves had had no sin; yet, not long after, when they turned to the altar, they could not omit the Lord's Prayer, wherein they said,^z 'Forgive us our trespasses and sins.'" "The Lord's Prayer," he says, "was of one and the same use with them both." He says also,^a "The common form of salutation, established by law, was likewise retained by the Donatists: for they could not omit saying, 'Peace be with you;' they retained the name, when they had lost the substance." He says further,^b "That the Catholics and Donatists used the same interrogatories in baptism: they asked the catechumen whether he renounced the devil? and whether he believed in God? And he answered, 'I renounce, I believe.' Only the Donatists did one thing amiss, in repeating these things over again, and rebaptizing those whom the Catholics had baptized before." He seems also to hint something of the ancient form of exorcizing catechumens before baptism, when he tells the Donatists,^c "That, by rebaptizing Catholics, who were already baptized, and in whom God dwelt, they said in effect to God, 'Go out,

^y Optat. lib. ii. p. 57, (p. m. 51, 52.) Quum vultis donare peccata, vestram profiteamini innocentiam: et remissionem peccatorum sic datis, quasi nullum habeatis ipsi peccatum. Non est ista præsuntio, sed deceptio: nec veritas, sed mendacium: Etenim inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non potestis, de quo utique dicitis, 'Pater noster, qui es in cælis, dimitte nobis debita et peccata nostra.'

^z Ibid. lib. iii. p. 72, (p. m. 78). Oratio Dominica apud vos et apud vos, una est.

^a Ibid. p. 73, (p. m. 79.) Persuasionibus vestris divisa sunt corpora et nomina pietatis. Et non potuistis prætermittere, quod legitimum est. Utique dixistis, Pax vobiscum; cum Deus contra, pax, et ubi pax? hoc est dicere, Quid salutem, de quo non habes? Quid nempinas, quod exterminasti? Salutas de pace, qui non amas.

^b Ibid. lib. v. p. 86, (p. 102.) Quocumque interrogante, qui credidit, Deo credit: Et post illius unum Credo, tu exigis alterum Credo. — It. p. 89, (p. m. 106). Interrogemus gentilem, an renuntiet diabolo et credat Deo, &c. Et dicat, Renuntio et credo.

^c Ibid. lib. iv. p. 79, (p. 93.) Quum Deo unusquisque plenus sit, de quo fur diabolus aliquid involare contendit, vos rebaptizando exorcizatis hominem fidem, et dicitis Deo habitanti, 'Maledicte, exi foras.'

thou cursed one.'” For this was the phrase then used in exorcism, which was a prayer, as St. Cyril calls it,^d for expelling Satan out of the catechumen : and these words of Optatus seem plainly to be taken out of the prayers of exorcism then commonly used in the Church. There is one thing more very observable in Optatus, he says,^e “ A rumour was once spread in Afric, that the emperor’s officers were to come and make strange alterations in the Church, by placing images upon the altar in the time of Divine service. Which flying report put the people into great consternation and confusion. But they were presently quieted again, when they saw those officers come, and no such alterations made by them, but the ancient purity, and solemn custom, and usual rites, were still observed ; and nothing was either changed, or added, or diminished, in the Divine sacrifice.” Which shews, that the public service was then in a certain form, and not left to every man’s liberty to make alterations in it, or lengthen or shorten it, by adding or diminishing at his pleasure.

About the year 370, St. Basil was made bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia ; but, before he was bishop, he lived a presbyter in the same church, under Eusebius, his predecessor in the see. During which time, as Nazianzen assures us,^f among other services done for that church, he composed forms of prayer, and orders of decency for the communion service ; which, by the consent and authority of his bishop

^d Cyril. Catech. xvi. n. ix. p. 234. Πολλάνεις ὁ δαίμων, ὁ σιδηραίοις δισμοῖς ὑπὸ πολλῶν μὴ κρατούμενος, λόγοις εὐχῆς ἠκρατήθη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. (Paris. 1609, p. 417.)

^e Optat. lib. iii. p. 75, (p. m. 82). Dicebatur illo tempore, venturos esse Paulum et Macarium, qui interessent sacrificio, ut quum altaria solemniter aptarentur, proferrent illi imaginem, quam primum in altari ponerent, et sic sacrificium offerretur. Hoc quum acciperent aures, perculsi sunt et animi, et uniuscujusque lingua in hæc verba commota est, ut omnis, quum hoc audierat, diceret, ‘ Qui inde gustat, de sacro gustat.’ Et recte dictum erat, si talem famam similis veritas sequeretur. At ubi ventum est a supradictis, nihil tale visum esse ex eo, quod fuerat paullo ante mentita fama : nihil viderunt oculi Christiani, quod horrerent : nihil probavit adaspectus ex iis, quibus perturbatus erat auditus. Visa est puritas, et ritu solito solemnī consuetudo perspecta est ; quum viderent Divinis sacrificiis, nec mutatum quidquam, nec additum, nec ablatum.

^f Nazianz. Orat. xx. in Laud. Basil. p. 340. Εὐχῶν διατάξεις καὶ εὐποσμίας τοῦ βήματος.

Eusebius, were used in the Church. We are not bound to assert, that any of the liturgies which now go under his name, are exactly the same with that. It is certain they have received many additions and alterations; and, in many things differ from one another: and some things are alleged by ancient writers out of St. Basil's genuine liturgy, which a learned man assures us are not to be found, at present, in any of these:⁸ as that prayer, which is cited by Petrus Diaconus, who lived about the year 520, in whose time St. Basil's liturgy was used almost all the East over. For he says^h "Among other things, they then prayed thus, according to St. Basil's liturgy: 'Grant us, Lord, thy defence and protection; we beseech thee, make the evil to become good; and keep those that are good, in their goodness; for all things are possible unto thee, and no one can contradict thee: when thou pleasest, thou canst save; and there is no one that can resist thy will.'" Some fancy these words are to be found in the present copies; but whether that be so or not, we may be pretty well assured they were in the original liturgy of St. Basil, whence the author cites them. And that is an argument that St. Basil composed a liturgy, which was then of general use in the East, and known to the Africans also. Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, was within half an age of St. Basil's time; and he gives this account of his composing a liturgy:ⁱ "St. Basil, seeing men's sloth and degeneracy made them weary of a long liturgy, thought

⁸ Cave, Hist. Litter. vol. i. p. 194, (p. 136, edit. Genev. 1693.) Hæc quidem liturgia, prout exstat hodie, plurimum est interpolata, variis additamentis pro sæculi, quo facta sunt, genio et conditione aucta: adeoque ejus exemplaria, quo vetustiora, eo breviora et castiora reperiuntur.

^h Petr. Diacon. de Incarnat. inter Fulgentii Opera, c. viii. p. 633. Basilii Cæsariensis in oratione sacri altaris, quam pene universus frequentat oriens, inter cetera, 'Dona, Domine,' inquit, 'virtutem ac tutamentum; malos, quæsumus, bonos facito; bonos in bonitate conserva: omnia enim potes; et non est, qui contradicat tibi: quum enim volueris, salvas, et nullus resistit voluntati tuæ.'

ⁱ Proclus de Tradit. Divin. Liturg. cit. a Comber, of Liturg. p. 169, (tom. vi. Bibl. Patr. Max. p. 617, edit. Lugd. 1627.) Basilii magnus, quum hominum, liturgiæ prolixitatem fastidientium, oscitantiam et propensionem prospiceret, non, quod longam et prolixam eam (Jacobi liturgiam) esse arbitraretur; sed ut tam audientium, quam una orantium, commodo consulere, eorumque socordiam, ex longioris temporis mora promanantem, castigaret, penitusque tolleretur, redactam in compendium ecclesiæ recitandam exhibuit.

there was nothing unnecessary or tedious in that of St. James, which was used before; yet, to prevent the weariness of priests and people, he delivered a shorter form." And it is also cited under St. Basil's name, by Leontius^k and the Council of Trullo.^l So that though many things be inserted into the present copies of St. Basil's liturgy, and others wanting in them; yet these are no arguments against the original composition, of which there is such clear evidence in the ancient writers.

But St. Basil not only composed a form for the communion service, but often speaks of other forms as generally used upon other occasions. In his sixty-third Epistle,^m he gives a large account of the people's joining in alternate psalmody and prayers; and of their repeating the psalm of confession, that is, the fifty-first psalm, at morning prayer. And he there also speaks of the Liturgy of Gregory Thaumaturgus with approbation; and of the litanies which the Church of Neocæsarea had admitted since the time of Gregory.ⁿ In his two hundred and forty-first epistle, he mentions several particulars of the usual prayer for the whole state of the Church; telling his friend whom he writes to,^o "That he must needs remember them in the deacon's bidding prayer, for all that were gone to travel; for the soldiers; for all that pro-

^k Leont. cont. Nestor. lib. iii. Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. part. ii. p. 1006, (in edit. cit. habentur tres libri Leontii, a p. 674-706, sed locum non invenio. Grischov.)

^l Conc. Trull. c. xxxii. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1158.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάκωβος, ὁ κατὰ σάρκα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀδελφός, ὃς τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτος τὸν θρόνον ἐπιστεῖνεν καὶ Βασίλειος, ὁ τῆς Καισαρίων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, οὗ τὸ κλίος κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν αἰκουμένην διδράμειν. ἐγγράφως τὴν μυστικὴν ἡμῖν ἱερουργίαν παραδιδυκότες, οὕτω τελιοῦν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ ἐξ ὑδατός τε καὶ οἶνου τὸ ἱερὸν ποτήριον ἐκδιδώσασιν.

^m Basil. c. lxxiii. (tom. iii. opp. p. 96, edit. Paris. 1638.) Ἐκ νεκρῶς γὰρ ἐφθίξεν παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ, καὶ ἐν θλίψει, καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ θάκρυον ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελιωταῖον ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται· καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῶς διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Vid. supra sub litt. (b).

^o Basil. Ep. cexli. (p. 243.) Μίμνησαι γὰρ πάντως τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι· ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ ἀδελφῶν διόμιθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατίαις ἐξιταζομένων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παρήρσιζομένων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πνευματικῶς κακῶς ἐκιδυκνυμένων, ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα.

fess the name of Christ," &c. Which, as I shall shew hereafter,^p were the usual forms of supplication in the prayers for all states of men in the Church. In his sixty-eighth epistle, he mentions other forms, which were as evidently parts of the ancient liturgies,^q "We pray that the rest of our days may continue in peace; we desire that our death may also be in peace." We have heard him before speak of the hymns of Athenogenes,^r and the evening hymn to the Holy Trinity. And we shall hear him hereafter speaking of particular psalms, appointed for particular hours of canonical prayer.^s All which are such manifest indications of the use of stated forms, as nothing but prejudice can incline a man to except against them.

Gregory Nazianzen was St. Basil's dear friend; and of him it were enough to say, that he commends his friends for making forms of prayer for the use of the Church, as we have heard already. But he also says,^t "His own father consecrated the eucharist with the solemn words, that were wont to be used upon that occasion." And, speaking of Julian the apostate, he says,^u "He admired the Church for her forms of worship, which were anciently delivered and still preserved among them: and, therefore, he intended that his heathen priests should imitate the Christians, and have a form of prayers in parts,^v that is, prayers so composed as that the people might make their responses." Which is also taken notice of by Sozomen, who says,^w "That Julian, admiring the order of Christian worship, appointed that the heathen temples should be adorned after the same manner,

^q Book xv. chap. i. sect. iii.

^r Basil. Ep. lxxviii. (p. 104, e.) Ἐν εἰρήνῃ μίνιν τὰς λιταρχίας ἡμῶν ἡμέρας, εὐχόμεθα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ γινέσθαι τὴν κοίμησιν ἡμῶν αὐτοῦμεν.

^s Book xiii. chap. ii. sect. ii.

^t Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xxxvii. pp. 585-587.

^u Nazianz. Orat. xix. p. 305, b. Εἶτα ἰσχυρὰν τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ῥήματα αὐτῶς, ὡς συνηθίς, κ. τ. λ.

^v Ibid. Orat. iii. p. 101. Τοῖς παραδιδόμενοις, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τιτηρημένοις τύποις τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

^w Ibid. p. 102, a. Εὐχῶν τε τύπον ἐν μέλει.

^x Sozomen. lib. v. c. xvi. Δινοῖτο πανταχῇ τοὺς Ἑλληνοὺς ναοὺς τῇ παρ-
ασκευῇ καὶ τῇ τάξει τῆς Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας διακοσμεῖν . . . ὥρων τε ῥητῶν
καὶ ἡμερῶν τιταρχίας εὐχαΐς.

with prayers upon set days and hours." Nazianzen also mentions the usual form of renouncing the devil in baptism, and the solemn covenant or compact made with Christ, which he says,^x "They did, *καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι*, 'both by words and gestures:'" that is, renouncing the devil, with their faces to the west, and then turning about to the east, by which they signified their turning to Christ, the Sun of Righteousness. Both which words and gestures were evidently matter of form and ecclesiastical prescription. As was also the form of professing their faith, the triple immersion, and many other such rites and observances, which we meet with in Nazianzen, and all other ecclesiastical writers almost, that have any occasion to speak of the ancient manner of administering baptism.

There is one author more which was famous about this time, before the death of Athanasius, which was Ephraem, deacon of Edessa, commonly called the prophet of the Syrians. Theodoret says,^y "That he composed a great many hymns, in opposition to those that had been formerly made by Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes, the heretic; and that they were used upon the festivals of the martyrs." Sozomen^z mentions his Divine hymns also, as well as those that were made upon the martyrs. And these, no doubt, were some of those famous writings of his, which St. Jerom says,^a "Were used to be rehearsed in the Church after the reading of the Scriptures.

^x Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 671. *Γνώση καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι, ὡς ὅλην ἀποσίμωσιν τὴν ἀθίαν, οὕτως ὅλην Διόστητι συντασσόμενος.*

^y Theodoret. lib. iv. c. xxix. *Καὶ ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρμόνιος ὁ Βαρδησάνου, ᾧ δῶς τινὰς συντιθέμεναι πάσαι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ μίλου ἡδονῇ τὴν ἀσίειαν κεράσας, κατικῆλοι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἤγειρε, τὴν ἀρμονίαν τοῦ μίλου ἐκείνη λαβὼν ἀνίμωε τὴν ἐσίειαν, καὶ προσενήνοχε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἥδιστον ἰμοῦ καὶ ὀνησιφόρον φάρμακον ταῦτα καὶ νῦν τὰ ἄσματα, φαειροτέρως τῶν νικηφόρων μαρτυρῶν τὰς πανύγους ποιεῖ.*

^z Sozomen. lib. iii. c. xvi. *Ἰδὼν δὲ Ἐφραίμ κηλουμένους τοὺς Σύρους τῇ κάλλει τῶν ὁνομάτων, καὶ τῇ ῥυθμῇ τῆς μελωδίας, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο προστιθεμένους ὁμοίους αὐτῷ δοξάζειν, καί τις Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἄμειρος, ἐπίστη τῇ καταλήψει τῶν Ἀρμονίου μίτρων· καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλη τῶν ἐκείνου γραμμάτων, ἰτίρας γεγραφῶς συηδούσας τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς δόγμασι συνίστηεν· ὅποια αὐτῷ πιστόντη ἐν Διόσις ὕμνοις καὶ ἰγκωμίοις ἀπαθὼν ἀνδρῶν· ἔξ ἐκείνου τι Σύροι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς Ἀρμονίου ᾄδῃς τὰ Ἐφραίμ ψάλλουσι. (Cant. p. 120.)*

^a Hieron. de Scriptor. c. cxv. *Ad tantam venit claritatem, ut post lectionem scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur.*

Here it will not be improper also to observe, that the practice of heretics, in endeavouring to corrupt and alter the ancient forms of the Church, is often a manifest evidence and testimony of the antiquity of them. Thus Theodoret takes notice,^b “That, in the beginning of this century, Arius, transgressing the ancient laws of giving ‘Glory to God,’ which had been handed down by those who lived and served in the ministry of the word from the beginning, introduced a new form, teaching those whom he deceived, to say, ‘Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost?’ And that though he did not presume to alter the form of baptizing ‘in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,’ yet he forbade to use the glorification according to the rule of baptism.” Does not this prove, that the form of this doxology was long before Arius, since he presumed to introduce a new one? So again, when the same Theodoret tells us,^c “That Eunomius subverted the ancient law of baptism, delivered by Christ and his apostles, and brought in a contrary law, that men should not be baptized with a triple immersion, nor by invocation of the Trinity, but only by a single immersion in the name of Christ;” does not this innovation as plainly prove, that the rite of trine immersion was the ancient form and custom of the Church? as Tertulian,^d and all that speak of it before Eunomius, have constantly asserted. So that, whether we consider the testimonies of the Catholics, or the practices and innovations made

^b Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. iv. c. i. Οὗτος (Ἀρειος) καὶ τῆς δοξολογίας τοὺς νόμους καταλιπὼν, οὓς οἱ ἐκκλησίᾳς ἀντίσταται καὶ ὑπαίεται τοῦ Λόγου παρέδοσαν, ἴτιον ἐκυσήγαγε τύπον, δοξάζειν τοὺς ἐκπατημένους διδάξας τὸν Πατέρα διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος γινομένην ἐκίπλησιν ἐναλλάξει διὰ τὸ τῆς παραβάσεως προφανὲς οὐκ ἰδιόρρησιν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διανοητικὴν ἐντολὴν, βαπτίζειν μὴν παρίδωκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· δοξάζειν δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ βαπτίσματος διακόλου νόμον, κ. τ. λ.

^c Ibid. c. iii. Αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀνίστησι τὸν ἀνίκαν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀποστῆλιν παραδοθέντα διὰ μὲν, καὶ ἄντικρυς ἀντινομοθέτησι, μὴ χρῆναι λίγων τρις καταδύειν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, μὴδὲ ποιῆσθαι τὴν τῆς Τριᾶδος ἐκίπλησιν· ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

^d Tertul. cont. Prax. c. xxvi. Nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina, in personis singulas tinguimur. — It. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Ter mergitatur. — Constitut. Apostol. c. l. (al. xlii.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μᾶς μυσίῳς ἐπιτελήσῃ, ἀλλ’ ἓν βάπτισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου δίδωμι, καθαιρείσθω.

by heretics, they both concur to prove, that within this period of time, viz. during the life of Athanasius, the Church made use of forms in every considerable part of Divine service, baptism, psalmody, and the most solemn worship at the Lord's table. And so she did also in her funeral rites; where nothing is more common than to hear of psalmody in their solemn processions to any interment, as may be seen in the writings of Gregory Nazianzen^e and the Constitutions,^f to mention no other at present, that come not within the prefixed term of the life of Athanasius.

It was not above three years after the death of Athanasius, that St. Ambrose was made bishop of Milan (an. 374). He was a zealous defender of the Catholic faith against the Arians, in opposition to whom he composed several hymns in Latin "to the glory of the Holy Trinity," for the people to sing in the church, of which he himself gives this account in his tract against Auxentius: "They accuse me," says he,^g "for deceiving and alluring the people with the poetry of my hymns. And I do not altogether deny the charge; for what can be more powerful and alluring than the confession of the Trinity, which is daily sung by the mouth of all the people? They all zealously strive to make profession of the faith; they all know how to celebrate the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in verse." These hymns are mentioned also by Prosper, in his Chronicon,^h as the first that were sung in the

^e Nazianz. Orat. iv. in Julian. p. 118. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ παραπίμπινται πανδήμοις ὑψηλαῖς τε καὶ πομπαῖς, καὶ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἡμιστέροις σιμονοῖς, ᾠδαῖς παννύχιοις καὶ δαδουχίαις· αἷς Χριστιανοὶ τιμῶν μετὰστασιν εὐσεβῇ νομιζομιν, καὶ γίνονται πανήγυρις μετὰ πάθους, ἢ ἱκκομίδι τοῦ σώματος.

^f Constitut. lib. vi. c. xxix. Μηδὲ ἐκζητῶντι Ἰουδαϊκούς ἀφορισμούς, ἢ συνεχῆ βαπτίσματα, ἢ παθαρισμούς ἐπὶ Σίξῃ νεκροῦ ἀπαρτηρήτως δὲ συναθροίσαντες ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις, τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων ποιούμενοι, καὶ ψάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινομημένων μαρτυροῦν καὶ πάντων ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἁγίων, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὁμῶν τῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ κοινομημένων.

^g Ambros. Orat. cont. Auxent. ad calcem Epist. xxxii. (tom. v. opp. p. 104, i. edit. Paris. 1642.) Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane nec hoc ab uno. Grande carmen istud est, et quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius, quam professio Trinitatis, quæ quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri: Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum norunt versibus prædicare.

^h Prosper. Chronic. an. 386, ap. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 387, n. vii. Hymni Ambrosii compositi, qui numquam ante in ecclesiis Latinis modulibus canebantur.

Church in Latin measures. St. Austin frequently speaks of them, and says,¹ "They were sung, as then the psalms were, in the alternate way, verse for verse, by the people, to alleviate the tediousness of their sorrow; and from this example the custom of alternate hymnody and psalmody spread almost all over the Western Churches." One of these is particularly cited by him,¹ as an evening hymn, and others are among his works. And these, we are sure, in the following ages, continued in use; for the hymns of St. Ambrose and St. Hilary are mentioned by the fourth Council of Toledo^k (an. 633), as parts of the daily service in the Spanish Churches. St. Ambrose himself also speaks of the use of that ancient hymn, called the *trisagion*, telling us, that in most of the Eastern and Western Churches, when the sacrifice was offered to God, the priest and people with one voice said,¹ "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of thy

¹ Aug. Confes. lib. ix. c. vii. Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tœdio contabesceret, institutum est; et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, et per cœtera orbis imitantibus.

^J Ibid. c. xii. Recordatus sum veridicos versus Ambrosii:

Deus Creator omnium,
Polique rector, vestiens
Diem decoro lumine,
Noctem soporis gratia,
Artus solutos ut quies
Reddat laboris usui,
Mentesque fessas allevet,
Luctusque solvat anxios.

Id. lib. i. Retract. c. xxi. In hoc libro (contra epistolam Donati) dixi in quodam loco de apostolo Petro, quod in illo, tamquam in petra, fundata sit ecclesia: qui sensus etiam cantatur ore multorum in versibus beatissimi Ambrosii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait:

Hoc ipsa petra ecclesiæ,
Canente, culpam diluit.

^k Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xii. cit. supra sub litt. (c).

¹ Ambros. de Spirit. Sanct. cit. by Comber, of Liturgies, p. 183. Locus iste sine dubio est lib. iii. c. xvi. qui autem non omnia probat, quæ heic dicit Binghamus. Ita habet: Cherubim et Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant et dicunt, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.' . . . Nos quoque nihil pretiosius invenimus, quo Deum prædicare possumus, nisi ut Sanctum appellemus. . . . Seraphim laudant, omnis beatorum chorus laudat, ut sanctum Deum dicat, Sanctum Filium, Sanctum Spiritum. Quomodo igitur non omnia habet, quæ Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus et in baptismo nominatur, et in oblationibus invocatur, cum Patre et Filio. (Grischov.)

glory." He mentions also the common form of salutation,^m "The peace of God be with you." He says, the music spoken of in the parable of the prodigal son (Luke xv.) means the whole church's singing together the psalms alternately,ⁿ men, women, and children, with different voices, but all conspiring, as the strings of an instrument, in one harmonious concord. And this was the symphony which the apostle had reference to, when he said, "I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." His books, *de Sacramentis*, if we allow them to be his, are so full of forms and ceremonies relating to the administration of baptism, confirmation, and the eucharist, that a man cannot look into them, but he must conclude, he wrote his accounts of these things from the known and settled forms of the Church; for which reason I think it needless to recite any of them, but they that please, may see them related in Dr. Comber.^o If any one should except against these books, as none of St. Ambrose's genuine offspring, it is sufficient to have evidenced the use of forms from his undoubted writings. St. Jerom testifies concerning the use of the psalms, as forms of prayer and praises, that they were used both publicly and privately upon all occasions.^p "In the Egyptian monasteries," he says,^p "the singing of the psalms was a principal part of their devotions at every solemn meeting." He directs Rusticus^q to learn the psalter by heart, and to repeat the psalm in his turn, as the monks were obliged to do, one by

^m Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerdot. c. v. (tom. iv. p. 382, d. edit. Paris. 1642.) Pronuntiat episcopus hujusmodi ad populum, dicens: Pax vobis.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. vii. in Luc. xv. tom. v. p. 125, (tom. iii. p. 169, f. edit. cit.) Hæc est symphonia, quando concinit in Ecclesia diversarum ætatum atque virtutum, velut variarum chordarum indiscreta concordia, psalmus respondetur, Amen dicitur. Hæc est symphonia, quam scivit et Paulus; et ideo ait, Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente.

^o Comber, Origin of Liturgies, p. 182.

^p Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. — Id. Epist. xxvii. c. x. Post virorum monasterium, quod viris tradiderat gubernandum, plures virgines, quas e diversis provinciis congregarat, tam nobiles, quam medii et infimi generis, in tres turmas monasteriaque divisit, ita duntaxat, ut in opere et cibo separatæ psalmodiis et operationibus jungerentur.

^q Hieron. Epist. iv. ad Ruffin. Monach. Discatur psalterium ad verbum. . . . Dicis psalmum in ordine tuo.

one, in their assemblies. He says of himself,^r that he thus learned the psalms by heart, when he was young, and sung them, when he was old, every day. He directs Læta, a noble lady, so to accustom her daughter to the singing of psalms and hymns at all the canonical hours of prayer,^s and teach her this by her own example. And after the same manner^t he writes to Demetrias, a virgin, to observe the order of psalmody and prayers at every such stated hour. There may be some dispute about the observation of canonical hours, seven times a-day, in the public service of the Church, but there is none about the use of psalmody in general; for St. Jerom, writing to Sabinianus,^u a deacon, who had been guilty of some indecent behaviour toward a consecrated virgin, reminds him of the immodest signs he had made to her, even whilst he stood in the quire of the singers. And, a little before,^v he speaks of the whole Church sounding forth hymns to Christ, their Lord, in her nocturnal vigils; a great part of which, as we shall see hereafter, was always spent in psalmody. This was always a part of their funeral service; for, speaking of the great concourse of bishops and people at the funeral of the Lady Paula, he says,^w “Some of the bishops led up the quire of singers, and the people sounded forth the psalms in order, some in Greek, some in Latin, some in Syriac, according to the different language of every nation.” He says the same

^r Hieron. Apolog. advers. Ruffin. lib. ii. c. vii. (tom. ii. opp. p. 516, d. edit. Paris. 1693.) Ego ne contra LXX. interpretes aliquid sum loquutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos, meæ linguæ studiosis dedi, quos quotidie in conventu fratrum edissero, quorum Psalmos jugi meditatione decanto? Tam stultus eram, ut quod in pueritia didici, senex oblivisci vellem?

^s Ibid. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. Adsuescat exemplo ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona, &c.

^t Ibid. Epist. viii. ad Demetr. Considerans propter psalmodum et orationis ordinem, quod tibi hora tertia, sexta, nona ad vesperam, media nocte et mane semper est exercendum.

^u Ibid. Epist. xlviii. cont. Sabinian. Stabas deinceps in choro psallentium, et impudicis nutibus loquebaris.

^v Ibid. Tota ecclesia nocturnis vigiliis Christum Dominum personabat, &c.

^w Ibid. Epist. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ, c. xiii. Quum alii pontifices lampadas cereosque profferrent, alii choros psallentium ducerent. . . . Græco, Latino, Syroque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant.

in his epitaph of Fabiola,^x that the people made the gilded roof of the temple shake and echo again with their psalms and allelujahs. It is also observable, that in St. Jerom's time, and long before, the Church had a peculiar order among her clergy, called singers, which he himself mentions,^y and of which I have given a more particular account in a former book.^z He also frequently speaks^a of the clergy as ministering in a peculiar habit, a white garment, in imitation of the angels, of which more will be said hereafter. At present I only observe, that this could not be done without some rule or order, prescribing the ceremonies of decency in Divine worship. He does not say much of the other parts of the liturgy; yet he frequently mentions the form of renunciation used in baptism, and the use of the Creed;^b as does also Pelagius, in his Comments upon the Epistles of St. Paul, under the name of St. Jerom,^c and Hilary, the Roman deacon, under the name of St. Ambrose,^d whose

^x Hieron. Epist. xxx. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. Sonabant psalmi, et aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatiebat Allelujah.

^y Ibid. Comment. in Ephes. v. 19. Audiant hæc adolescentuli, audiant hi, quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, &c.

^z Book iii. c. vii.

^a Hieron. Epist. iii. ad Heliodor. (p. 23, d. edit. Paris. 1643.) Hanc tunicam qua utebar in ministerio Christi. — Id. Commentar. in Ezech. c. xlv. 17. Per quæ discimus, non quotidianis et quibuslibet pro usu vitæ communis pollutis vestibus, nos ingredi debere in Sancta sanctorum, sed munda conscientia et mundis vestibus tenere Domini sacramenta. — Adversus Pelagian. lib. ii. c. ix. (tom. ii. p. 565, f. g.) Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiae contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorum? si episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum cum candida veste processerint?

^b Ibid. Commentar. in Amos, vi. 14. Primum renuntiamus ei, qui occidente est, nobisque moritur cum peccatis; et sic versi ad orientem, pactum inimus cum Sole Justitiæ, et ei servituros nos esse promittimus. — In Matth. v. 26. Renuntio tibi, diabole, et pompæ tuæ, et vitiiis tuis, et mundo tuo, qui in maligno positus est. — Dialog. cont. Lucifer. c. iii. Quum solemne sit in lavacro, post Trinitatis confessionem, interrogare, Credis sanctam ecclesiam? Credis remissionem peccatorum? &c.

^c Pelag. Comment. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. *Et confessus*] In baptismo abrenuntiando sæculo et pompis ejus.

^d Ambros. 1 Tim. vi. 12. Fidei victoria est, quum omnia vitia et crimina subjugantur, ut ad æternæ vitæ præmia veniatur: cujus confessio inter ipsa rudimenta fidei, teste interrogante et respondente, monumentis ecclesiasticis continetur.

authorities are good in this case, because they were contemporaries with these writers. He mentions also the use of the Lord's Prayer in the communion-office, as given by Christ to his apostles, from whom the Church^e learned to use it every day in the sacrifice of his body. He speaks likewise of the *trisagion*, or cherubical hymn,^f "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth," which they sung as a confession of the Holy Trinity. And he mentions a part of one of the Church's prayers, which was,^g "Lord, grant us thy peace; for thou hast given us all things." And, again,^h thus saith the Church, "In rest and in tribulation I have been mindful of thee:" commenting on that psalm, which the ancients called their morning psalm, "My God, my God, early will I seek thee." And, on another psalm, the Church says,ⁱ "From the remembrance of our former sins, our hearts are hot within us." Speaking also of wicked priests, he says,^j "They act impiously against Christ, whilst they think that a good life is not as necessary to the eucharist, as the solemn prayer or words of the priest:" where he seems plainly to reflect on those, who trusted to the bare form of prayer, without moral qualifications. He also mentions the solemn rite of giving each other the kiss of peace in the eucharist,^k and the people's known custom of answering

^e Hieron. cont. Pelag. lib. iii. c. v. (tom. ii. opp. p. 596, d. edit. Paris. 1643.) Sicut docuit apostolos suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificium credentes audeant loqui, 'Pater noster, qui es in cœlis,' &c.

^f Ibid. de xlii. Mersionibus in initio. In confessionem Sanctæ Trinitatis erumpimus, dicentes, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.

^g Ibid. Epist. iv. ad Rustic. Utinam audiat vox ecclesiæ implorantis, 'Domine, pacem tuam da nobis: Omnia enim dedisti nobis.'

^h Ibid. Comment. in Psalm. xlii. (tom. vii. p. 75, g.) Dicit hæc ecclesia, Et in requie, et in tribulatione non fui tui oblitus.

ⁱ In Psalm. xxxviii. (ibid. p. 50, b.) Dicit ecclesia, A recordatione delictorum priorum concaluit cor meum intra me.

^j Ibid. in Zephan. c. iii. (tom. v. p. 218, a.) Impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes *εὐχαριστίαν* imprecantis facere verba, non vitam; et necessariam esse tantum solemnem orationem, et non sacerdotum merita.

^k Ibid. Epist. lxii. ad Theophil. c. i. Si munera nostra absque pace offerre non possumus; quanto magis et Christi corpus accipere? Qua conscientia ad eucharistiam Christi accedam, et respondebo Amen, dum de caritate dubitem porrigentis? . . . Quisquamne extenta manu vertit faciem, et inter sacras epulas, Judæ osculum porrigit?

“Amen,” at the reception of it. All which are plain indications of the use of certain forms in Divine worship; though St. Jerom only mentions them incidentally, and had no occasion to enlarge much upon them.

St. Austin and Chrysostom, as they are more voluminous writers, so they are more copious and exact upon this subject. I have given the reader a specimen of what may be collected of the Eastern liturgy, out of the writings of St. Chrysostom in the following chapter. And some learned men are of opinion, that if any one will be as curious in examining St. Austin's works, he may find the whole African liturgy in his writings. I will not pretend to be so exact in this collection, but only make some short references to what he says upon some parts of it. He divides the whole liturgy or service of the Church into five parts,¹ viz., psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, prayers of the bishop, and the bidding prayers of the deacon; all which, except preaching, were done by certain forms and prescriptions. And first, for psalmody, he says, “It was the exercise of the people at all times, when no other part of the service was a-performing. For there was no time,” he says, “unseasonable for the people to sing holy psalms and hymns in the church, except when either the Scriptures were read, or the sermon was preached, or prayers were made by the bishop, or the common prayers were dictated by the voice of the deacon.” We have heard him before speak with approbation of the ways of singing psalms and hymns introduced by Athanasius and St. Ambrose;^m which argues not only that he allowed the singing of psalms and hymns, that is, forms of prayer and praises in general; but also, that he liked the several ways of singing then in use; the plain song, and the symphoniactal consort at the conclusion of every verse used by Athanasius, and the new alternate way introduced by St. Ambrose; though he intimates that the

¹ Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xviii. Quando non est tempus, quum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi quum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

^m Ibid. Confess. lib. ix. cc. vii. xii. Vid. sub litt. (j), et lib. x. c. xxxiii. Vid. sub litt. (f).

plain way generally was more agreeable to the slow genius^a of the African people; whose singing he vindicates from the scurrilous objections which the Donatists made against their practice. And he wrote a book particularly against one Hilarius, a secular tribune, who pretended to quarrel with the custom of the Church of Carthage for singing hymns out of the book of Psalms^o at the altar, either before the oblation of the eucharist was made, or whilst it was distributed to the people. This book of St. Austin's is now lost; but he mentions it in his *Retractations*. He also speaks of the evening hymns;^p and of the singing of the allelujah^q in some churches every day, and in others only the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. And Possidius tells us in his *Life*,^r "That in the great irruption of the Vandals into Afric a little before his death, nothing grieved him more than to see the hymns and praises of God destroyed out of the churches, and the solemnities of God's worship, with the sacrifice and sacraments, to fail in the places where they were used to be celebrated." And he adds,^s "That, in his last sickness, he ordered some of the penitential Psalms of David to be written for him in large sheets and hanged up against the wall, which he read and used as forms proper for penitential devotion;" all which shews that St. Austin thought the Psalms of David were not unlawful to be used as forms of prayers and praises in the service of God.

^a Aug. *Epist. cxix. c. xix.* Donatistæ nos reprehendunt, quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia Divina cantica prophetarum.

^o Aug. *Retract. lib. ii. c. xi.*

^p *Ibid. de Civitate Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii.* (tom. v. opp. p. 1344, d. edit. Basil. 1569.) Ibi quum jaceret vel morti proximus, vel simillimus mortuo, ad vespertinos illuc hymnos et orationes cum ancillis suis et quibusdam sanctimonialibus intravit.

^q *Ibid. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xvii.* Ut autem Halleluja per illos solos dies quinquaginta cantetur, non usquequaque observatur. Nam in aliis diebus varie cantetur alibi; ipsis autem diebus ubique.

^r Possid. *Vit. Augustin. c. xxviii.* Cernebat etiam hymnos Dei et laudes de ecclesiis deperisse, ædificia ecclesiarum quamplurimis locis ignibus concremata, solemnia quæ Deo debentur, de propriis locis desiisse sacrificia, sacramenta Divina vel non quæri, vel quærenti qui tradat non facile reperiri.

^s *Ibid. c. xxx.* Jusserat sibi psalmos Davidicos, qui sunt paucissimi de pœnitentia, scribi, ipsosque quaterniones jacens in lecto contra parietem positos diebus suæ infirmitatis intuebatur, et legebat, et jugiter ac ubertim flebat; &c.

Secondly, for the reading of the Scriptures, he acquaints us in many places, that this was done by a certain rule and calendar, appointing proper lessons for particular occasions and seasons. "There were some festival days," he says, "on which they were bound to read certain appropriated lessons out of the gospel, which were so fixed to those anniversary solemnities, that no other lessons might be read in their room. Thus," he says, "in Easter week they constantly read four days, one after another, the history of Christ's resurrection out of the Four Gospels,—on the first day, St. Matthew; on the second, St. Mark; on the third, St. Luke; and on the fourth, St. John." "So, likewise, on the day of Christ's passion," he says, "they read the history of his sufferings out of St. Matthew only, because it was all but one day; and when he would have had all the Four Gospels read at that time also, the people were disturbed at it, because they had not been accustomed to it." "In the time between Easter and Pentecost," he says, "they always read the Acts

[†] Aug. Exposit. in 1 Jo. in Præfat. tom. ix. p. 235, (p. 575, d. edit. Basil. 1669.) Interposita est solemnitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesia recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint.

^u Ibid. Serm. cxxxix. de Temp. (tom. x. p. 902, edit. cit. Basil.) In die sancto Paschæ. Per hos dies, sicut recolit caritas vestra, solemniter leguntur evangelicæ lectiones, ad resurrectionem Domini pertinentes. — Serm. cxl. Feria secunda Paschæ. Hesterno die, id est, nocte, lecta est ex evangelio resurrectio Salvatoris. Lecta est autem ex evangelio secundum Matthæum. Hodie vero, sicut audistis pronuntiare lectorem, recitata est nobis Domini resurrectio, sicut Lucas evangelista conscripsit. — Serm. cxli. eodem die. Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi ex more legitur his diebus ex omnibus libris sancti evangelii. — Serm. cxliv. Feria Tertia Paschæ. Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et hodie recitata est: sed de altero libro evangelii, qui est secundum Lucam. Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum, hesterno autem die secundum Marcum, hodie secundum Lucam. — Serm. cxlviii. Feria Quarta Paschæ. Et hodie lectio recitata est de his, quæ facta sunt post resurrectionem Domini secundum evangelistam Joannem.

^v Aug. Serm. cxliv. Passio, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum. Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes evangelistas etiam passio legeretur: factum est; non audierunt homines quod consueverunt, et perturbati sunt.

^v Aug. Tractat. vi. in Joan. Evangelist. tom. ix. p. 24, (p. 56, d. 57, a. edit. Basil.) Actus Apostolorum testes sunt, ille liber canonicus omni anno in ecclesia recitandus. Anniversaria solemnitate, post passionem Domini, nostis illum librum recitari. — Vid. Hom. ccxxxvii. nov. edit. Benedictin. quæst. lxxxiii. de

of the Apostles." St. Chrysostom will give us the reason of this hereafter; and we shall see that this was a universal custom obtaining throughout the whole Church, when we come to consider this rule more fully exemplified in the Church's general practice.*

Thirdly, for the prayers made by the bishop in the communion office, St. Austin gives us such a description of them, as shews they must needs be made by a certain order and form. For he thus describes one part of them, while he instructs the newly baptized in the method and meaning of them:† "Ye understand," says he, "the sacrament in the order of its administration; first, after prayer," meaning the prayer for the whole state of the Church which went before, "ye are taught to lift up your hearts. Therefore, when it is said, 'Lift up your hearts,' ye answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' The bishop or presbyter who officiates, goes on and says, 'Let us give thanks to our Lord God;' and ye give in your attestation, and say, 'It is meet and right so to do.' Then, after the consecration of the sacrifice, we say the Lord's Prayer; and, after that, the priest says, 'Peace be with you,' and 'Christians salute one another with a holy kiss.'" Here we have not only the method of the communion-service, but the several forms of it in order one after another. And these forms are frequently mentioned by St. Austin in other places. "The Lord's Prayer," he says,‡

Diversis. (tom. v. p. 973), in die Paschæ. In Actibus Apostolorum advertite, quando legitur. Modo incipit liber ipse legi. Hodie cepit liber, qui vocatur Actuum Apostolorum.

* Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii.

† Aug. Hom. lxxxiii. de *Diversis*, tom. x. p. 556. Tenetis sacramenta ordine suo. Primo post orationem, admonemini sursum habere cor, &c. Ideo quum dicitur, 'Sursum cor,' respondetis, 'Habemus ad Dominum.' . . . Sequitur episcopus vel presbyter, qui offert, et dicit, 'Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro,' et vos attestamini, 'Dignum et justum est,' dicentes. Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam. Post ipsam dicitur, 'Pax vobiscum:' et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto.

‡ Ibid. Epist. lix. ad Paulin. Multa hinc dici possunt, quæ improbanda non sint: sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut preces accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici: orationes quum benedicuntur et sanctificantur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit.

“ was always used by the whole Church almost, as the close of the consecration-service, and at other times as the daily prayer^a of the faithful, peculiarly belonging to them and not to the catechumens,” as we shall shew more fully hereafter.^b “ The form, *sursum corda*, ‘ lift up your hearts,’ ” &c., he says, “ was used by all Christians throughout the world, who daily answered with one voice, ‘ We lift up our hearts unto the Lord; ’ ” as he speaks in his Book of True Religion,^c and other places. And to this he says, “ The priests added that other form, ‘ Let us give thanks to our Lord God ; ’ to which the people answered, ‘ It is meet and right so to do. ’ ” As he speaks in his Epistles to Dardanus and Honoratus,^d and in his

^a Aug. Epist. cxxi. ad Probam, cc. xi. xii. — Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. lxxi. De quotidianis autem brevibus levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana oratio fidelium satis facit: Eorum enim est dicere, ‘ Pater noster, qui es in cælis,’ &c. — Hom. xlii. inter l. (tom. x. opp. p. 531, d. edit. Basil. 1569). Oratio (Dominica) vobis quotidie dicenda est, quum baptizati fueritis. In ecclesia enim ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista Oratio Dominica, et audiunt istam fideles.

^b Chap. vii. sect. ix.

^c Aug. de Vera Relig. c. iii. (tom. i. opp. p. 703, c. edit. Basil.) Si per urbes atque oppida, castella, vicos et agros etiam, villasque privatas, in tantum aperte persuadetur et appetitur a terrenis aversio, et in unum Deum verumque conversio, ut quotidie per universum orbem humanum genus una pene voce respondeat, ‘ Sursum corda se habere ad Dominum; ’ quid adhuc oscitamus crapulam hesternam, et in mortuis pecudibus Divina eloquia perscrutamur. — Serm. liv. de Tempore, (tom. x. p. 699, a. edit. Basil.) Et quotiens sacerdos dixerit, ‘ Sursum corda,’ secure et fideliter dicunt, ‘ Se habere ad Deum,’ &c. — Epist. clvi. ad Probam. Ideo venit Salvator noster, qui mulierem illam in evangelio per decem et octo annos curvam, quæ fortasse hoc significabat, verbo salutis erexit, ut anima Christiana non frustra audiat, ‘ Sursum cor : ’ nec frustra respondeat, ‘ Se habere ad Dominum.’

^d Ibid. Epist. lvii. ad Dardan. (tom. ii. p. 276, d. edit. cit.) Nosti autem, in quo sacrificio dicatur, ‘ Gratias agamus Domino, Deo nostro.’ — Epist. cxx. ad Honoratum.† De Bono Perseverant. c. xiii. Quod ergo in sacramentis fidelium dicitur, ‘ Ut sursum corda habeamus ad Dominum,’ munus est Domini: de quo munere ipsi Domino Deo nostro gratias agere a sacerdote post hanc vocem, quibus hoc dicitur, admonentur, et ‘ dignum et justum esse’ respondent. — De Spiritu et Litt. lib. i. c. xi. (tom. iii. p. 813). In ipso verissimo et in singulari sacrificio Domino Deo nostro agere gratias admonemur. — De Bono Viduit. c. xvi. tom. iv. p. 1022. Quia et illud, quod inter sacra mysteria cor habere sursum jubemur, ipso adjuvante id valemus, quo jubente admonemur: et ideo sequitur, ut de hoc tanto bono sursum levati cordis, non nobis gloriam, quasi nostrarum virium, tribuamus, sed Domino Deo nostro gratias agamus. Hæc enim continuo comonemur, quia hoc dignum est, hoc justum est recordari.

book of the Gift of Perseverance against the Pelagians, and *De Spiritu et Litera*, and *De Bono Viduitatis*; which being all to the same purpose, need not here be repeated. He also mentions in his other writings the solemn form of the priest's saying, 'Peace be with you,' and the people's giving one another thereupon the kiss of peace,^e which was a symbol of that innocency and peace, which ought to be the qualification of true Christian doves. "And this rite," he says, "was observed not only by the Catholics, but by the Donatists also;"^f so that here is unquestionable evidence for the use of all these forms in the writings of St. Austin. And though he does not give us the whole forms of the longer prayers made by the bishop at the altar, yet he mentions some parts of them; and makes such references and appeals to them, both in his Discourses to the Orthodox, and Confutations of Heretics, as plainly shews they were common forms which they were well acquainted with, and by remembering them might understand the doctrine of the Church. Thus, in his book of Perseverance, he says,^g "Those of the Church need not any operose disputations to convince them of the necessity of God's grace to persevere; they need only remember her daily prayers, how she prays, that infidels may believe, and that believers may persevere." And again he tells them,^h "It is

^e Aug. Hom. vi. in Joan. tom. ix. p. 21, (p. 50, d. edit. Basil.) Sic ergo oportebat demonstrari Spiritum Sanctum venientem super Dominum, ut intelligat unusquisque, si habeat Spiritum Sanctum, simplicem se esse debere, sicut columbam: habere cum fratribus veram pacem, quam significant oscula columbarum.

^f Cont. litteras Petilian. lib. ii. c. xxiii. Illum commemorare, (Optatum Gildonianum) cui pacis oscula inter sacramenta copulabatis.

^g De Bono Perseverant. c. vii. (tom. vii. opp. p. 1266, b. edit. Basil.) Prorsus in hac re non operosas disputationes expectet ecclesia, sed attendat quotidianas orationes suas. Orat, ut increduli credant. . . . Orat, ut credentes perseverent.

^h Ibid. c. xxiii. Utinam tardi corde et infirmi, qui non possunt, vel nondum possunt, scripturas, vel earum expositiones intelligere, sic audirent, vel non audirent in hac quæstione disputationes nostras, ut magis intuerentur orationes suas, quas semper habuit et habebit ecclesia ab exordiis suis, donec finiatur hoc sæculum. . . . Quando enim non oratum est in ecclesia pro infidelibus inimicis, ut crederent? . . . Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit, 'Da illis, Domine, in te perseverare usque in finem,' non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius super ejus talem benedictionem, et corde credente et ore confitente respondit, 'Amen:' quum aliud

the safest way for weak men in this dispute, to look upon these prayers which the Church always had, and always will have to the end of the world: for, when did not the Church pray for infidels and her enemies, that they might believe? Or, who ever, when he heard the priest praying over the faithful, and saying, 'Grant, O Lord, that they may persevere in thee unto the end,' durst, either in word or thought, find fault with him, and not rather, with faith in his heart, and confession in his mouth, answer 'Amen' to such a benediction? when the faithful pray no otherwise in the Lord's Prayer, especially when they say, 'Lead us not into temptation.'" By all which it appears, that both the larger and the shorter prayers in the communion-office of the African Church, in St. Austin's time, were offered up in such forms as the people could easily remember, when he referred to them as evidence in some disputes, which this was an easy way to determine.

Fourthly, there was one sort of prayers more, which St. Austin distinguishes from the former by the name of 'common prayers,' dictated or indicted to the people by the voice of the deacon. Now these prayers, as I shall shew more fully hereafter,¹ differed from the bishop's prayer in this, that the bishop's prayer was a direct and continued invocation of God, to which the people answered only 'Amen' in the conclusion; but the deacon's prayer was a sort of bidding prayer, or direction to the people what particulars they were to pray for, the deacon going before them, and repeating every petition, to which they make answer, 'Lord, hear us,' or 'Lord, help us,' or 'Lord, have mercy,' or the like. And this sort of prayer St. Austin¹ expressly calls *communis oratio voce diaconi indicta*, 'common prayer dictated by the voice of the deacon.' And he seems, in one of his epistles,² to spe-

in ipsa Oratione Dominica non orant fideles, dicentes maxime illud, 'Ne nos inferas in tentationem: nisi ut in sancta obedientia perseverent?'

¹ Book xv. chap. i. sect. ii.

² Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xviii. Quando autem non est tempus, quum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi quum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

³ Ibid. Epist. cvii. ad Vitalem, p. 187, (p. 493, b. edit. Basil.) Exerce con-

cify some of the particular petitions contained in that prayer. For writing to one who was infected with the Pelagian doctrine (maintaining that infidels were only to be preached to, and not prayed for, because faith was not the work of God's grace, but the effect of man's own free will), he urges him with the known prayers of the Church which the man himself frequented. "Exercise," says he, "your disputations against the prayers of the Church; and when you hear the priest of God at the altar exhorting the people of God to pray for unbelievers, that they may be converted to the faith; and for catechumens, that God would inspire them with a desire of regeneration; and for the faithful, that, by his gift, they may persevere in that wherein they have begun, mock at these pious words, and say, 'You do not do what you here are exhorted to do.'" And again,¹ "When you hear the priest of God at the altar exhorting the people to pray to God, or else hear him praying with an audible voice, that God would compel the unbelieving Gentiles to come in to his faith, do you not answer, and say 'Amen?'" These seem to be usual parts of the prayer for the whole state of the world, in which infidels were prayed for as well as others; to which St. Austin refers, as things well known to all that frequented the prayers of the Church.

Besides these, there were some occasional offices, such as the offices of exorcism, and the institution of the catechumens, and baptism, in which many forms, and rites, and ceremonies, were observed, agreeable to the practice then obtaining in the Church: but of these I have had occasion to speak largely out of St. Austin and other writers, in a former Book,^m and therefore think it needless to repeat them

tra orationes ecclesiæ disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret; et pro fidelibus, ut in eo, quod esse cæperunt, ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces, et dic, 'Te non facere, quod hortatur.'

¹ Aug. Epist. cvii. ad Vitalem, p. 191, (p. 502, d. edit. Basil.) Numquid ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis 'Amen?'

^m Books ix. and x.

in this place. All I shall further add, is two or three canons of the African Councils held in St. Austin's time, at some of which he was present and assisted. He was a member of the third Council of Carthage, in one of whose canons there are several orders and directions given concerning the public prayers,ⁿ "That no one, in prayers, should name the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father. And when they stood at the altar, all prayers should be directed to the Father. And whatever prayers any one writ for himself, or from other books, he should not use them before they were examined by his more learned brethren." This is as plain an argument for set forms as can be given; and yet some, I know not by what means, make it an argument against them. The design of the canon was plainly to prevent all irregularities and corruptions creeping into the devotions of the Church: and, therefore, the fathers made an order, "That no bishop should use any prayers in his Church, but such as were first examined and approved by his fellow bishops in a council." As another canon in the African Code explains it,^o "That such prayers should be used by all, as had been authorized, and confirmed in synod, whether they were prefaces, or commendations, or impositions of hands; and that no other should be brought in against the faith, but those only be said, which were collected or examined by men of greater abilities and understanding." And this is repeated again in the Council of Milevis, almost in the same words.^p These African fathers

ⁿ Conc. Carth. III. c. xxiii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1170.) Ut nemo, in precibus, vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et quum altari adiaistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio. Et quicumque sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructoribus fratribus contulerit.

^o Cod. Afric. c. iii. (ibid. p. 1117.) "Ἡμεῖς καὶ τοῦτοι, ὡςτις τὰς κυριευμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱερείας, εἴτις προείμα, εἴτις παραβίους, εἴτις τὰς τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλας κατὰ τῆς πίστεως μηδίστοις προειχθῆναι· ἀλλ' αἱ τινες δῆποτι ἀπὸ τῶν συνταγμάτων συνήχθησαν, λιχθήσονται.

^p Conc. Milevit, c. xii. (ibid. p. 1540.) Placuit etiam illud, ut preces vel orationes seu missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omniibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum.

probably had observed, that there were some country bishops who had not sufficient abilities to compose orthodox forms for the use of their own Churches: and, therefore, they a little restrained the ancient liberty which every bishop had, of composing a form of prayer for his own Church, and obliged them to use such as were composed by men of greater abilities, or such as had been approved in synod, that no heretical opinion might creep into the public worship, either by their ignorance, or want of care in their compositions. By all this it appears, that the public devotions of the African Church were, at this time, directed by certain forms of worship; and those not left to every bishop to compose for himself, but he must use such prayers as were first approved by his brethren, or established and confirmed in council. And this seems to be the first beginning of that custom, which afterward prevailed all over the Church, as has been observed before in this chapter,^a that all provincial bishops should use the same form of prayer that was established in the Churches of their metropolitans.

I need not now insist upon these same Councils,^r speaking of the solemn interrogatories and answers to be made in baptism, nor of their mentioning the Lord's Prayer, as a form of so necessary and general a use,^s that the Pelagians themselves, who did not like one petition in it unless interpreted to a very perverse sense, durst not presume to lay aside the use of it. For as the first of these is a known practice, so the second will have a more particular handling, when we come to consider the use of the Lord's Prayer in a chapter by itself. And so I put an end to this chapter, concerning the use of liturgies in the ancient Church.

^a See sect. ii.

^r Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxiv. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1172.) *Ut ægrotantes, si per se respondere non possunt, quum voluntatis eorum testimonium hi, qui sui sunt, periculo proprio dixerint, baptizentur.*

^s Conc. Milevit. c. viii. *Item placuit, ut quicumque verba ipsa Dominicæ Orationis, ubi dicimus, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ita volunt a sanctis dici, ut humiliter non veraciter hoc dicatur, anathema sint.*

CHAPTER VI.

AN EXTRACT OF THE ANCIENT LITURGY OUT OF THE
GENUINE WRITINGS OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.SECT. I.—*Parts of the Liturgy in the First Tome.*

It has often been wished by learned men, that some one would represent the ancient liturgy in its several parts and offices, as it may be collected out of the genuine and undoubted writings of St. Chrysostom; forasmuch as that liturgy which goes under his name, cannot be so certainly depended on as his genuine offspring: but there are a great many parts of ancient liturgy of unquestionable credit, which may be gathered up out of his other discourses. Mr. Hales, of Eton, a diligent reader of Chrysostom, is said to have designed such a collection, but he did not effect it. Therefore, till some else pursues his design more completely, I think it not improper, for its relation to the present subject, to give the reader, in one view, a specimen of such passages as plainly refer to the several parts of the ancient liturgy, observing the order of St. Chrysostom's works according to the Paris edition, 1609; and that of Commelin, 1617.

In the first tome, Hom. i. (p. 1), he plainly intimates,^a that the Scriptures were read then in some order by a stated rule of the Church, because his sermon that day was upon a passage that had been read in the course of morning service (1 Tim. v. 23): "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine." In his second Homily (p. 32),^b he says, again his

^a Tom. i. p. 1, b. edit. Francof. 1698. 'Ἡκούσατε σήμερον περὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἁγιακαίων πραγμάτων διαλεγομένου τῷ Τιμοθέῃ; καὶ γὰρ περὶ χυροτονωῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰτίσιλλαι, ὕπνῳ, Χείρας ταχίως μηδὲν ἰπισθῆναι, κ. τ. λ. Εἴτα πάλιν φησὶν, Οἷον ἐλίγῃ χρεῶ, κ. τ. λ. Καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκιστῶν ὑποταγῆς, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν φιλαργύρων μανίας, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν πλουτούντων ἀσπονδίας, καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἡμῖν ἱστῶν διελίχθη σήμερον.

^b Hom. ii. p. 27, b. 'Ἡμῖν δὲ ὅρα λοιπὸν τὴν εἰσθεῖαν ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Παύλου, παραθεῖναι τράπεζαν, τὴν σήμερον ἀναγνωσθεῖσαν ῥῆσιν προχειρισαμένους καὶ εἰς μίσην καταθεμένους ἅπασιν· ποτ' οὖν ἔστι τὸ σήμερον ἀναγνωσθῆναι; Τοῖς πλουσίοις ἰν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι παρὰ γὰρ γίλλαι μὴ ὑψηλοφρονεῖν.

text was taken out of the epistle then read for the day, which was 2 Tim. vi. 17 : " Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded." In his third Homily (p. 45), he says,^c " The Lord's Prayer was, by appointment of the Church, the peculiar privilege of those only who were baptized." For, before their initiation in the holy mysteries, they were not allowed to use it. In his seventh Homily (p. 106), he observes,^d " That the Book of Genesis was always appointed to be read in Lent : and, accordingly, it was then read for the day ; and he preached upon the first words of it, ' In the beginning, God created heaven and earth.' " In his fifteenth Homily (p. 191,) he says,^e " The whole city met together, and ' with one common voice,' τῇ μιᾷ κοινῇ φωνῇ, made their litany, or supplications to God." And, in the same discourse, he intimates,^f that a portion of the Prophet Zachary, v., concerning the flying roll against swearers, had then been read for the day, which he accommodated to the subject of vain oaths, against which he was then discoursing. In his eighteenth Homily (p. 226), he says,^g " He preached upon the epistle which had been read that day (Phil. iv. 4) : ' Rejoice in the Lord always ; and again, I say, Rejoice.' " And in his sixteenth Homily (p. 234), he notes the same,^h " That the words upon which he preached out of the Epistle to Philemon, ' Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ,' &c. had been read that day." In his twenty-first Homily (p. 266), he takes notice of the use of the

^c Hom. iii. p. 40, d. edit. Francof. Προσθήσει τοῖς εἰρημίοις καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκίνην, ἣν μυσταγωγήσαντες αὐτὸν τὴν ἱερὰν μυσταγωγίαν ἐπαίδευσαν εὐχισθαι, καὶ λέγειν, " Λόγος ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^d Hom. vii. p. 94, b. Τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνωσθὲν μεταχειριεῖσθαι βιβλίον. καὶ εἰ δοκῇ, τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ προσόμιον, ὃ δοκεῖ μάλιστα μηδὲ ἴχνος ἐμφαίνειν παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου παρακλητικῶν ἀλλοτριεῦσθαι λόγων, εἰς μίαν προθεσίαν, ὃ λίγω ποιήσω φανερὸν· τί ποτ' οὐκ ἴσται τὸ προσόμιον ; Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἰσώσῃεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κ. τ. λ.

^e Hom. xv. p. 170, a. Ἐκκλησία γίγνεται ἡ σόλις ἅπαντα, τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἀποτελευτούμενων, καὶ πάντων ἐν ταῖς πανδήμοις ταύταις διημιρευόντων λιταῖς, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν μιᾷ καὶ κοινῇ φωνῇ μετὰ πολλῆς καλούντων τῆς προθυμίας.

^f Ibid. p. 175, b. Ἠκούσατε τοῦ προφῆτου σήμερον περὶ τῶν ἔγκων διαλιγομένου ; Ἐπίβλεψα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου, κ. τ. λ.

^g Hom. xviii. p. 202, c. Ἠκούσατε τοῦ Παύλου σήμερον παραινούντος ἡμῖν, καὶ λέγοντος, Χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^h Hom. xvi. p. 182, e. Φέρε δὲ μίαν ῥῆσιν ἐκ τῶν σήμερον ἀναγνωσθέντων παραδόντες ὑμῖν καταπαύσωμεν τὸν λόγον, Παῦλος δίσμος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

hymn called the *trisagion*, or 'cherubical hymn,' "Holy, Holy, Holy," in the celebration of the eucharist; arguing to his hearers in this manner upon it:¹ "What an absurdity is it for a man, after he has heard that mystical song that was brought down from heaven; brought down, I say, by the cherubims, to pollute his ears with the songs of harlots, and the effeminate music of the theatre?" In the same Homily, he twice takes notice of the form of renouncing the devil in baptism (p. 267), We are commanded to say, 'Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, 'I renounce thee, O Satan, that we may nevermore return to him.' And, again (p. 273);¹ "Remember," says he, "those words which you spake, when you were initiated in the holy mysteries, 'I renounce thee, O Satan, and thy pomp, and thy worship, and service.'" In his twenty-second Homily, upon anger and forgiving enemies, he argues for the necessity of pardoning offences from the necessary obligation that is laid upon all men, to say the Lord's Prayer. "For this reason," says he (p. 287), "we are commanded to say, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.'" And again, (p. 288):^m "When you say, 'Forgive us, as we forgive: 'if you do not forgive, you ask nothing else of God, but that he would deprive you of all excuse and pardon." And whereas some pleaded,ⁿ that they did not say the whole prayer, but omitted that clause, "As we forgive them that trespass against us," he rebukes them for it; and bids them not be so vainly cautious, as to think they were excused by curtailing the prayer, but advises them to use the whole prayer, as Christ appointed it to be used,

¹ Hom. xxi. p. 235, fin. edit. Francof. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, μετὰ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκίνην φωνὴν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν φερομένην (τὴν ἐκ Χερουβὶμ λίγην) ποικηλοῖς ᾠσμασι, καὶ πατακισκασμένοις μέλισσι, τὴν ἁπλὴν μολύνειν;

^k Ibid. p. 238, d. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κελεύομεθα λίγην, 'Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, ἵνα μηκίτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέλθωμιν.

^l Ibid. p. 242, fin. 'Ἀναμνησθῆς τῆς φωνῆς ἐκίνης, ἣν ἀφῆκας μυσταγωγουμένη, 'Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου.

^m Hom. xxii. p. 256, d. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκτελείσθημεν λίγην, "Ἄφεις ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλάματα, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλόμενοις ἡμῶν.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 257. Μὴ ταῖνον εὐλόβειαν εἶναι νομίσῃς, τὸ μὴ λίγην ὀλόκληρον τὴν βῆσιν, μηδὲ ἐξ ἡμισίας ποιοῦ τὴν εὐχὴν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἵταξεν, οὕτως εὐχου, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη τῆς λίξεως, φοβούσα καθ' ἡμέραν, συνθέσῃ σε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλησίου εὐχέρειαν.

that the necessity of this petition might daily terrify them from revenge, and compel them to grant pardon to their neighbours. In his twenty-fourth Homily, of the baptism of Christ, (p. 317). He again speaks of the cherubical hymn in the communion-service. “Do you think,” says he,^o “that you have any secular business at that hour? Do you then imagine yourself to be upon earth, or conversing among men? Whose heart is so stony as to think, that at that time he stands upon the earth, and is not rather in a choir of angels, with whom you sing that mystical hymn; with whom you send up that triumphal song to God?” In his twenty-eighth Homily (which is the third of the incomprehensible nature of God) p. 363, he speaks of the common prayer, “As sent up with one common voice of the whole congregation, speaking and crying aloud to God with one accord.” Some would have excused themselves from these prayers of the Church, by this frivolous plea, That they could pray at home; but they could not hear a sermon or discourse of instruction in their own houses; and, therefore, they would come to sermon, but not to prayers. To whom he makes this reply,^p “You deceive yourself, O man: for though you may pray at home, yet you cannot pray there in that manner as you do in the church, where there are so many fathers together; and where the cry of your prayers is sent up to God with one consent. You are not heard so well when you pray to God by yourself alone, as when you pray with your brethren. For there is something more here—consent of mind, and consent of voice, and the bond

^o Hom. xxiv. p. 281, d. e. edit. Francof. “Ολος γὰρ οἶδας ὅτι πράγματα ἔχουσιν κατὰ τὴν ἑρᾶν ἐκείνην; μέμνησαι γὰρ ὅλως, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἶ; νομίζεις δὲ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι; καὶ πῶς οὐχὶ λιθίνης ταῦτα διανοίας; τὸ νομίζεις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἐπὶ γῆς ἵσταναι, ἀλλ’ οὐ μετὰ ἀγγέλων χορεύειν, μὴ δὲ τὸ μυστικὸν ἐκείνου μέλος ἀνίστασθαι; μὴ δὲ τὴν ἰσπνίκιον ἐκείνην ἀνίστασθαι ὥσθι τῷ Θεῷ.

^p Hom. xxviii. p. 321, d. e. Ἀπατᾷς σαυτὸν, ἄνθρωπε; εὐχασθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας δυνατόν· οὕτως δὲ εὐχασθαι, ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀδύνατον, ὅπου πατέρων πλήθος τοσοῦτον, ὅπου βοή πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀναπέμπεται; οὐχ οὕτως ἀκούῃ μετὰ σαυτὸν τὸν δισπότην παρακλητῶν, ὥς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν σῶν· ἰσταῦθα γὰρ ἴσται τι πλῖον, οἷον ἡ ὁμόνοια, καὶ συμφωνία, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ σύνδισμος, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐχαί. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο οἱ ἱερεῖς προεστῆκασιν, ἵνα καὶ αἱ τοῦ πλήθους εὐχαὶ ἀσθιένσι τῶν οὖσαι, τῶν δυνατωτέρων τούτων ἐπιλαβόμενοι ὁμοῦ συνανέλθωσιν αὐταῖς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

of charity, and the prayers of the priests together. For the priests, for this very reason, preside in the church, that the people's prayers, which are weaker of themselves, laying hold on those that are stronger, may, together with them, mount up to heaven." This is a plain description of such common prayers, wherein both priests and people joined, not only in heart, but in one common form of words, whereby they cried aloud to God together. A little after (p. 365),^q he describes these prayers again by 'the people's sending up their tremendous cry all at once,' βῶσα τὴν φρικτοδεσάτην βοήν. And he makes this difference between the manner of the *energumens*' supplicating God, and that of the people; that the one spake not a word, but only supplicated by the posture of their bodies, bowing down their heads, whilst the people, who were allowed to speak audibly in prayers, spake aloud for those who could not speak for themselves. "For this reason," says he,^r "the deacon, at the time of the oblation, brings forth the *energumens*, or those that are possessed with evil spirits, and bids them bow their heads only, and signify their supplications by this bodily gesture: for they are not permitted to pray with the common assembly of the brethren: therefore he presents them before the congregation, that you, pitying both their vexation, and their disability to speak for themselves, might, by the freedom and liberty of speech which is allowed you, grant them your patronage and assistance." From this it appears that these prayers for the *energumens* were in a certain form, in which all the people vocally joined together. In his twenty-ninth Homily, which is the fourth *de Incomprehensibili* (p. 374),^s he repeats the same account of the

^q Hom. xxviii. p. 323, a. edit. Francof. Οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον βῶσαι τὴν φρικτοδεσάτην ἐκείνην βοήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγγελοι προσπίπτουσι τῇ δισπότῃ, κ. τ. λ.

^r Ibid. b. c. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκείνας ἴσσησι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κλιύει κλίνειν τὴν κεφαλὰν μόνοι, καὶ τῇ σχήματι ποιῆσαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐκτενήριαι· ὥχισθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ καινοῦ συλλόγου τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ θέμις· διὰ τοῦτο αὐταὺς ἴσσησι, ἵνα κατελιήσας αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀφρονείας, τῇ εὐκρίᾳ παύρησίᾳ πρὸς τὴν εὐκρίαν ἀποχρήσῃ προσεασίαν.

^s Hom. xxix. p. 332, a. b. Ἔσται δὲ ἡ χάρις, ἃν ἀδάξωμεν ὑμᾶς, τίνας ἦεν ἐκείνη γίνεται πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἡ εὐχή, καὶ τί δήποτε τοὺς δαιμονιῶντας, καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ πονηρᾷ κατεχόμενους εἰσάγεισθαι κλιύει ἐπεὶ ὁ διάκονος καὶ κλίνει τὰς κεφαλὰς· . . . ἵνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὁπάσας ἴδωσι παρούσας καὶ

deacon's calling forth the energumens, and bidding them bow their heads; and the people's praying to God *ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ μετὰ σφοδρᾶς βοῆς*, 'with one consent, and with strong cries,' that he would shew mercy on them. A little after, in the same Homily (p. 375), he mentions another form used by the deacon, as the herald of the Church, who was appointed to call upon the people every now and then, and excite them to fervency in devotion, by using this form of words, *ὁρθοὶ στήμεν καλῶς*, 'Let us elevate our minds, and attend with decency to our devotions.' For, as he there explains it, this admonition did not so much respect the body, as the mind. "When the deacon," says he,^t "calls upon us, and says, 'Let us stand elevated with decency,' it was not without good reason that this admonition was, by the rule of the Church, appointed, but that we should elevate our thoughts that lie groveling upon the ground; that, casting away the distraction that arises from secular affairs, we should be able to present our souls, upright and raised, to a spiritual sense, in the presence of God." "Let no man, therefore," adds he, "join in those sacred and mystical hymns with remissness of mind; let no man entertain the thoughts of this life at that time; but, driving away all earthly concerns, let him translate himself wholly into heaven, as standing then close by the throne of glory, and flying with the seraphims; and so let him offer up τὸν πανάγιον ὕμνον, 'that most holy hymn,' (meaning the *trisagion*, or else the hymn called, "Glory be to God on high") to the God of majesty and glory. It is upon this account we are called upon at this time, *ἱστάναι καλῶς*, 'to compose ourselves decently,' as it becomes men who stand in the presence of God; with fear and trembling;

πρὶς αὐτῶν ἐκτεταταί γίνονται, πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν κοινὸν διαπέτην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔξαυτουμένην, καὶ ἱλιπσαι παρακαλούντων μετὰ σφοδρᾶς τῆς βοῆς.

^t Hom. xxix. p. 333, c. edit. Francof. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρακαλεῖσθαι τὸν διάκονον ἄσπαι καὶ λίγιν, 'Ορθοὶ στήμεν καλῶς, οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ εἰκὴ νομιεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς χαμαι συρομένους λογισμοὺς ἀναρθώσωμεν, ἵνα τὴν ἑλυσιν τὴν ἐκ τῶν βιωτικῶν ἡμῖν γινομένην πραγμάτων ἐκκαλόντες, ὁρῇν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ παραστήσαι συνηθώμεν ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν' . . . μηδὲς τοίνυν διαλειμμένος τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνιῶν, καὶ μουσικῶν ὕμνων ἐκείνων· μηδὲς βιωτικὰς κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν ἰχίτω λογισμοὺς, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ γήϊνα τῆς διανοίας ἔξορίσας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον ἑαυτὸν μετατίθεις, ὡς αὐτοῦ πλησίον ἱστῶς τοῦ Θρόνου τῆς δόξης, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Σεραφίμ ἰπτάμενος, οὕτω τὸν πανάγιον ὕμνον ἀναφίρεται τῷ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης Θεῷ.

with a vigilant and elevated soul." In his thirty-fourth Homily,^u which is the first against the Jews, (p. 440), he speaks of another form used by the deacon; and that, frequently before the participation of the holy mysteries: he then cried out, *ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους*, 'discern and know one another;' which was an admonition to the people, that they should suffer no Jew, infidel, heretic, catechumen, or penitent, to communicate among them. In his fortieth Homily upon the martyrs Juveninus and Maximus (p. 550), he says,^x "The Church kept her vigils all the night with continual psalmody, which was nothing but forms of prayers and praises out of the Holy Scriptures." In the forty-seventh Homily upon Julian the martyr (p. 613), he again mentions the solemn form of renunciation in baptism. "You renounced," says he,^y "all this kind of pomp (harlots' songs and obscene words used in the theatre) and made a covenant with Christ in that day, when you were initiated in the holy mysteries. Remember, therefore, those words and your covenant, and beware you do not transgress it." In his fifty-first Homily, upon Bernice (p. 635), he says,^z "They used hymns, and prayers, and psalms, at the funeral of Christians; and particularly the words of Psalm cxvi.: 'Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee:' implying that the death of a Christian was a kindness and a rest: for he that is entered into that rest, hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his." In his

^u Hom. xxxiv. p. 389, b.

^x Hom. xl. p. 485, c. edit. Francof. *Συντρίχόντων πολλῶν, ψαλμῳδίας συνεχῆς ἐπιλοῦντο παννυχίδος ἱερᾶς.*

^y Hom. xlvii. p. 541. *Σὺ δὲ ἀπειτάξω πάσῃ ταύτῃ τῇ πομπῇ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λατρεία συντάξω κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἱερῶν κατηξιώθης μυστηρίων· ἀναμνήσθῃ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς συνθήκης, καὶ φύγι τὴν παραβάσειν.*

^z Hom. li. p. 561, a. b. *Παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς κοιντοὶ τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ θρήνοι· οὗν δὲ ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὕμνοι· ἔκλαυσαν γοῶν τὸν Ἰακώβ τσοσαράκιοντα ἡμέρας· ἔκλαυσαν καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἰτίρας τσοσάνας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἐκόψαντο· ἰσχυρὸν θάνατος τότε ὁ θάνατος ἦν· οὐδὲ εὐχ οὕτως· ἀλλὰ ὕμνοισι, καὶ εὐχαῖ, καὶ ψαλμοῖ· δηλοῦντων ἀπάντων, ὅτι ἦδον ἔχει τὸ πρῶγμα· οἱ γὰρ ψαλμοὶ εὐθυμίας σύμβολον· εὐθυμῶ γὰρ τις, φησὶν, ἐν ὕμνῳ· ψαλλίτω· ἐπεὶ οὖν εὐθυμίας ἴσμεν πληρωμένοι, διὰ τοῦτο ψάλλομεν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς ψαλμοὺς, θαρρύνοντες τῆς τιμωτῆς παρακλινομένους· Ἐπίστρεψον γὰρ, φησι, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν· ὁ γὰρ ἐσιλθὼν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν ἐκίνην, κατίσπασεν ἀπὸ ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὁ Θεός.*

fifty-fifth Homily, which is the fifth of repentance (p. 672), he plainly intimates, that his discourse was made upon the epistle that had been read for the day (2 Cor. xii. 21): "Lest when I come again, I shall bewail many who have sinned, and have not repented." In his sixtieth Homily, which is his catechetical instruction to those that were preparing for baptism, he takes notice of several forms and rules made by the Church relating to that matter (p. 797): as first, the solemn words by which every man entered into covenant with Christ. For, speaking of the danger and ill consequences of deferring baptism to a sick bed, he says,^b "When he that is baptized, knows none that are about him; when he cannot hear a word that is spoken; when he cannot utter those words, wherewith he should make the blessed covenant with our common Lord, but lies like a stock or a stone, differing nothing from a dead man; what advantage is it to such a one to be initiated in the holy mysteries, in such a state of insensibility?" This implies, that the party baptized was to make his compact with God in a solemn and usual form of words, which a man, at the point of death, was not able to utter. After this he goes on to shew,^c that the Church had appointed the time of Lent, chiefly above other times, for exorcism and baptism: and that the catechumens, after they were instructed, were remitted over to the exorcists, to have their exorcisms or prayers said over them; and that during this time, they were obliged to walk

^a Hom. lv. p. 593, d. edit. Francof. 'Ἡκούσατε τοίνυν, ἵνα ἐκ μέρους ἄψωμαι τῶν ἱερμίων, ὡς ἀρτίως διαλεγόμενος τοῖς Κορινθίους ἔλιγον ὁ γυναιὸς ἐκείνος καὶ θαυμάσιος ἀνὴρ, Μήπως ἰδὼν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Hom. lx. p. 705, b. "Ὅταν γὰρ μήτι τοὺς παρόντας ἰσιγινώσκῃ, μήτι φωνῇ ἀκούῃ, μήτι ἀποκρίνασθαι δύνηται τὰ ῥήματα ἐκείνα, δι' ὧν τὴν μακαρίαν συνθήκην πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν ἀπάντων καταθήσεται δισσότην, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ξύλοι ἀργὸν ἢ λίθος, ὃ φαστίζεσθαι μίλλων, πρίκνεται νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφίρον, τί τῆς μυσταγωγίας ὄφελος ἐν ἀναισθησίᾳ τοσαύτῃ;

^c Ibid. d. 'Ἐβουλόμην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἰσιγῖν, τί δήποτε παραδεκμένους ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες ἅπαντα τὸν ἱναυτὸν, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ καιρῷ μυσταγωγισθαι τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἰνομοήθησαν, καὶ τίνες ἵναιεν μετὰ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν διδασκαλίαν ὑπολύσαντες ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀποδύσαντες, γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀνυποδίστους μετὰ τοῦ χιτῶνίσκου μίοντι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἑξορκιζόντων παραπίμπουσι φωνάς· οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἐκπῆ, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνου τοῦτον ἡμῖν διτύπωσαν· ἀλλ' ἔχου ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρω μυστικόν τινα λόγον καὶ ἀπόρρητον.

discalceate, and wear only one coat: "which were appointments of the Church," he says, "established for good reasons, and not without their mystical signification." In his seventy-fourth Homily, in which is a panegyric upon the martyrs (p. 900), he speaks again of the *trisagion*, or 'cherubical hymn,' as used to be sung in the celebration of the eucharist. "The martyrs," says he, "are now joining in consort, and partaking in the mystical songs of the heavenly quire: for if, whilst they were in the body, whenever they communicated in the holy mysteries, they made part of that quire, singing with the cherubims the *trisagion* hymn, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' as all ye that are initiated in those mysteries, very well understand; much more now being joined with them, whose partners they were in the earthly quire, they do with greater freedom partake in those solemn blessings and glorifications of God in heaven above."

SECT. II.—*Parts of the Liturgy in the Second Tome of St. Chrysostom's Works.*

The second tome of St. Chrysostom's works is his Homilies upon Genesis, which were preached in Lent, when that book was always read in the Church, as appears from his first Homily (p. 10),* and from what has been observed before† out of his seventh Homily to the people of Antioch in the foregoing section. In his twenty-seventh Homily upon this book, he plainly intimates, that the Lord's Prayer was always a part of the communion-office; for, speaking of the duty of forgiving enemies, he says (p. 358),‡ "If we do this, we may then, with a pure conscience, come to this holy and

* Hom. lxxiv. p. 796, a. b. edit. Francof. Κοινωνοὶ τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ μετέχουσι τῶν μιλῶν τῶν μυστικῶν· εἰ γὰρ ἐν σώματι ὄντες κατὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν εἰς ἐκείνους ἐτίλουσι τὸν χειρὸς, μετὰ τῶν Χειρωδῶν τὸν τριτάγιον ὕμνον ψάλλοντες, κατέσπευ ὁμοίως ἴσως οἱ μυσθῆναι, πολλοὶ μᾶλλον οὗτοι τοὺς συγχωρευτὰς ἀπολαβόντες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς παρρησίας κοινωνοῦσι τῆς εὐφροσύνης ἐκείνης.

† Tom. ii. hom. i. p. 7, c. . . . ἵνα τὸν καιρὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ἁγίας τισσαρακοστῆς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἱερωσίαν ἱεραρχοῦνται, κ. τ. λ.

‡ Sect. i. sub. litt. (d).

§ Hom. xxvii. p. 300. "Αν τοῦτο καταβλώσωμεν, δουσιμίᾳ μετὰ καθαροῦ συνιδόντες καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ φεικτῇ τραπίδι προσελθόν, καὶ τὰ βήματα ἐκείνα τὰ τῇ εὐχῇ συνζυγμένα μετὰ παρρησίας φθιγγασθαι ἴσμεν οἱ μεμνημένοι τὸ λεγόμενον.

tremendous table, and boldly say the words that are contained in that prayer. They who are initiated in the holy mysteries, know what I mean." He covertly intends that petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." In his thirty-third Homily (p. 478), he acquaints us,^b "That though the Book of Genesis was, by the order of the Church, read in Lent; yet when they came to the Thursday in the Passion Week, the day on which our Saviour was betrayed, then they had proper lessons for that day, and Good Friday, and Easter-day, and all the time between Easter and Pentecost, when it was customary to read the Acts of the Apostles, as a demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection. In his fifty-fourth Homily (p. 731), he says,ⁱ "Christ commanded the use of the Lord's Prayer, prescribing us therein the bounds and rules of praying for temporal things, whilst he enjoins us to say those words, 'Give us this day, our daily bread.'" In his second Homily upon the prayer of Hannah, in the same volume, p. 965, he says,^k "When Christ commanded his disciples not to pray after the manner of the heathen, using vain repetitions, he also taught us the measure of prayer;" meaning the form which he appointed. He repeats the same in the third Homily, upon Saul and David (p. 1053). "Although," says he,^l "you are guilty of a thousand crimes, yet

^b Hom. xxxiii. p. 369, c. edit. Francof. 'Η τῆς ἁγίας ἱερῆς παρουσίας τὴν ἀπολουσίαν ἡμῶν δέικοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εὐλογεῖν, τὸν σταυρὸν ἡμᾶς ἱερτάζοντας τοῦ διασώτου περὶ ἵσταται ἡμῖν τὴν διδασκαλίαν γίνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἰχρῆν καθ' ἑκάστον καιρὸν τὴν ἀρμόττουσιν ὑμῖν παρατιθέναι τρέφεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡνίκα ἡ τῆς παραδείσεως ἰφθασὶν ἡμέρα, τὴν ἀπολούσιαν διατιμώντες τῆς διδασκαλίας, τοῦ κατισπύγοντος γινόμενοι, ἵπὶ τὸν προδότην τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπαθήκαμεν, καὶ πάλιν τὸ κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ὑμῖν εἰς μίσον προεθήκαμεν· ἵστα ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρας καταλαβούσης, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ διασώτου διδάξαι τὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγάπην, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἰφθῆς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γεγινημένων θαυμάτων, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Hom. liv. p. 596, b. c. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς τῆς εὐχῆς ῥήμασι ἔρους ἡμῖν καὶ κανόνας τιθεῖς, μάχρη τίνας δι' τὴν περὶ τῶν βωτικῶν αἰτησὶν ποιῆσθαι, πὰ βέματα ἐκείνα λίγων ἡμᾶς ἐκίλεισι, Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὲς ἡμῖν σήμερον.

^k Hom. ii. de Anna, p. 801, b. 'Ο Χριστὸς εἰπὼν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς εὐχέσθαι, καὶ μὴ βαττολογεῖν, καὶ μίτρον εὐχῆς ἰδιδάξαι.

^l Hom. iii. de Saule et Davide, p. 880, b. Καὶν μυρία παπλημμυληκὸς ἦς, τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκείνην προσευόμενος, τὴν λίγουσας, "Ἄφες τοῖς ἰχθροῖς ὑμῶν, καὶ ὁ

if you sincerely offer up that prayer, which promises, that ‘if you forgive your enemies, your Father will forgive your trespasses,’ you shall, with great confidence, obtain the remission of all your sins.”

SECT. III. — *Parts of the ancient Liturgy in the Third Tome.*

The third tome contains St. Chrysostom's Commentaries and Homilies on the Psalms and the Prophet Isaiah, where he frequently refers to the known parts of the liturgy then in use in the Church. In his comment upon Psalm cxii., he three times mentions the necessary use of the Lord's Prayer, (p. 369). “As Christ,” says he,^m “when he would induce us to unanimity and charity in our prayers, enjoins us to make common prayer, and obliges the whole Church, as if it were but one person, to say, ‘Our Father;’ and ‘Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil;’ always using a word of the plural number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make prayer for his brethren. So here the prophet David calls all men to a consent in prayer, saying, ‘Praise the Lord, O ye servants: praise the name of the Lord.’” Again (p. 370), speaking of glorifying God, he says,ⁿ “Christ hath commanded us to pray for this, saying, whenever we pray, ‘Hallowed be thy name.’” And (p. 372),^o “Christ in his Gospel hath commanded us to pray, and say, ‘Thy will be

Πατὴρ ὡμῶν ἀφῆσθαι ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὡμῶν, μὲτὰ πολλῆς τῆς παρρησίας τὴν ἄφισιν λήψῃ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἁπάντων.

^m Tom. iii. Comment. in Psalm. cxii. p. 320, c. d. edit. Francof. Καθάπερ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐνάγων ἡμᾶς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς κοινὴν ἱπτάμεν ποιῆσθαι τὴν εὐχὴν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς προσώπου λῆγειν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, καὶ, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἱσιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ, ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ὀφειλίταις ἡμῶν, καὶ, μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· πανταχοῦ τῇ πληθυντικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ νόματι, καὶ κλιύων ἐν ἰσότητι· καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν εὐχεται, καὶ κοινῇ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐχὴν ἀναφέρειν· οὕτω καὶ ὁ προφῆτης κοινῇ πάντας εἰς τὴν συμφωνίαν καλεῖ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ λῆγει, Αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 321, a. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ἐκίλευσιν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ λῆγειν εὐχεμένους, Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

^o Ibid. in fin. Ἐν ταῖς εὐαγγελίαις ἐκίλευσιν ὁ Χριστὸς εὐχίσθαι καὶ λῆγειν, Γενθήτω τὸ θίλημα σου, ὡς ἐν εὐρανό· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

done on earth, as it is in heaven.'” In like manner, on Psalm cxiv. (p. 394), speaking of the life to come, and how we ought to desire it, and make all our actions tend that way, he adds,^p “For this reason we are commanded to say in our prayer, ‘Thy kingdom come;’ that we may always have respect to that day.” He repeats the same words on Psalm cxix. (p. 425). And on Psalm cxxvii. (p. 465),^r “We are commanded to use a prayer, in which there is but one petition relating to this life, ‘Give us this day our daily bread;’” which he repeats again on Psalm cxl. (p. 551).^s On Psalm cxliv. (p. 595), he says,^t “We are commanded to say in our prayer, ‘Hallowed be thy name.’” And on Psalm cxlix. (p. 633),^u he calls it the prayer which was offered up by all in common, and always in the plural number, “Our Father,” &c. On Psalm cl. (p. 636), he says,^x “This prayer was peculiar in its use to the sons of God only, who could call God their Father by virtue of their regeneration and adoption. Our prayer,” says he, “is prefaced with this title; for it belongs to them only to say, ‘Our Father,’ who can give him thanks for the gifts which they have received, and shew forth them all in that name: for he that calls God his Father, confesses the adoption of sons; and he that confesses the adoption of sons, owns and declares both justification, and sanctification, and redemption, and remission of sins,

^p In Psalm. cxiv. p. 741, b. edit. Francof. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ κελύμεθα λίγιν, Ἑλλίτω ἡ βασιλεία σου ἵνα αἰὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην βλέπωμεν τὴν ἡμῶν.

^q In Psalm. cxix. p. 369, a.

^r In Psalm. cxxvii. p. 404, d. Ὅτι ἐκ αἰσθητῶν, μίαν λέξιν κελύμεθα λίγιν. Ποίαν δὲ ταύτην; τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐκείνου δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον.

^s In Psalm. cxl. p. 477. Τί οὖν; οὐ δὲ, φησιν, Αἰσθητὰ αἰτίαι; διὸ μὲν, μιστὰ μίστρου δὲ . . . ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκίλευσιν εὐχισθαι, Τὸν ἄρτον, κ. τ. λ.

^t In Psalm. cxliv. p. 516, e. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ κελύμεθα λίγιν, Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

^u In Psalm. cxlix. p. 549, e. Αὐτὴ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο αἰνίσσεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἀναφερομένη, Πάτερ ἡμῶν . . . τῇ πληθυντικῇ ὀνόματι κυχρημένους.

^x In Psalm. cl. p. 352, a. Οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς ἡμῶν τὸ προοίμιον ἐντιῶθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν· τὸ γὰρ λίγιν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, εὐχαριστοῦνται ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ταῖς γιγνημέναις δωραῖς, καὶ πάσας αὐτὰς διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου διακύναν· ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν Πατέρα, τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ὁμολόγησεν· ὁ δὲ τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ὁμολογήσας, τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὸν ἀγιασμόν, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφαισιν, τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν χορηγίαν ἀνικηρύξει· διὸ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα προεπέμψα, ὥστε τῆς υἰοθεσίας ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἀπολαῦσαι, καὶ καλῶς Πατέρα ἀξιοῦμεν.

and the gifts of the Holy Spirit; for all these must go before, that we may thereby enjoy the adoption of sons, and be thought worthy to call God our Father." By which reasoning of St. Chrysostom it appears, that he was so far from thinking the Lord's Prayer a carnal form, not proper to be used by spiritual men, because it was a form; that, on the contrary, he thought none were truly qualified to use it but such as were regenerate, and adopted, and endowed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, who alone had the true title to call God their Father; and this I shall shew, in the next chapter, was the general sense of all the ancient writers.

But to return to St. Chrysostom. In his Comment on Psalm cxvii. (p. 406),^γ he takes notice, that the people were used, in their responses, to return one verse of this psalm, which was, "This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it." This kind of responses he calls ὑπηχέειν and ὑποψάλλειν, because it was the people's subjoining their response to something, that the minister had read before out of the same psalm. And it seems to have been appointed for the service of Easter-day, or Christmas-day, or the Lord's day; because he adds, "The people were wont to make this response chiefly on that spiritual assembly and heavenly festival:" plainly referring to some eminent festival then well known to the people. And that this custom was introduced by a law and order of the Church, is evident from what follows: "For," he says,^α "their forefathers had appointed the people to sing this verse," ὑπηχέειν ἐνομοθέτησαν, both because it was sonorous, and also contained a sublime doctrine, that, for as much as they knew not the whole psalm, they might from this one verse be perfectly instructed in the mystery of it. This was the wisdom of the ancient Church, according to Chrysostom, to teach the people the mysteries of religion, by obliging them to bear a part in the usual service.

^γ In Psalm. cxvii. p. 352, edit. Francof. Ἡ μὲν ῥῆσις τοῦ ψαλμοῦ, ἣν ὑποψάλλουσιν ὁ λαὸς ἰδοὺ, τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν· Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἰστίησιν ὁ Κύριος· ἀγαλλίασώμεθα καὶ ὑψρανθώμεν ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ πολλοὺς διανίστησι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐκίνησεν πνευματικὴν, καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον ἱερὰν μάλιστα τοῦτο ὑπηχέειν ὁ λαὸς ἰδού.

^α Ibid. Τὸν μὲν στίχον οἱ πατέρες, ὅτι ἔχον ὄντα καὶ τι ὑψηλὸν ἔχοντα δόγμα, τὸ πλῆθος ὑπηχέειν ἐνομοθέτησαν, ἐπιθεὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ἡγούμενον ψαλμόν· ἵνα καὶ ἐκταῦθεν ἀσκητισμὸν λάβωσι διδασκαλίαν.

In his Comment on Psalm cxxxvii. (p. 518), he declares again,^a "That the psalmody was performed partly by the priests, and partly by the people's joining with them: the priests began, and the people answered to them." On Psalm cxl. he notes (p. 544),^b that this psalm was constantly sung in the order of the daily evening service, whence it had the name of the evening psalm; as the lxii. had the name of the morning psalm, because it was always sung in the morning service; of which, because I have given a more particular account hereafter,^c I say no more in this place. On Psalm cxliv. (p. 594), he acquaints us,^d "That this psalm was always sung alternately by the priest and people at the Lord's table, chiefly upon the account of these words in it, 'The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season.'" Of which custom we shall have occasion to speak further in its proper place.^e

In his Sermon on Psalm cxlv. (p. 823), he tells us,^f "That psalm was used to be sung in the Passion Week, 'Praise the Lord, O my soul; while I live, will I praise the Lord,'" &c. In his first Sermon on Isaiah (p. 834), he says,^g "The *trisagion*, or 'cherubical hymn,' 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' was sung

^a In Psalm. cxxxvii. p. 449, edit. Francof. "Αν τόνουν τοῦτο ἱεραβεῖν ἢ, ἐκείνο νοῦν διί, ὅτι μιτὰ τῶν ἱερίων, παρόντων αὐτῶν, μιτὰ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐνταξίας καταπερχομένων ἐκείνων, προσηγουμένων ἵψομαι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσω, καὶ ἔσται σοι, κ. τ. λ.

^b In Psalm. cxl. p. 474. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς οἶμαι τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον τιτάχθαι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων καθ' ἰκάστην ἰσπίραν λίγισθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν μίαν λίξιν τὴν λίγουσιν, "Ἐπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἱσπικὴν ἵπαι καὶ ἄλλοι ψαλμοὶ ταύτης ἔχουσι τὴν λίξιν" . . . οὐ διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν τοῦτον τὸν ψαλμὸν ἱτύπωνσαν οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ' ὥς τι φάρμακον σωτήριον, καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων καθάρσιον ἰνομοθέτησαν λίγισθαι . . . τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἱωβινὸς ψαλμός· κ. τ. λ. (ii. p. 544).

^c Book xiii. chaps. x. and xi.

^d In Psalm. cxliv. p. 516. Οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τὰ ῥήματα ἔχων ταῦτα, ἅπτε οἱ μιμουμένοι συνεχῶς ὑποψάλλουσι, λίγοντες, Οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἱπίζουσι, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν ἐγκαίρῳ· ὁ γὰρ γινόμενος Τίς, καὶ τραπίξης ἀπολαύς πνευματικῆς, δοξάζειν δίκαιος ἂν εἴη τὸν Πατέρα. (594).

^e Book xv. chap. v. sect. x.

^f Hom. in Psalm. cxlv. p. 713, b. Ταύτην καὶ ἡμεῖς τιμῶμεν τὴν ἐδομάδα . . . ἐξέλθωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν φοινίκων βαίωμεν προσάγειν θάλλουσαν ἱπιδικνύμενοι βοήσωμεν, καθάπερ σήμερον ὑπὲρψάλλομεν, Αἴνι, ἡ ψυχὴ μου, τὸν Κύριον, αἰνίσω Κύριον ἐν ζωῇ.

^g Hom. in Iesaiam, p. 724. "Ανα τὰ Σεραφὶμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναβοᾷ· κάτω τὸν αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνατίμπτει πληθὺς· κοινὴ τῶν ἰσπουρανίων καὶ ἱπγιῶν συγπρεσιῖται πανήγυρις.

by the seraphim in heaven above, and by men on earth beneath.” And (p. 836) he takes notice^b of the angelical doxology, “Glory be to God on high,” as used in the Church; and the forms, *Κύριε, ἐλέησον*, and *Σῶσον*, ‘Lord, have mercy upon us,’ and, ‘Lord, save us,’ as usual prayers and responses of the people. And reproving the people’s clamours, and negligence, and indecent gesticulations, in the Church, he reprimands them in this manner:ⁱ “How dare you mix the devil’s sport with this doxology of angels? Why do you not revere the words, which you yourselves use in that place, ‘Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence?’ Is this to serve him in fear, when you thus theatrically toss and stretch your bodies, and know not what you say yourselves, for your disorderly vociferation?” This plainly implies, that the people bare their part, though sometimes without a just decorum, in all these doxologies, prayers, and responses. In his Sermon upon the Seraphims, which is the sixth upon Isaiah (p. 890),^k he gives a large account again of the use of the seraphical hymn, “Holy, Holy, Holy,” at the communion-table; which, because I shall recite at length hereafter, I only just barely hint it in this place.^l

In his second Homily upon the obscurity of the ancient prophecies (p. 946), in answer to that vulgar plea, that men could pray at home, he replies in such a manner, as shews that the people bare a part with their own tongues in the common prayers of the Church. “You may pray at home,”

^b Hom. in Iesaiam, p. 725, e. edit. Francof. Πῶς εἰς οἶκτον ἐπισπάσῃ τὸν δισπότην, οὕτω καταπιφροσημίως τὴν δίησιν προτινόμενος; Ἐλπίσόν με, ὁ Θεός, λίγυς, καὶ τοῦ ἱλίου ἀλλότριον τὸ ἦθος ἐπιδείκνυσαι Σῶσόν με, βοᾷς, καὶ ζῖνον τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ σχῆμα διατυπῶις; τί συντίνουςι πρὸς ἐπισίαν χεῖρες ἐπὶ μιστωρισμῷ συνιχνῶς ἰκαίρεσθαι καὶ ἀτάκτως περιφιρόμεσθαι, κραυγὴ τι σφοδρὰ, καὶ τῇ βιαίῃ τοῦ πνεύματος ὠθήσει τὸ ἄσσημον ἔχουσα; οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριβδαῖς ἰταριζομένων γυναικῶν; τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς διατέροις φανούντων ἐστὶν ἔργα; πῶς οὖν τοιμῶς τῇ ἀγγελικῇ ταύτῃ δοξολογίᾳ τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀναμιγνύναι παίγνια;

ⁱ Ibid. Πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰδῶ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἣν ἐκὶ ἐκφίρει, δουλιύσασθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ, λίγῳ, καὶ ἀγαλλιῶσθαι αὐτῷ ἐν τρέμῳ; τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐν φόβῳ δουλιεύειν, τὸ διακινῆσθαι τε καὶ διατίεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ σικαντὸν ἐπίστασθαι, περὶ τίνων διαλίγη τῇ ἀτάκτῃ τῆς φωνῆς ἐνηχησεῖ.

^k Hom. in Seraphim, p. 772, fin. 773, ineunt.

^l Book xv.

says he,^m “but your prayer is not of that efficacy and power, as when the whole body of the Church, with one mind and one voice, ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ, send up their prayers together, the priests assisting, and offering up the prayers of the whole multitude in common.” He there also speaks of the deacon’s form in bidding prayer for all orders of men in the world: which I shall not recite here, because I have done it more fully in its proper place.”

SECT. IV. — *Parts of the ancient Liturgy in the Fourth Tome of St. Chrysostom’s Works.*

The fourth volume of St. Chrysostom’s works consists chiefly of private discourses, which have not much relation to the public liturgy of the Church: yet some few passages are worthy to be noted among these. In his famous discourse upon Eutropius (p. 554), among other arguments, whereby he presses the people to lay aside their anger against him, and pardon the injury he had done them, he urges this: “How will you otherwise,” says he, “take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer, wherein we are commanded to say, ‘Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us,’ if you exact punishment of your debtor?” This shews that the Lord’s Prayer was used then as a usual part of the communion-service. In the third Homily of Repentance (p. 562),^p he speaks of the seraphical hymn under the title of *μυστικὸν μέλος*, ‘the mystical song,’ because it was used in the celebration of the holy mysteries. And again, in his second epistle to Olympius (p. 715),^q he mentions it under the same

^m Hom. ii. de Obscur. Prophet. p. 821, edit. Francof. Δύνασαι μὲν εὐχασθαι (ἢ οἰκίῃ) οὐ τοσαύτην δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει ἡ εὐχή, ὥς ὅταν μιτὰ τῶν μελῶν τῶν οἰκίῳ γίνηται, ὥς ὅταν ἐλόκληρον τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀναπύμπῃ τὴν δέησιν μιᾷ φωνῇ, ἱερίῳ παρόντων καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ κοινοῦ πλήθους ἀναφιεόντων.

ⁿ Book xv. chap. i.

^o Hom. in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 485, fin. edit. Francof. Vid. Græca, cit. infra, chap. vii. sect. iii. sub litt. (*).

^p Hom. iii. de Pœnit. p. 493, c. Παρίστω τοῖνον Ἡσαίας, ὃ τῶν Σαραφίμ Διωρὸς, ὃ τὸ μυστικὸν μέλος ἀκούσας ἐκίνε, κ. τ. λ.

^q Epist. ii. ad Olymp. p. 625, b. Ὁ Παῦλος, ὃ τὴν σάρκα ἀποδυσάμενος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀποθίμενος, καὶ μιτὰ τῶν χειρῶν ἐστὼς ἦν, καὶ τῆς μυστικῆς ἐκίνης μελῳδίας αὐτοῖς ποιωνῶν, κ. τ. λ.

title. And, in his sermon after his return from banishment (p. 971),^r he speaks of the form *εἰρήνη πᾶσι*, 'peace be to you all,' as a solemn form used frequently in the Church.

SECT. V.—*In the Fifth Tome.*

The fifth volume of his works affords us many more examples. Here he no less than eight times mentions the Lord's Prayer as a form in common use by the commandment of Christ. In his sixth Homily upon Lazarus (p. 107),^s "We are commanded in our prayer to say, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' that, by the continual use of that prayer, we may be put in mind that we are liable to punishment." In his eighth Homily on our Saviour's prayer, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me" (p. 134), he says,^t "Christ prayed to teach his disciples to pray. But they were to learn not only to pray, but after what manner to pray; and therefore he delivered them a prayer in these words, commanding them and us to say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven,'" &c. In his tenth Homily (p. 154), he says,^u "Christ taught us what we are to say in prayer, and in a few words instructed us in all manner of virtue." In his sixteenth Homily upon those words, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him" (p. 237), he urges forgiveness of injuries with this argument,^x "For this reason we are taught to say, 'Forgive us, as we forgive,' that we may learn that the measure of forgiveness takes its rise from ourselves." In his thirty-sixth Homily upon Pentecost (p. 552), he says pray-

^r Sermon. post Redit. ab Exilio. In edit. Francof. ubi p. 848, seqq. hic sermo legitur, etsi de pace ecclesiæ quædam habet, de formula tamen illa nihil invenio.—Grischov.

^s Hom. vi. in Lazar. tom. v. p. 100, e. edit. Francof. Διὰ τοῦτο κλιυόμεθα εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν λέγειν, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλέματα ἡμῶν, ἵνα τῇ συνηθείᾳ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀναμνησθῶμεν ἱκεῖ, ὅτι ὑπεύθυνοί ἐσμεν κολλήσει.

^t Hom. viii. in illud: 'Si possibile est,' p. 124, d. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εὐχεται, ἵνα ἐκείναι μάθωσιν εὐχισθαι· ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐχισθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς δεῖ εὐχισθαι, μυθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐχρήν' διὰ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ εὐχὴν παρὶδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν σοὶς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^u Hom. x. p. 141, c. Διδάσκου δὲ, τίνα χρὴ λέγειν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ, καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις ῥήμασι πάσαν ἀρετὴν ἐκπαιδεύει.

^x Hom. xvi. in illud, 'Si esurierit,' &c. p. 216, a. Διὰ τοῦτο ἰδιδάχθημεν λέγειν, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν, καθὼς ἀφίμην" ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀφίσεως παρ' ἡμῶν πρῶτον λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν.

ing by the Lord's Prayer is praying by the Spirit: his words are these; "If there was no Holy Ghost, we that are believers, could not pray to God: for we say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.' As therefore we could not say that Jesus was the Lord, so neither could we call God our Father, without the Holy Ghost. How does that appear? From the same apostle, who says, 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.'" In his thirty-eighth Homily of repentance and the eucharist (p. 570), he thus again argues for forgiving enemies: "When we go into the church, let us approach God as becomes his majesty: lest if we have designs of revenge in our hearts when we pray, we pray against ourselves, saying, 'Forgive us, as we forgive them that trespass against us.' These are terrible words, and the same as if one said to God, 'Lord, I have forgiven my enemy, forgive thou me; I have loosed him, loose thou me; I have pardoned my enemy, pardon me; if I have retained his sins, retain thou mine; if I have not loosed my neighbour, do not thou loose my offences; what measure I have meted to him, measure to me again.'" In his fifty-first Homily upon the prayers of Christ (p. 691), he says, "Christ taught his disciples to pray both in words and actions," meaning the words of the Lord's Prayer, together with his own example. And in the sixty-second Homily upon the paralytic (p. 934), he says,^b "This

^a Hom. xxxix. p. 493, c. edit. Francof. Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα ἦν ἅγιον, τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλῆσαι οὐκ ἠδυνάμειθα οἱ πιστοὶ· λίγοι μιν γὰρ, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ὥστε οὖν Κύριον καλῆσαι οὐκ ἠδυνάμειθα, οὕτως οὐδὲ Πατέρα τὸν Θεὸν καλῆσαι ἠδυνάμειθα· σόβην δὴλον; ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλου λίγοντες, "Οτι δὲ ἴσται υἱοί, ἔξαπὸ-σταίλιν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, κρᾶζον, Ἄββᾶ ὁ Πατήρ.

^b Hom. xli. p. 509, a. b. Εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς Θεῷ πρίναι, εἰσέλθωμιν, μὴ μνησικακίαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες, μήπως εὐχόμενοι, καθ' ἑαυτῶν εὐχόμεθα, λίγοντες, Ἄφες ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ὀφειλίσταις ἡμῶν φοβεροὶ γὰρ ἴσται τὸ λίγοι μιν, καὶ σχιδὸν εἰπῶν, τοιοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν βοᾷ ὁ τοῦτο λίγων, Ἄφῃκα, διςποτα, ἄφες· ἔλυσα, λύσον· συνεχώρησα, συγχώρησον· εἰ ἐκράτησα, κράτησον· εἰ μὴ ἔλυσα τῇ πλῃσίῳ, μήδὲ οὐ λύσης τὰ ἐμὰ ἁμαρτήματα· ἐν ᾧ μέτρον ἡμίτησα, ἀντιμετρηθήτω μοι.

^a Hom. liv. p. 617, c. Οὐχὶ διδάσκαι αὐτοὺς (μαθητευομένους) μένει τὴν διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ διατιλεῖ τοῦτο ποιῶν, καὶ εὐχεται διανευτριῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμερίαις, ἡμᾶς παιδεύων καὶ νοθεύων, κ. τ. λ.

^b Hom. lxxv. p. 836. Ἡμεῖς οὐ πρότερον δυνάμειθα καλῆσαι Πατέρα, ὥς ἐν τῇ κολυμβήσῃ τῶν ὕδατων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποινψόμεθα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. ὅταν γοῦν ἐκλῇ

prayer was the peculiar privilege of the faithful, and not allowed to any unbaptized catechumen; for, before we have washed away our sins in the font of the holy waters, we cannot call God our Father: but when we return from thence, having put off the burden of our sins, then we say, ‘Our Father, which art in heaven.’”

Besides this account of the various use of the Lord's Prayer, he mentions several other parcels of the liturgy in this volume. In the sixteenth Homily (p. 229), he takes notice of the use of the seraphical hymn in the eucharistical service. “Consider,” says he,^c “you that are initiated, what a mystical service you have been employed in; with whom you have sent up that mystical song; with whom you have cried out, *Τρισ-αγιος*, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy!’” In the thirty-sixth Homily upon Pentecost and the Holy Spirit (p. 553), he treats at large of that ancient form of salutation used in every office, “Peace be with you,” or, “The Lord be with you,” and the people's answering always, “And with thy spirit.” “Our common father and teacher,” says he,^d meaning the bishop when he goes up into his throne, “says, ‘Peace be to you all;’ and you all make answer with one common voice, ‘And with thy spirit.’ Neither do you make this answer only when he goes into his throne, or when he preaches to you, or when he prays for you, but when he stands by the holy table. When he is about to offer that tremendous sacrifice (they that are initiated, know what I say), before he touches the elements lying upon

ἀνέλθωμεν, τὸ ποιηρὸν ἐκίνο φορτίον ἀποθέμενοι, τότε λέγομεν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

^c Hom. xvi. p. 208, e. edit. Francof. Ἐνόησον οἷας ἀπολαύεις μυσταγωγίας ὃ μυστημένους σὺ, μιτὰ τῶν ἀναπίμπους τὸ μυστικὸν μέλος ἐκίνο, μιτὰ τῶν βοᾷς τὸ, *Τρισάγιος*.

^d Hom. xxxix. p. 493, fin. seq. Εἰ μὴ Πνῦμα ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ Πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλῳ, οὐκ ἂν, ὅτι πρὸ μικροῦ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα τούτου, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἰδῶκεν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἐπιφθέγγασθε αὐτῷ κοινῇ πάντες, Καὶ τῷ πνῦματί σου. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνασταίνοντι μόνον, οὐδὲ διαλεγόμενῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ εὐχαρίστησιν ὑμῶν ταύτην ἐπιφθέγγασθε τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἐσθήκη σφρατίζαν ὅταν τὴν φρικτὴν ἐκείνην θυσίαν ἀναφέρῃν μέλλῃ ἴσασιν γὰρ οἱ μυστημένοι τὸ λεγόμενον οὐ πρότερον ἅπτεται τῶν προκειμένων, ἵως ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιυῇται τὴν Πατρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπιφθέγγῃτε αὐτῷ, Καὶ τῷ πνῦματί σου, διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως αὐτῆς ἀναμνησκοντες αὐτοὺς, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ παρὼν πρᾶττι, ἀλλ’ ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστὶ φύσεως, κατορθώματα τὰ προκείμενα δῶκε, ἀλλ’ ἡ τοῦ Πνῦματος χάρις παρούσα καὶ πᾶσιν ἱφισταμένη τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην κατασκευάζου θυσίαν.

the table, he prays, 'The grace of the Lord be with you,' and ye reply, 'And with thy spirit;' reminding yourselves by this answer, that it is not the minister that effects any thing in this matter; neither is the consecration of the gifts the work of human nature; but that it is the grace of the Spirit then present, and descending upon the elements, which consummates that mystical sacrifice." In the thirty-eighth Homily on the eucharist and repentance (p. 569),^e he takes notice of another known form in the communion-service, where the priest says, "Let us lift up our minds and hearts," and the people answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord," ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. This is the same form as we have seen before in Cyprian, *Sursum corda*, and *Habemus ad Dominum*. In the forty-seventh Homily (p. 632),^f he speaks again of the seraphical hymn, taken out of Isaiah, under the name of *μυστικὸν μέλος*, 'the mystical song.' And Homily fifty-second, *in eos qui Pascha jejnant* (p. 713), persuading men to peace and unity, he argues again from the frequent use of the form *εἰρήνη πᾶσιν*, 'Peace be with you all,' in every office of the Church. "There is nothing," says he,^g "can be compared with peace and concord; therefore the bishop, when he first enters the church, before he goes up into his throne, prays, saying, 'Peace be with you all;' and when he rises up he does not begin to preach before he says again, 'Peace be with you all;' and the priests, when they are about to say any prayer of benediction, do not begin the blessing before they have used the same form of salutation." "And the dea-

^e Hom. xli. p. 509, a. edit. Francof. Τί ποιεῖς, ἀνθρώπε; οὐχ ὑπάρχου τῶ ἱερῷ εἰσόντι, Ἀνασχωμῖν ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, καὶ εἰπας, "Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον; κ. τ. λ.

^f Hom. l. p. 565, b. Ἡσαΐας . . . ὁ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μέλους ἐκείνου καταξωθῆς ἀκούειν, κ. τ. λ.

^g Hom. lv. p. 637. Οὐδὲν εἰρήνης ἴσον καὶ συμφωνίας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰσιὼν ὁ πατήρ, οὐ πρότερον ἢ τὸν θρόνον ἀναβαίνει τοῦτον, ἵως ἂν ἄψαιεν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπιῴηται καὶ ἀναστὰς οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ἵως ἂν ἄψαιεν δὴ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ μέλλοντες εὐλογεῖν ἱερεῖς, πρότερον τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐπιῴζανται, οὕτω τῆς εὐλογίας ἄρχονται. καὶ ὁ διάκονος δι' ἐκλιύων εὐχισθαὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτάττει κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά καὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἀπολύων ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐπιῴχεται λίγων, Περιύστε ἢ εἰρήνην καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔτι οὔτε ἐπιῴν, οὔτε πρᾶξι, ταύτης χωρεῖς.

con, when he bids men pray with others, enjoins them this in their prayers, 'That they should pray for the angel of peace,'^b and that all their purposes may be directed to a peaceable end : ' and when he dismisses you from this assembly he prays thus, saying, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, 'Go in peace;' and nothing is said or done without this ; " so that it seems, this was a form that had its return in every particular office, and was sometimes used six or seven times at one assembly of the Church. In his thirty-fifth Homily upon the Ascension (p. 535),ⁱ he more particularly takes notice of this form of the deacon's bidding men pray for the angel of peace. In his admonition to those that are scandalized at the evils which befall the Church, c. iv. (p. 863),^j he has again occasion to mention the seraphical song under the foresaid title of ' the mystical song of sanctification.' In his sixty-third Homily (p. 949),^k he shews us, how by the order of the Church, on the day of our Saviour's passion, all such portions of Scripture were read as had any relation to the cross ; and on the great Sabbath, or Saturday following, such Scriptures as contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead, and buried. And he adds (p. 951),^l that on Easter-day they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection ; and on every festival the things that happened at that season: Only the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of the miracles done by the apostles after Pentecost, after the Holy Ghost was

^b See this form explained, book xiv. chap. v. sect. iv.

ⁱ Hom. xxxviii. p. 477, fin. edit. Francof. "Ἰνα μάθῃς, ὅτι ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἔκουσιν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αἰετὶ λεγόντων τῶν διακόνων, Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτῶμεν.

^j Lib. ad eos qui scandalizati sunt, lib. i. c. iii. p. 772, c. Μόνον ἰδεῖν ἐλθόντων, μόνον ὕμνου, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς φρίκης τὸ μυστικὸν ἐκίνε τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ ἀναφίρουναι μέλος.

^k Hom. lxvi. p. 849. a. "Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάντα ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἐν τῇ σαββάτῃ τῇ μεγάλῃ πάλιν, ὅτι παριδέθῃ ἡμῶν ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι ἵσταυρόθῃ, ὅτι ἀπέθανεν τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὅτι ἰτάφη.

^l Ibid. p. 852. Τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σταυροῦ ἀναγινώσκουσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἱερῇ γιγνόμενα τῇ αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀναγινώσκουσιν : . . μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ὑβίως ἀνάστασιν καταγγέλλομεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἀναστάσεως ἀποδείξις ἐστὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ ἀποστολικὰ, τῶν δὲ σημείων ἀποστολικῶν διδασκαλιῶν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ὃ τοίνυν μάλιστα πιστεύεται τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν διανοητικὴν, τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ζωφόρον ἀνάστασιν ὑβίως οἱ πατέρες ἠνομοθέτησαν ἀναγινώσκουσιν διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὑβίως ἀναγινώσκουσιν τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα ἔχωμεν σαφῆ καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀποδείξιν.

come upon them, were, for a particular reason, ordered to be read before Pentecost, that is, immediately after Easter, because the miracles of the apostles, contained in that book, were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection: for which reason the Church appointed the Book of Acts always to be read in the time between Easter and Whitsuntide, immediately after the resurrection of Christ, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery, which was the completion of their redemption. Thus, according to Chrysostom, the Church, in great wisdom, ordered and methodized her liturgy by exact rules, for the better instruction and edification of the people.

SECT. VI.—*In the Sixth Tome.*

The sixth tome is chiefly made up of such tracts as do not acknowledge Chrysostom for their author; and, therefore, among these we shall not be very curious in searching for the forms of the ancient liturgy. Some of them are supposed, by learned men, to be written by Severianus, bishop of Gabala, contemporary with Chrysostom; and these may be reckoned of the same authority as Chrysostom's own writings. Among the homilies of this sort, is reckoned the thirty-seventh upon the parable of the prodigal son, where the author (p. 375), commenting upon those words, "They began to be merry," thus discourses:^m "Ye know what spiritual mirth is, who have tasted of it, who have been partakers of the holy mysteries, and have seen the deacons or ministers of Divine

^m Hom. de Filio Prodigio, p. 313, tom. vi. opp. edit. Francof. 1698. 'Επίστασθε τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην, οἱ ταύτης γινωσκόμενοι, καὶ μνησμένοι τῶν φεικτῶν μυστηρίων, τῶν λειτουργῶν τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας, τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων στίβους ταῖς λιπαταῖς ὁδοῖς, ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστέρων ἁμῶν κυμαίναις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περιτριχόντων καὶ βούωντων, Μὴ τις τῶν κατηχουμένων, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ ἐσθιόντων, μὴ τις τῶν κατασκόπων, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων διασάσθαι τὸν μόσχον ἐσθιόμενος, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων διασάσθαι τὸ οὐράνιον αἶμα. τὸ ἐκχυρόμενον εἰς ἄφθισιν ἁμαρτιῶν, μὴ τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζωῆς θυσίας, μὴ τις ἀμύητος, μὴ τις μὴ δυναμένος ἀκαθάρτοις χιτῶσι προσΰψασθαι τῶν φεικτῶν μυστηρίων—ἵτα καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐρανῶν ἐπιευφημοῦντων καὶ λιγόντων, Ἅγιος ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Διλόσας τυθῆναι τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτυτὸν, τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν, καθὼς φησι ὁ προφῆτης Ἡσαΐας· "Ὅς ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ ἐκρίθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἅγιος ὁ Τίς, ἅμα καὶ μόσχος, ὁ αἰὶ θνόμενος ἱκῶν, καὶ αἰὶ ζῶν· ἅγιος ὁ Παράκλητος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ τὴν θυσίαν τιλισσοῦργῆσαν.

service, imitating the wings of angels with their little veils lying upon their left shoulders, and traversing the church, and crying, 'Let no catechumen be present, none of those that may not eat, no spy, none of those that may not see the feast of the fatted calf, none of those that may not look upon the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, no one that is unworthy of the living sacrifice, no one that is yet unbaptized, no one that may not with his polluted lips touch the tremendous mysteries.' Ye remember how after this, the angels from heaven sing the hymns and praises, saying, 'Holy is the Father who willed the fatted calf to be slain, who knew no sin,' as saith the prophet Isaiah, 'who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. Holy is the Son, the Calf that is always willingly slain, and always lives. Holy is the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, which perfects the sacrifice.'" These are plain references and allusions to the usual forms of the Church, viz. to the deacons vested in their proper habit and badge, calling to all non-communicants to withdraw, and to the seraphical hymn, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' which was always sung in the communion-service. The same writer, a little after (p. 377), as plainly alludes to the use of the Lord's Prayer at the eucharist, when he brings in the father thus speaking to the elder son; "Son, thou art ever with me; thou standest by the altar, and there criest out with freedom, 'Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.'" In the first Homily in this volume, intituled, *De Uno Legislatore*, (p. 10), there is mention made of the ceremony of laying the Book of the Gospels upon a bishop's head at his ordination. "For this reason," says the author,^o "when priests are ordained in the church, the gospel of Christ is laid upon their heads; that he that is ordained, may learn that he receives the true tire or covering of the gospel; and that he may be taught, that

ⁿ Hom. de Filio Prodigio, p. 316, e. tom. vi. opp. edit. Francof. 1698. Τίκνον, σὺ πάντοτε μὲτ' ἱμοῦ εἶ . . . σὺ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ περιστάμενος, μετὰ παῖρησίαις βοᾷς, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

^o Hom. i. de Uno Legislatore, p. 9, b. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν ἱερέων, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τίθεται, ἵνα μάθῃ ὁ χειροτονούμενος, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῖσιν λαμβάνει· καὶ ἵνα μάθῃ, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἴστι κεφαλὴ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτους πράττει νόμους· πάντων κρατῶν, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ κρατούμενος· πάντα λογοθετῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου νομοθετούμενος.

though he be the head of all, yet he is subject to those laws; though he rules over all, he is under the rule of those laws; though he gives laws to all others, he is to be governed by the law himself." The critics are not agreed upon the author of this discourse. Du Pin^p rejects it as none of Chrysostom's: but Photius quotes it under his name; and Bishop Pearson^q has a long dissertation to vindicate the authority of it out of Photius and several other ancient writers before him, where he answers all the objections that Bishop Usher and some other learned men had raised against it. Without deciding this controversy, it is sufficient for our present purpose, that the homily either acknowledges Chrysostom or some such other ancient writer for its author; and the ceremony, here spoken of, was certainly a custom observed in the ordination of bishops in the time of Chrysostom; as appears not only from other places in Chrysostom, but also from the authors of the Constitutions and the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and the Canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, which I have had an occasion to produce in a former book,^r to which I refer the reader, and go on with Chrysostom in order.

In the fifty-second Homily upon the Circus in this volume (p. 491), the author makes mention of that ancient custom of saying, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' at the reading of the gospel. "When we are met together," says he, "in the ecclesiastical theatre, as soon as the deacon opens

^p Du Pin. Biblioth. Centur. v. p. 22, (vol. iii. p. 43, edit. Colon. 1693.) Prima homilia, cujus auctor ostendit unum et eundem esse Veteris ac Novi Testamenti legislatorem, Chrysostomi non est; quamquam eam Photius Chrysostomo adscribit. 1. Enim ejus stilus a stilo Chrysostomi plane est alius. 2. Allegoriis scatet, quibus non ita abundat Chrysostomus. 3. In ista homilia alius ordo, alia dispositio observatur, ab ordine ac dispositione homiliarum, quas Chrysostomi certo esse constat. 4. Plurimæ hujusce homiliæ cogitationes Chrysostomo plane indignæ sunt. 5. Multa illi inest confusio. 6. Incipit et desinit longe aliter, quam Chrysostomus solet. 7. In fine hujus orationis indicatur, eam eo tempore scriptam fuisse, quo imperium Romanum jam premeretur atque in angustiis versaretur. 8. Virgo in ea Θεοτόκος idemtidem nominatur, quod non caret affectatione.

^q Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. i. c. ix. p. 311, a fin. b. tot. et p. 312, tot.

^r Book ii. chap. xi. sect. viii.

^s Hom. liii. de Circo, p. 412, c. edit. Francof. Οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διαφάνειαν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀδραζόμενοι, τοῦ διακόνου ἀνοίγειν μίλλοντες τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τειράθυρον, πάντες αὐτῇ ἀντιζομεν ἡσυχίαν παρέχοντες· καὶ ἵνα τοῦ δρόμου τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἀρξῇται, εὐθὺς διαπιστάμεθα ἡμῖς, ἐκφωνοῦντες, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε.

the Book of the Gospels, we all look upon him with silence; and when he begins to read, we presently rise up and say, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord.'"

SECT. VII. — *In the Seventh Tome of his Homilies on St. Matthew.*

In his eleventh Homily on St. Matthew, (p. 108), he mentions the people joining in psalmody and the accustomed prayers. 'When ye have borne your part 'in singing two or three psalms,' δύο ψαλμούς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηγήσαντες, 'and have made your usual prayers,' τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι, ye think ye have done enough for your salvation." In the thirty-third Homily (p. 318), he notes the customary form of the minister's saying, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, 'Peace be unto you all,' when he first enters the church, and he forms this exhortation upon it: "When I say, 'Peace be unto you;' and ye answer again, 'And with thy spirit;' do not say this only in words, but in mind; not with your mouth, but with your heart. For if you say here in the church, 'Peace be with thy spirit,' but as soon as you are gone out, begin to oppugn me, despise me, accuse me, and load me with a thousand reproaches, what peace is this?" In his sixty-ninth Homily (p. 600), speaking of the monks, and their manner of worshipping God, he says,* "As soon as they were out of their beds, they made a quire, and sang hymns to God, συμφώνως ἅπαντες, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, 'all together with one voice, and as it were with one mouth;' and, among these, they particularly addressed that angelical hymn to God, 'Glory be to

* Hom. xi. in Matth. tom. i. in Nov. Test. p. 134, e. edit. Francof. "Ἀν δύο ψαλμούς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηγήσαντες, ἢ τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ἀπλῶς, καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρῶς, ποιούμενοι διαλυθῆναι, νομίζετε ἀρκεῖν τοῦτο εἰς σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν.

" Hom. xxxiii. p. 587, b. "Ὅταν εἴπω, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, εἴτε εἴσητε, καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου, μὴ τῇ φωνῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ λίγιστε μὴ σέσωκασι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἔν δὲ ἰσταῦθα μὲν λίγιστε, Εἰρήνη καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου· ἔξω δὲ μοι πολεμῆτε, διαπτύων, καὶ κακηγοῶν, μυρίους λάβρα πλύνων ὀνίδισι, ποῖα εἰρήνη αὕτη;

x Hom. lxix. p. 740. 'Ἀναστάντες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νύκτος παῖδες, καὶ γεννηθεῖς, καὶ χορὸν ἕνα στήσάμενοι, ἐν παιδερῷ τῷ προσώπῳ τε καὶ συνιδόσιν, συμφώνως ἅπαντες, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, ὕμνους εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἄδουσι Θεὸν, γιεραίνοντες αὐτὸν, καὶ χάριν εἰδότες ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων αὐτῷ, τῶν τε ἰδίων, τῶν τε κοιῶν ἐντελεσιμάτων. . . τί τῶν ἀγγέλων οὕτως δίδασκεται ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἄδόντων καὶ λειπόντων, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία;

God on high: on earth peace, good-will towards men." In his seventy-second Homily (p. 624),^y he speaks of three prayers, one of which was for the demoniacs, the second for the penitents, and the third for the faithful, or communicants, all conceived in a certain form of words; which is evident from this circumstance, which he there subjoins, "That, in the last of these prayers, the children of the Church joined with the rest of the people in crying to God for mercy." The people prayed alone, without the children, when they prayed for the demoniacs and penitents; but, when they prayed for themselves, they strengthened their prayers with the cries and intercessions of their children, whose innocence and simplicity they esteemed to be prevailing motives with God to hear them. By this account it is plain, these prayers must be, in certain forms, known both to the people and the children, otherwise it is impossible to imagine how they should all join vocally in crying to God for mercy. In his twentieth Homily, which is upon the Lord's Prayer, he not only mentions the use of this form of prayer, but says, it was the peculiar privilege of communicants, or baptized persons, to use it. "That this prayer," says he (p. 200),^z "belongs to the faithful only, is evidenced both from the laws of the Church, and the first words of the prayer itself; for no unbaptized person can call God his Father." In the same Homily,^a he takes notice of the ceremonies used in the reception of the eucharist, particularly the custom of giving one another the holy kiss of peace. And in the seventh Homily, (p. 70),^b he alludes to the custom.

^y Hom. lxxii. p. 768, c. edit. Francof. 'Ἡ πρώτη δίδωσι ἰλίους γίμμι, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰνεργουμένων παρακαλῶμεν· καὶ ἡ δευτέρα πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἱτέρων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, καλὸν τὸ ἴλιος ἐπιζητεῖσθαι· καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὕτη τὰ παῖδια τοῦ ἔθνους περιβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἴλιον παρακαλῶντα· ἰσχυρὰ γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατεργασάμενοι ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήματα, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότων, καὶ ὑγκλησθῆναι ὀφειλόντων αὐτοὶ βοῶμεν· ὑπὲρ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ παῖδες, ὧν τῆς ἐκλότης τοῦδε ζηλωτὰς ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν μένει.

^z Hom. xx. p. 243, fin. "Ὅτι τοῖς πιστοῖς αὕτη ἡ προσευχὴ προσήκει, καὶ οὐ νόμοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκουσι, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς εὐχῆς· ὃ γὰρ ἀμύητος οὐκ εὐ δύναται Πατέρα καλεῖν τὸν Θεόν.

^a Ibid. p. 250, (c). Πῶς ἀσπάζη τὸν ἀδελφόν· πῶς ἔψη τῆς θυμίας· πῶς ἀπογίση τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δισποτικοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς διανοίας τὸν ἱόν;

^b Hom. vii. p. 85, c. Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις δίδωσιν· οὐδὲ ἀρ' ὕδαρ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν παρέχει τῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλ' αἷμα ζῶν.

of the priest's saying *ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, in the celebration of the eucharist, when he says, "Christ gives holy things to holy men."

SECT. VIII.—*In the Eighth Tome on St. John and the Acts of the Apostles.*

The eighth tome of St. Chrysostom's works contains his Homilies on St. John and the Acts of the Apostles. In his preface to St. John, he mentions the form of renouncing the devil, and covenanting with Christ. "Ye which are initiated," says he,^c "know what compact ye made with us, or rather with Christ, when he admitted you to his holy mystery, what you said to him concerning the pomp of Satan; how, after you had renounced Satan and his angels, you renounced this also, and promised never to look toward it again."

Homily forty-second,^d he speaks of the Lord's Prayer as a form of spiritual prayer, which Christ taught his disciples and all Christians:

Homily forty-fourth, he says,^e "Every good Christian used this prayer daily, saying those holy words, 'Thy kingdom come;' implying a belief of the resurrection."

Homily sixty-first,^f he makes mention of hymns and psalmody, as the honour of Christian funerals.

Homily seventy-seventh, he takes notice of the kiss of peace, and the common prayers made for the whole state of the world in the communion-service. "We salute one

^c Præfat. in Joan. tom. ii. p. 7, b. edit. Francof. "Ἰστέ οἱ μεμνημένοι, ποίας ἡμῖν ἔδοθε συνθήκας· μᾶλλον δὲ, ποίας ἔδοθε τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅτι ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ἡμυσταγάγωμε· αἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπαται· τί περὶ τῆς πόμπης Σατανικῆς αὐτῷ διέλεχθητε; πῶς μετὰ τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτῃ τότε ἀπετάττεσθε, καὶ ὑποχρῆσθε μηδὲ παρακύψιν ἐκείνῃ;

^d Hom. xlii. p. 276, c. Διὸ χερὶ ταύτων ἀπὸ Θεοῦ παρακαλεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα αἰτεῖν· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ὕχισθαι ἰδίδασκεν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην, οὐδὲν ὑψήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ σαρκικόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα πνευματικά.

^e Hom. xlii. p. 288. Οὐδὲις τῶν ἐξ ὧς βιβιωκότων τῇ ἀναστάσει διαπιστῶν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ὕχονται τὴν ἡμέραν, τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐκείνην τὴν ἁγίαν λίγοντες, 'Ἐλθίτω ἡ βασιλεία σου.

^f Hom. lxi. p. 401. Ἡ τιμὴ τῇ τιτιλιυτηπότι, οὐ θρῆνοι καὶ οἰμωγαί· ἀλλ' ὄμνοι καὶ ψαλμοὶ, καὶ βίος ἄριστος.

another," says he,^s "in the holy mysteries, that being many, we may be made one; and we make common prayers for those that are unbaptized, and supplications for the sick, and for the fruits of the world, both by sea and land;" which plainly refers to the known forms then commonly used in the Church.

In his nineteenth Homily, on the Acts of the Apostles, he speaks of several customary forms observed in the reading of the Scriptures:^h "The deacon, the common minister of the Church, first stood up, and cried, with a loud voice, *Πρόσχωμεν*, 'Let us give attention:' and this he repeated over and over again. After that, the reader names the Prophet Esaias, or the like; and before he begins to read, he cries out, *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος*, 'Thus saith the Lord.'"

Homily twenty-first, he refers to the bidding-prayer of the deacon, in which he was used to admonish the people in these words, among many other petitions:ⁱ "Let us pray for those that sleep in Christ, and for those that make commemorations for them, for the Church, for the priests, for the people, for the martyrs," &c.

Homily twenty-fourth, he mentions the hymns that were used by all in common at the communion-table:^k "Know you not, that you then stand with angels, and sing with them, and send up hymns and praises to God with them?" Meaning the *trisagion*, or 'cherubical hymn,' 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts,' &c. which was a known part of the eucharistical service.

^s Hom. lxxvii. p. 500, fin. edit. Francof. *Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ταῖς μυστηρίαις ἀσπαζόμεθα ἀλλήλους, ἵνα οἱ πολλοὶ γινώμεθα ἓν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων κοινὰς ποιούμεθα τὰς εὐχὰς, λιτανεύοντες ὑπὲρ νοσούντων, καὶ τῶν καρχῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάσσης.*

^h Hom. xix. in Acta Apost. tom. iii. p. 185, b. c. Κοινὸς [διάκονος] ἵστηκεν ὁ διάκονος μέγα βοᾶν καὶ λίγων, Πρόσχωμεν καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις· ἐκίνη ἡ φωνὴ, κοινὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἵσταν, ἣν οὕτως ἀφίησι: . . . μετ' ἐκείνων ἀρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαίου . . . ἵτα εἰς ἐπήκουον ἐκφωνεῖ λίγων, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος. (Paris. 1636, 8, 592.)

ⁱ Hom. xxi. p. 204, e. Οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὁ διάκονος βοᾷ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κοινομένων, καὶ τῶν τὰς μνίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένων, κ. τ. λ. (P. 606.)

^k Hom. xxiv. p. 229. fin. Οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι μετὰ ἀγγέλων ἵστηκας; μετ' ἐκείνων ᾄδεις· μετ' ἐκείνων ὑμνῆς. (P. 627.)

SECT. IX.—*In the Ninth Tome on Romans, and First and Second to the Corinthians.*

The ninth tome of his works contains his Homilies on the Epistle to the Romans, and the first and second to the Corinthians. In his seventh Homily on Romans (p. 68),¹ he speaks of common prayer sent up to God with one voice for the *energumens*, or ‘persons vexed with evil spirits;’ which was by a certain form, as we have seen before, in his seventy-first Homily on St. Matthew, and is evident from the very manner of expressing it here: for the people could not pray with one voice, unless a form of words was some way or other dictated to them. This dictating of prayers to be used by the whole assembly, was commonly the office of the deacon, as Chrysostom informs us, in the fourteenth Homily upon this same Epistle (p. 165), where he shews the different state of the Church in the apostles’ days from that of his own time. For explaining those words, “The Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered,” he says,^m “This was an obscure expression, because many of the miraculous gifts which were then in being, were since ceased: as the gift of prophecy, the gift of wisdom, the gift of healing the sick, the gift of raising the dead, the gift of

¹ Hom. vii. ad Roman. tom. iv. p. 84, c. edit. Francof. Κοινή πάντες εὐχόμεθα, καὶ μίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνιγόμεναι φωνήν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων.

^m Hom. xiv. p. 201, b. c. d. e. Ἀσαφὲς τὸ εἰρημῖνον διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν τότε γινομένων δυνάμεων πασαῦσθαι νῦν διότι ἀναγκαῖον διδάξαι ὑμᾶς τὴν τότε κατάστασιν, καὶ οὕτω σαφίστιρος λοιπὸν ἵσται ὁ λόγος· τίς οὖν ἡ τότε κατάστασις ἦν; διάφορα πᾶσι τοῖς τότε βαπτιζομένοις ἰδίδου χάρισματά ἐστις ὁ Θεός, ἀ δὲ καὶ πνεύματα ἱκαλιτο· πνεύματα γὰρ προφητῶν προφῆταις ὑποτάσσονται, φησί· καὶ ὁ μὲν, ἔχει προφητείας χάρισμα, καὶ προείλετο τὰ μέλλοντα· ὁ δὲ σοφίας, καὶ ἰδίδασκε τοὺς πολλούς· ὁ δὲ ἰαμάτων, καὶ ἰθεράπει τοὺς νοσούντας· ὁ δὲ δυνάμιον, καὶ ἡγίει τοὺς νεκρούς· ὁ δὲ γλωσσῶν, καὶ διαφόροις ἰλάλι φωναῖς. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων ἦν καὶ εὐχῆς χάρισμα, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἐλίγιτο· καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλῆθους παντὸς ἤρχετο· ἰσχυρὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν συμφερόντων ἡμῶν ἀγνοοῦντις, τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα αἰτούμεν, ἔρχετο χάρισμα εὐχῆς εἰς ἴσα τινὰ τῶν τότε, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσης, αὐτός τε ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἵστατο αἰσῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱσαίδι. πνεῦμα τοῖνυ ἰνταῦθα καλεῖ τότε χάρισμα τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν διχομήνου τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ ἰντυγχάνουσιν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ στυνάζουσιν. ὁ γὰρ τοιαύτης καταξιώθεις χάριτος, ἵσταις μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς κατανύξεως, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν στυναγμῶν τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ Θεῷ προσεπισπτόντων, τὰ συμφέροντα πάντων αἰτί· οὐ καὶ νῦν σύμβολόν ἐστιν ὁ διάκονος, τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἀναφίξων εὐχάς. (9, 165.)

tongues, and, among the rest, the gift of prayer, which was then distinguished by the name of the Spirit : and he that had this gift, prayed for the whole congregation. Upon which account the apostle gives the name of the Spirit both to this gift and to the soul that was endowed with it, who made intercession with groanings unto God, asking of God such things as were of general use and advantage to the whole congregation: the image or symbol of which is now the deacon, who offers up prayers for the people." Here, according to Chrysostom, the spirit of praying was an extraordinary gift, like that of tongues ; and the difference between the apostolical age and his own was this, that at first both the matter and words of their prayers were inspired in an extraordinary way ; but afterward the deacons prayed by ordinary forms, without any such immediate inspiration.

In his Comments upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Homily twenty-four (p. 532), he rehearses the heads of the solemn thanksgiving at the consecration of the eucharist. " We rehearse," says he,ⁿ " over the cup the ineffable blessings of God, and whatever benefits we enjoy ; and so we offer it at the holy table, and communicate, giving him thanks that he hath delivered mankind from error ; that when we were afar off, he hath made us near ; that when we had no hope, and were without God, he hath made us brethren and fellow-heirs with himself. For these, and all the like blessings, we give him thanks, and so come to his holy table." Homily thirty-five (p. 640),^o he notes the words *εις τους αιῶνας των αιῶνων*, 'for ever and ever,' to be the common conclusion of their eucharistical thanksgivings, to which a layman, if they were said in an unknown tongue, could not answer 'Amen.' In his thirty-sixth Homily (p. 652),^p he

ⁿ Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. p. 156, edit. Francof. 1698. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιλείγοντες τῇ ποτηρίῃ τὰς ἀθάτους ἐνεργισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅσων ἀπολειλαύκαμεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ προσάγομεν καὶ ποινοῦμεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες, ὅτι τῆς πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ὅτι μακρὰν ὄντας ἰγγὺς ἰποίησεν· ὅτι ἱλατῖδα μὴ ἔχοντας, καὶ ἄθιους ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ, ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατισκύασα καὶ συγκληροδόμους· ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστοῦντες, οὕτω πρόσμιν. (9, 532.)

^o Hom. xxxv. p. 389. "Αν εὐλογῆσιν τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ, οὐκ εἰδὼς τί λέγεις, οὐδὲ ἑρμηνεύσαι δυνάμενος, οὐ δύναται ὑποφωτισαί τὸ Ἀμὴν ὁ λαϊκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων τὸ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ὅτι ἐστι τίλος, οὐ λέγει τὸ Ἀμὴν. (P. 640.)

^p Hom. xxxvi. p. 405. Ἐπειδὴν ἀρξάμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, τῇ

mentions the form, "Peace be with you all;" to which the people answered, "And with thy Spirit:" which he derives from apostolical practice, when both minister and people were used to speak by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He further observes (p. 653),^a "That they all sang in common, both in the apostles' days and in his own time: and that the bishop, at the entrance into the church, said always, 'Peace be to you all,' as a proper salutation when he came into his Father's house;" though he laments, that whilst they retained the name of peace, they had lost the thing. Again (p. 655),^r he takes notice, that when a single reader sung the psalms, all the people, as it were with one mouth, did ὑπηχεῖν, 'return their answer to him;' that is, either by singing the verses alternately, or by joining in the close of every verse, of which more in the next book. Chap. i. Homily forty (p. 688),^s he observes, "That every person at his baptism was, by the rule of the Church, obliged to make profession of his faith in the solemn words of the Creed; and, among other articles, particularly said, 'I believe the resurrection of the dead.'" By which form of profession Chrysostom explains that noted passage of St. Paul, "Why are they then baptized for the dead?" That is, if the dead rise not, why do they profess at their baptism that they "believe the resurrection of the dead?" Homily forty-one (p. 702), he mentions part of the solemn form of prayer for the dead, then in use in the Church. "It is not without reason," says he,^t "that he that stands at the altar,

πνύμασί σου, δυνύς, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ἔλιγον οὐκ οἰκίᾳ σοφίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνύματι κινούμενοι. (P. 652.)

^a Hom. xxxvi. p. 405, edit. Francof. Συνήσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἄπαντες, καὶ ἰσχυάλλον κοινῇ τούτῳ ποιούμεν καὶ νῦν. . . Εἰρήνην καὶ νῦν πᾶσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσιτῶς ἐπιύχεται, ὡς εἰς πατρῶαν οἰκίαν εἰσιῶν· ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ταύτης τὸ μὴ ὄνομα πολὺ, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμοῦ. (P. 653.)

^r Ibid. p. 408, fin. et p. 409, init. Καὶ ὁ ψάλλων, ψάλλει μόνος· πᾶν πάντες ἐπηχῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται. (P. 655.)

^s Hom. xl. p. 452, fin. Πρώτερον εἰπὼν ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφισιν, τότε ὁμολογίῃς καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. . . Τούτων τοίνυν τῶν βημάτων ἀναμνησκων ὁ Παῦλος φησὶ, Τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἴσθιν ἀνάστασις, φησὶ, σκενὴ τὰ βήματα ταῦτα· εἰ μὴ ἴσθιν ἀνάστασις, πῶς αὐτοὺς πείθομεν πιστεύειν, ἅπερ οὐ διδοαμιν. (P. 690.)

^t Hom. xli. p. 468. Οὐδὲ μᾶτην ὁ παριστὰς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν φρικτῶν

when the holy mysteries are celebrated, says, ‘ We offer for all those who are dead in Christ, and for all those who make commemorations for them.’ ” And, a little after, “ We at that time also make prayers for the whole world, and name the dead with martyrs, and confessors, and priests: for we are all one body, though some members exceed other members in glory.”

In his second Homily upon the second Epistle to the Corinthians (p. 740),^u he styles the Lord’s Prayer *εὐχὴν νενομισμένην*, ‘ the prayer which Christ brought in, and established by law’ in his Church; and says it was the peculiar privilege of the faithful to use it; for the catechumens were not allowed so great a favour before baptism. There, also, he mentions several forms of the deacon’s calling upon the people to pray: as that *σῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν*, ‘ Let us stand devoutly, and pray:’ which, he says, “ was addressed, not only to the priests, but also to the people:” and, again, “ Let us pray ardently for the catechumens:” after which admonition, the deacon recited the particular petitions they were to make for them, which Chrysostom there relates at length in the very form that was used, which I shall omit to recite here, because the reader may find it whole hereafter in the service of the catechumens.^w A little after, in this same Homily (p. 743), he mentions the usual form of renunciation in baptism: “ Ye that are initiated,” says he,^x “ know what I say: for ye easily remember those words, whereby ye renounce the tyranny of the devil, falling upon your knees, and going over to Christ your king, and uttering those tremendous words, whereby we are taught to pay no manner of obedience to the tyrant.” And (p. 745),

μυστηρίων τιλουμένων βοᾷ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κοικοιμημένων, καὶ τῶν τὰς μαρτίαις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἰπυτιλούντων . . . Διὰ τοῦτο θαρρῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης δόμοιθα τότε, καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων αὐτοὺς καλοῦμι, μετὰ ὁμολογητῶν, μετὰ ἱερῶν καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐμὰ ἴσμεν ἅπαντες, ὅτι λαμπρότερα μίλη μίλων. (P. 702.)

^u Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 516, b. edit. Francof. Οὐδέπω εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ εἰσινεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω παρρησίαν κίεστηται. (P. 740.)

^w Book xiv. chap. v.

^x Hom. cit. p. 520, e. “ Ἴσθι ταῦτα οἱ μεμνημένοι ἀναμνήσθητι γούν τῶν ῥημάτων ἱκύνων, δι’ ὧν ἀπειτάξασθε αὐτοῦ τῇ τυραννίδι, γόνυ κλίναντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα αὐτομολήσαντες, καὶ τὰ φρικώδη ἱκύνει φθιγγόμενοι ῥήματα, δι’ ὧν παιδιούμεθα μηδὲν αὐτῷ κατέλου πείθεσθαι. (P. 743.)

he adds,^γ "That, in the service of the faithful, that is, the communion-service, the deacon again bid them supplicate and address God for bishops, for presbyters, for kings, for emperors, for all by sea and land, for the temperature of the air, and for the whole world." Which are but so many hints of the deacon's bidding-prayer in the service of the faithful, more fully related in the fifteenth Book, chap. i. Homily fifth (p. 775),^α he speaks of the obligation men have to use the Lord's prayer. Homily eighteenth (p. 872),^α he intimates a form of prayer used by the people at the time of ordaining ministers. "The suffrage of the people," says he, "is no little ornament to those, who are called to any spiritual dignity. And, therefore, he that performs the office of ordination, then requires their prayers; and they join their suffrage, and cry out those words, which they that are initiated, know; for it is not lawful to speak all things before the unbaptized." A little after (p. 873), he says,^β "The people had a considerable share in the prayers of the Church. For common prayers were made both by priest and people for the energumens and penitents, and they all

^γ Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 521, fin. edit. Francof. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐπισκόπων, ὑπὲρ πρεσβυτέρων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρατούντων, ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ αἰῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης κλινομένηα προσῆται τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ. (P. 745.)

^α Hom. v. p. 577, fin. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιστάτης λέγειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.

^β Hom. xviii. p. 673, d. Ἡ τούτων ψῆφος, οὐχ, ὡς ἴσχυς, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πνευματικὰς ἀρχὰς ἐρχομένους κατακοσμεῖ. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μίλλον χυροτενῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων εὐχὰς καλεῖ τότε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιφροῖζονται, καὶ ἐπιβῶσιν ἅπασιν Ἰσασιν οἱ μνηστῆρες· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θύμῃς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμνηστῶν ἐκκαλύπτειν ἄπαντα. (P. 871.)

^β Ibid. paulo post: Καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸν λαὸν ἴδοι τις ἂν συνοφρίζοντα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργούντων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, ποινῇ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ παρὰ αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ· καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἰλίου γήμουσαν. Πάλιν ἰσχυρὰν εἰσέρχονται τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλῳ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους τοὺς ἱερεῖς μετασχῆναι τραπέζης, ἵσταναι διὰ γνίσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐκ' ἰδάρους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα, ὅταν ἐσθῆνης πάλιν μετακαταβάντων καὶ μεταδιδόναι διη, πάντες ὁμοίως ἀσπαζόμεθα. Ἐν αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φρικωδιστάτων μυστηρίων ἐπιύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐσχύεται καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ· τὸ γὰρ Μιστὰ τοῦ πνιύματος σου, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἴσται, ἢ τοῦτο. τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας πάλιν κοινὰ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνος εὐχαριστῇ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας. πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαβὼν φωνήν, ὅσα συντιθέμενων, ὅτι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως τοῦτο γίνεται, τότε ἀρχεται τῆς εὐχαριστίας. καὶ τί θαυμάζεις, εἰ σου μιστὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ὁ λαὸς φθίγγεται, ἵσται καὶ μιστὰ αὐτῶν τῶν Χερουβὶμ, καὶ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, κοινῇ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκείνους ὕμνους ἀναπνέουσι. (P. 872.)

say one and the same prayer for them, the prayer so full of mercy. Again, when we dismiss those who may not partake of the holy table, another prayer is to be made, in which we all fall down upon the ground together, and all rise together." He means the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, which was said jointly by the priest and people together. "Again, when the salutation of peace is mutually to be given and received, we all, in like manner, use this salutation." He means either the kiss of peace, or the form of salutation used between priest and people, "The peace of God be with you," "And with thy Spirit." But, more probably, he means the former, because it immediately follows after, "When we come to the tremendous mysteries; then, as the priest prays for the people, so the people pray for the priest. For these words, 'And with thy spirit,' signify nothing else. Again, that prayer wherein we give thanks, is common to both. For not only the priest gives thanks, but all the people. For he first receives their answer, they rejoining, 'It is meet and right so to do;' and then he begins the thanksgiving. And why should any man wonder that the people should speak together with the priest, when they even join with cherubims and the powers above to send up, in common, those sacred hymns to heaven?" Meaning the hymns, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' and 'Glory be to God on high,' which were sung by all the people in the communion service. Chrysostom has a good remark upon all these forms, and the people's obligation to bear a part in them, which, therefore, I may not here omit, because it shews us the reason why the ancient Church so ordered her service. "I have mentioned all these things," says he,^c "on purpose to excite the vigilance of those that are in an inferior station, that we may learn that we are all one body; and only differ, as one member may differ from another; and that we should not cast all upon the priests, but ourselves be concerned in the care of the whole Church, as of one common body."

^c Hom. xviii. p. 673, edit. Francof. Ταῦτα δὲ μοι πάντα λειῶνα λησται, ἵνα ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων νῆφῃ, ἵνα μάθωμιν, ὅτι σῶμά ἐσμεν πάντες ἱ, τοσαύτην ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰν, ὅσην μίλη πρὸς μίλη· καὶ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερέας ῥίπτωμιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὥσπερ κοινὸν σῶματες, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσης οὕτω φρονεῖζωμιν. (P. 873.)

SECT. X.—*In the Tenth Tome.*

The last volume of St. Chrysostom's works contains his Homilies upon the remaining Epistles of St. Paul. In his first Homily on the Ephesians (p. 1037), he speaks of the forms of profession used in baptism: "What is more gracious," says he,^d "than those words, by which we renounce the devil? By which we covenant with Christ? What more gracious than that profession, which we make both before and after baptism?" In the third Homily (p. 1051),^e he tells us the deacons were wont to use this form of words to all those that were under the Church's censures, to withdraw from the Lord's table, "Ye that are in a state of penance, depart." And (p. 1052),^f when they were gone, they said again to the communicants, "Let us pray in common all together." And there,^g also, he speaks of the hymns that were sung at the Lord's table. Homily fourteenth (p. 1127), he argues from the use of the Lord's Prayer,^h that men should not revile those whom they therein owned to be their brethren. "If he is not thy brother, how dost thou say, 'Our Father?' For that word, 'Our,' denotes many persons." And, further, to shew the indecency of such contumelious language,ⁱ he reminds them of their known custom in singing the sacred hymns with cherubims and seraphims at the communion. "Consider with whom you stand in the time of the holy mysteries. With cherubims, with seraphims. For the seraphims use no reviling. Their

^d Hom. i. in Epist. ad Ephes. tom. v. p. 869, a. edit. Francof. 1697. Τί χαριώτερον τῶν ῥημάτων, δι' ὧν ἀποτασσόμεθα τῷ διαβόλῃ; δι' ὧν συντασσόμεθα τῷ Χριστῷ; τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐκείνης τῆς πρὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ; τῆς μετὰ τὸ λουτρὸν; (10, 1037.)

^e Hom. iii. p. 888, d. Ἀκούετε ἱστώτος τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ λίγοντος, Ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ, ἀπὸ λυθῆτε πάντες. (P. 1051.)

^f Ibid. b. Ὅταν ἀκούσης, διηβῶμαι πάντες κοινῇ.

^g Ibid. c. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ σὺ παραγίγονας τὸν ὕμνον ἦσας, μετὰ πάντων, κ. τ. λ. . . . Οὐ διὰ τῶν προκειμένων μένει, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν οὐδ' ἐκείνων τὸ Πνεῦμα πάντοθεν κάτυσιν. (P. 1052.)

^h Hom. xiv. p. 981, fin. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἴσται ἀδιφθός, πῶς λίγως Πάτερ ἡμῶν; τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν, πολλῶν ἴσται προσώπων σημαντικόν. (P. 1127.)

ⁱ Ibid. Ἐνέησον μετὰ τίνων ἴστηκας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν μυστηρίων, μετὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, μετὰ τῶν Σεραφίμ; τὰ Σεραφίμ οὐχ ὕβριζει, ἀλλὰ μίαν αὐτοῖς χερίαν μένει τὸ στόμα πληροῦ, τὸ δοξολογίῃν, τὸ δοξάζειν τὸν Θεόν· πῶς οὖν δυήσῃ σὺ μετ' ἐκείνων λίγειν, Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, εἰς ὕβριν τῷ στόματι περρημένος; (P. 1127.)

mouth is continually employed in fulfilling one necessary office, that of glorifying and praising God. How then can you say with them, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' who use your mouth to revile your brethren?" He adds,^k "You say, 'Our Father;' and what follows that? 'Which art in heaven.' As soon as you say, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' that word raises you up, and gives wings to your soul, and shews that you have a father in heaven. Therefore, do nothing, say nothing, of those things that are upon earth. You stand in heaven: and do you use reviling? You converse with angels: and do you use reviling? You are honoured with the kiss of the Lord: and do you use reviling? God adorns your mouth so many ways with angelical hymns, with meat, not angelical, but above angels, with his own kisses and embraces: and do you still accustom yourself to reviling?"

Homily twenty-third (p. 1190), he says,^l "Jesus the Son of the living God hath brought down to us the celestial hymns. For what the cherubims say above, he hath commanded us to say, 'Holy, Holy, Holy.'"

On the Philippians, Homily fifteenth (p. 1311), he positively asserts,^m "That Christ delivered the Lord's Prayer 'as a form of prayer,' ὅρον εὐχῆς, teaching us to say, 'Give us this day our daily bread.'"

On the Colossians, Homily third (p. 1337),ⁿ "We pray,

^k Hom. xiv. p. 984, a. b. e. edit. Francof. Πάτερ ἡμῶν καὶ τί; τοῦτο μόνον; ἄκουι καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς· ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· εὐθὺς ἴσθις, Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ἀνίστησί σοι τὸ ῥῆμα, ἰστίρωσί σου τὴν διάνοιαν, Ἰδιξιν, ὅτι Πατέρα ἔχεις ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. μὴδὲν πᾶσσι, μὴδὲν λίγῃ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς· εἰς ἐκείνην σοι τὴν τάξιν ἵστησι τὴν αἰών, ἐκείνῃ σοι ἐνέκρινε τῷ χορῷ· τί σου τὸν κάστω καθύπευθε; παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἵστησας τὸν βασιλικὸν, καὶ ὑβερίζεις; . . . Ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἵστησας, καὶ ὑβερίζεις; μετὰ ἀγγελῶν πολιτεύῃ, καὶ ὑβερίζεις; φιλήματος ἡλίωσις δισποτικῆς, καὶ ὑβερίζεις; τοσούτοις σοι τὸ στόμα ἐκόσμησεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὕμνοις ἀγγελικαῖς, τρεοφῇ οὐκίτι ἀγγελικῇ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀγγελικῇ, φιλήματι τῷ αὐτοῦ, περιπλακαῖς ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑβερίζεις; (P. 1127.)

^l Hom. xxiii. p. 1061, e. a. Ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν οἰκτιρῶν, ὁ τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, ἡνιγκι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρετὴν, πάντας τοὺς ἐκείνῃ καρποὺς ἡμῖν κατήνεγκεν, τοὺς ὕμνους λίγῃ τοῖς ἰουδαίου· ἀ γὰρ τὰ Χειροῦμ ἄνω λίγῃ, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμῖν προσέταξε λίγῃ, Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος. (P. 1190.)

^m Hom. xv. in Epist. ad Philipp. tom. vi. p. 141. Ὁ Χριστὸς ὅρον εὐχῆς ἡμῖν διδούς, ταῦτο τῇ εὐχῇ ἐνέθηκε, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς, Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἰσπουσίον, λίγῃ, δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον. (P. 1311.)

ⁿ Hom. iii. in Epist. ad Coloss. p. 173, circa fin. Εὐχόμεθα λίγοντες, Γενηθῶτω τὸ θελημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. — P. 176. Εὐχαριστοῦντες λίγῃ,

saying, 'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.' We give thanks, saying, 'Glory be to God on high; on earth peace, good-will towards men.' We petition, in our prayers, for the angel of peace; and we pray for peace upon all occasions, for nothing can be compared unto it. The bishop in the Church gives the benediction of peace, saying in every office, in prayers, in supplications, in his Homilies, once, twice, thrice, and oftener, 'Peace be with you all.' Again (p. 1338):^o "When the bishop enters the church, he immediately says, 'Peace be with you all:' when he preaches, 'Peace be with you all:' when he gives the blessing, 'Peace be with you all:' when he bids you salute one another, 'Peace be with you all:' when the sacrifice is offered, 'Peace be with you all:' and, in the intervals, 'Grace and peace be with you.' Is it not therefore absurd, that when we so often hear peace mentioned, we should still be at war among ourselves? We receive the salutation of peace, and return it to him that gives it, and yet are at war with him. You answer, 'And with thy spirit:' yet as soon as you are gone out of the Church, you calumniate and revile him." He adds (p. 1339),^p "That it was not the bishop, properly speaking, that gave the peace; but Christ, that vouchsafes to speak by his mouth."

Homily sixth, in Colossians (p. 1358), he compares the forms of renunciation in baptism, and covenanting with Christ, to a handwriting or bond, saying,^q "Let us beware

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὕδακια. . . . Εὐχόμεθα, καὶ λέγομεν αἰτοῦντες τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης· καὶ πανταχοῦ εἰρήνην αἰτοῦμεν οὐδὲν γὰρ ταύτης ἴσον· ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἐν ταῖς λυταῖς, ἐν ταῖς προερχομένοις καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δις, καὶ τρις, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὴν δίδωσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάς, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, ἐπιτίλγων. (P. 1358.)

^o Hom. iii. in Epist. ad Coloss. p. 173, sub fin. edit. Francof. "Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάς, εὐθὺς λέγει, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ἐμὲ μὲν, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν εὐλογῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ἀσπαζέσθαι κελεύῃ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ἡ θυσία τελειωθῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πάλιν, Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη· πῶς οὖν ἄτοπον, εἰ τοιαυτάκις ἀκούοντες εἰρήνην ἔχουν, ἐκπιπολιμώμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους; καὶ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ ἀντιδίδοντες, τῷ δίδοντι τὴν εἰρήνην πολεμοῦμεν. λέγεις, Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου, καὶ διαβάλλεις αὐτὸν ἔξω. (P. 1339.)

^p Ibid. Μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίδωμι τὴν εἰρήνην; ὁ Χριστὸς δὲ ἡμῶν φθίγγεσθαι καταξιών.

^q Hom. vi. in Coloss. p. 200, c. Γίγουν ἔτιρον χειρόγραφον πάλιν, οὐ τοιοῦτον, οἷον τὸ πρῶτον. ὁρᾷς οὖν, μὴ τοῦτω ἀλώμεν, μετὰ τὸ εἰπέν, 'Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σαταναῖ, καὶ συντάσσομαι σοι, Χριστέ·' μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἂν κληθῇ τοῦτο χειρόγραφον, ἀλλὰ συνθήκη. κ. τ. λ. (P. 1358.)

that we be not convicted by it, after we have said those words, 'We renounce thee, Satan, and we make a covenant with thee, O Christ.' " 'Again (p. 1359),^r "You are taught to say, 'I renounce thee, and thy pomp, and thy worship, and thy angels.'" He adds, "That every new baptized person, as soon as he came up out of the water, was appointed to say, 'Our Father which art in heaven, thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven:'"

Homily ninth, in Colossians (p. 1380), on those words, "Admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs," he says,^s "The faithful know what is the hymn of the spirits above; what the cherubims above say; what the angels said: 'Glory be to God on high.'" Meaning that these two hymns were sung by the faithful in the communion-service.

Homily tenth (p. 1385),^t he gives the Lord's Prayer the title of εὐχὴ πιστῶν, 'The prayer of the faithful,' because it was their peculiar privilege to use it.

Homily third, in 2 Thes. (p. 1502),^u he mentions two usual forms relating to the reading of the lessons in the Church. "When the reader rises up, and says, 'Thus saith the Lord: ' and the deacon standing up, commands all men to keep silence, he does not say this to honour the reader, but God who speaks to all by him."

Homily sixth, in 1 Tim. (p. 1553),^x he proves that infidels

^r Hom. vi. in Coloss. p. 201, edit. Francof. Εὐθὺς διδάσκει λίγιν, Ἀποτάσσομαι σοί, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῇ λατρίᾳ σου, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις σου . . . εὐθὺς ἀνελθὼν ταῦτα φθίγγεται τὰ ῥήματα· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γενηθήτω τὸ Δίλημά σου.

^s Hom. ix. in Coloss. p. 228, d. Τίς ὁ ὕμνος τῶν ἄνω, τί λίγιν τὰ Χειροῦσιμ, Ἰσπανίαι αἱ πιστοί· τί ἔλεγον οἱ ἀγγέλοι κατω; Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ.

^t Hom. x. in Coloss. p. 233, e. Εἴτα ἐπιθίς τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν πιστῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^u Hom. iii. in 2 Thess. p. 381. "Ὅταν ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων λίγιν, Τάδε λίγιν Κύριος· καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἰσθὼς ἐπιστομίζῃ πάντας, οὐ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι τιμὴν ποιῶν τοῦτο φησιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δι' ἐκείνου πᾶσι διαλεγόμενῳ.

^x Hom. vi. in 1 Tim. p. 444. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρηταί, φησιν, ὅτι τῶν ἀπίστων εὐχισθὰς ἐκὼ ἰσχυρὰ μὴδ ἴσται τῆς εὐχῆς τὴν δύναμιν, μὴδ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν αὐτῆς ἐπιγινώσκοντι. εἰ γὰρ τις αὐτῇ ἀναπτύξῃ, εὐρήσει καὶ ταῦτο κείμενον ἐν αὐτῇ· ὅταν γὰρ λίγιν ὁ εὐχόμενος, Γενηθήτω τὸ Δίλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο αἰνίσσεται. πῶς; ὅτι ἐν οὐρανῷ οὐδὲς ἀπίστος, οὐδὲς προσκερῶν· εἰ τοίνυν περὶ τῶν πιστῶν μόνον ἦν, οὐκ εἴχει λόγον τὸ λεγόμενον· εἰ γὰρ οἱ πιστοὶ ἔμιλλον τὸ Δίλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀπίστοι εὐχὴ, οὐκίτι ὡς ἐν

are prayed for as well as others, from the use of the Lord's Prayer. For "when he that prays, says, 'Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven,' the meaning is, that as there is no infidel in heaven, so we pray that there may be none on earth neither."

Homily second, in 2 Tim. (p. 1638), he says,^j "The words whereby the priests consecrate the eucharist, were the same that Christ spake."

Homily fourth, on Hebrews (p. 1785), he intimates, that they had set psalms in their funeral service. "Consider," says he,^k "what you sing at that time, 'Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee.' And again, 'I will fear no evil, for thou art with me.' And again, 'Thou art my refuge from tribulation, which compasses me about.' Consider what those Psalms mean. You say, 'Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul:' and do you still weep? Is not this mere pageantry and hypocrisy? If you believe the things to be true, which you say, it is superfluous to lament."

Homily fourteenth (p. 1852), speaking of the hymns sung at the eucharist, he says,^a "Do we not sing the same celestial hymns, which the choirs of incorporeal powers sing above?"

Homily seventeenth (p. 1870),^b he mentions a part of the

οὐρανῷ, τὸ θίλημα αὐτοῦ ἦν. ἀλλὰ τί; ἄσπικε ἐν οὐρανῷ, φησιν, οὐδεὶς ποιητὴς, οὕτω μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἴστω. (P. 1552.)

^j Hom. ii. in 2 Tim. p. 552, edit. Francof. "Ὡσπικε τὰ ῥήματα, ἄσπικε ὁ Θεὸς ἐφθίγγατο, τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσται, ἄσπικε ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ τὴν λίγιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ ἡ αὐτὴ ἴσται.

^k Hom. iv. in Ebræos, p. 736, b. 'Ἐνύησον τί ψάλλεις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον' Ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος ὑπεργίτησέ σε καὶ πάλιν, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ καὶ πάλιν, Σὺ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς περιχύσεως με. ἐνύησον τί βούλονται οὗτοι οἱ ψαλμοί; ἀλλ' οὐ προσέχεις, ἀλλὰ μὲνεις ὑπὸ τοῦ πίνθους· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱστέων κηδεύμασι πατανόησον ἀκριβοῶς, ἵνα ἔχῃς φάρμακον ἐν τοῖς σοῖς ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος ὑπεργίτησέ σε, λίγιν, καὶ δακρυῖς; οὐχὶ σκηνὴ ταῦτά ἴσται, οὐχ ὑπέκρησις; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὅπως πιστεύεις οἷς λίγιν, περιττωῶς πινθεῖς. (P. 1785.)

^a Hom. xiv. p. 821, b. 'Ἀλλὰ τί; οἱ ὕμνοι οὐκ ἱπουράνιοι; οὐχ ἄσπικε ἄνω ᾄδουσιν οἱ Θεοὶ χοροὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων δυνάμεων, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ κάτω σύνοδω ἐκείνους φθειγγόμεθα;

^b Hom. xvii. p. 844. Ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς, ἥς ἀναφίρομεν, προσφίρομεν καὶ ἁμαρτήματα λίγοντες, εἴτε ἰκόντες εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμαρτοῖς, συγχώρησον, τουτίστι μνησθῆναι αὐτῶν πρῶτοι, καὶ τότε τὴν συγχώρησιν αἰτεῖσθαι.

oblation prayer, "In the oblation we offer or bear, we confess our sins, and say, 'Forgive us our transgressions, whether voluntary or involuntary : ' that is, we first remember them, and then ask pardon." There, also (p. 1872), he mentions the deacon's solemn form of words, admonishing the people to come holy to the holy sacrament :^c "For this reason, the deacon cries out, and calls upon the saints ; and, by these words, prompts all men to consider their offences, that no one come unprepared."

Homily twenty-second (p. 1898), he tacitly refers to the form, *Sursum corda*, 'Let us lift up our hearts.' For, having mentioned those words of the psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," he adds,^d " 'With our hands let us also lift up our hearts.' Ye which are initiated, know what I say, you perhaps understand what is spoken, and perceive what I have obscurely hinted. 'Let us lift up our souls on high.' "

Besides these passages collected out of Chrysostom's works, published by Fronto Ducæus, there are several others in those Homilies which Sir Henry Savil set forth in Greek, and others in the Latin editions only ; neither of which I have had opportunity perfectly to examine ; and, therefore, I shall leave them to the more diligent inquiry of the curious reader : only noting, that in the sixth Homily of Repentance,^e he observes this difference between David's Psalms and the rest of the Scriptures, that the others were read only twice a week in public, but the psalms were used by all sorts of men, in all places, and upon all occasions. *In ecclesiis pernoctantibus, primus et medius et novissimus est David* : 'When they held their vigils all night in the church, David's Psalms were in the beginning, and middle, and end of all their service.' The same was observed in their morning prayer ;

^c Hom. xvii. p. 844, edit. Francof. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφωνεῖ τότε τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης μαρτυροῦν ἀπαντας, ὥστε μὴ προσελθεῖν τινα ἀπαράσκευον.

^d Hom. xxii. p. 880, fin. "Ἐπαρσίς, φησι, τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἱσπερινή, ἰὰν μιτὰ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀναλάβωμεν ἵνα οἱ μεμνημένοι τί λίγω τάχα δὲ καὶ ἰαγινώσκουσιν τὸ λιχθῆν, καὶ συνεῖται ὅτι ἡνιξάμεν Ἐπάρωμεν εἰς ὕψος τὴν διάνοιαν.

^e De Pœnit. Hom. vi. tom. vii. p. 146, Basil. 1525.

in their funeral obsequies ; by virgins at their needle ; by the illiterate and unlearned, who could not read a letter in the book, yet could repeat David's Psalms by heart. David was always in their mouths, not only in the cities and the churches, but in the courts, in the monasteries, in the deserts, and the wilderness. He turned earth into heaven, and men into angels, being adapted to all orders, and all capacities, children, young men, virgins, old men, and sinners. In the beginning of the same Homily, he says the Book of Genesis was, by appointment of the Church, read only once a-year, at a certain season, which was the time of Lent, as we have heard before in several places of this author, and as we shall see more fully demonstrated from other writers, in the next Book.

Among those published in Greek by Sir H. Savil, the hundred and twenty-third Homily, tome v. p. 809,^f speaks of the priests using this form of admonition to all communicants in the time when the holy mysteries were celebrated, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, 'Holy things are only for holy men.' And whoever will bestow the pains to peruse the rest of the Homilies which are in that edition, may doubtless find many other such fragments of the ancient liturgy, which, as appears from this collection, so much abound in this celebrated writer.

^f Hom. cxxiii. tom. v. p. 809, edit. Savil. lin. 29, seqq. Περιὼν πανταχοῦ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης τῆς φρικτοῦς ἀτάτης ὁ ἱερεὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν καὶ ἔλκων πρὸς μιστάληψιν τῶν θείων καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, λίγι, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.—Et paullo post sub fin. Ἐψήλως ἰστώς ὁ ἱερεὺς, μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, φρικτῇ τῇ βοῇ, καθάπερ τις κήρυξ, τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων εἰς ὕψος, πᾶσι κατὰ δὴλος γιγνομένους, καὶ μέγα ἰσ' ἐκείνη τῇ φρικτῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἀνακράζων, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοὺς μὲν καλῶ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπείργω.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE USE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE LITURGY OF
THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I. — *The Lord's Prayer by all the Ancients esteemed a Form, given by Christ to be used by his Disciples.*

IF there were no other argument to prove the lawfulness of set forms of prayer in the judgment of the ancients, the opinion which they had of the Lord's Prayer, and their practice pursuant to that opinion, would sufficiently do it. And, therefore, though several things have been occasionally hinted already about this matter, yet it will not be amiss to give it a distinct handling in this chapter. And, first of all, I observe, that the ancients did not only esteem it as a rule and pattern to conform our prayers to, but looked upon it as a particular form of prayer, which Christ enjoined all his disciples to use in the same words that he delivered it. Tertullian says,* “ Our Lord prescribed a new form of prayer for his new disciples of the New Testament: and that though John had taught his disciples a form of prayer, yet all that he did was only as a forerunner of Christ; when Christ was increased (as John had foretold, ‘He must increase, but I must decrease’) then the whole work of the servant passed over to the Lord. And, therefore, it is not so much as extant now in what words John taught his disciples to pray; because earthly things were to give way to heavenly.” So again, “The religion of prayer was ordained by Christ himself; and this prayer being animated by his Spirit from the time that it came out of his heavenly mouth, ascends up to heaven with a privilege, commending to the Father what the Son taught. But, because our Lord, who

* Tertul. de Orat. c. i. Dominus noster novis discipulis Novi Testamenti novam orationis formam determinavit. . . . Docuerat et Joannes discipulos suos adorare. Sed omnia Joannis Christo præstuebantur, donec ipso aucto (sicut ipse Joannes prænuntiabat, illum augeri oportere, se vero diminui) totum præministri opus cum ipso Spiritu transiret ad Dominum. Ideo nec exstat, in quæ verba docuerit Joannes adorare, quod terrena cælestibus cesserint. (Paris. 1664, p. 129.)

foresaw the necessities of man, after he had given this rule of praying, said also, 'Ask, and ye shall receive;' and there are many things which men's particular circumstances oblige every one to ask; therefore, we have a right to make additional requests, and build other prayers upon this, always premising this appointed and ordinary prayer as the foundation." So that, according to Tertullian,^b "It was not only a rule prescribing the method and matter of prayer, but a form to be used in the words in which Christ delivered it, and to be added to all other prayers as the foundation of a superstructure." After the same manner, St. Cyprian says,^c "That Christ, among many other wholesome admonitions and Divine precepts, by which he provided for the salvation of his people, has given us also a form of prayer, teaching and admonishing us what we are to pray for." And, a little after,^d "We are to learn from our Lord's information what we are to pray for: for he said, 'Pray thus: Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name,'" &c. St. Austin assures us,^e "That as the Church always used this prayer, so she used it by the command of Christ. He said, 'Pray thus;' he said to his disciples, 'Pray thus:;' he said to his disciples, he said to his apostles, and to us who are the lambs he said, and to the rams of his flock he said, 'Pray thus.'" In another place,^f "This prayer is necessary for all, which the

^b Tertul. de Orat. c. ix. Ab ipso ordinata religio orationis, et de Spiritu ipsius jam tunc, quum ex ore Divino ferretur, animata suo privilegio, adscendit in cælum, commendans Patri, quæ Filius docuit. Quoniam tamen Dominus prospector humanarum necessitatum, seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam, Petite, inquit, et accipietis; et sunt, quæ petantur pro circumstantia cujusque, præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione, quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones, &c. (P. 133.)

^c Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. p. 139, (p. 99, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Dominus inter cetera salutaria sua monita et præcepta divina, quibus populo suo consuluit ad salutem, etiam orandi ipse formam dedit; ipse quid precaremur, monuit et instruxit.

^d Ibid. p. 141, (p. 100, cit. edit.) Cognoscamus, docente Domino, et quid oremus. Sic, inquit, orate: 'Pater noster, qui es in cælis, sanctificetur nomen tuum,' &c.

^e Aug. Hom. xxiv. de Verbis Apostol. tom. x. p. 150, (p. 394, d. edit. Basil. 1569.) Ecclesiæ oratio est vox et de magisterio Domini veniens. Ipse dixit, Sic orate: Discipulis dixit, apostolis dixit et nobis, qualescumque agnificuli sumus, dixit, arietibus gregis dixit, Sic orate.

^f Ibid. Epist. lxxxix. ad Hilarium sub initium. Omnibus necessaria est

Lord gave to the rams of his flock, that is, to his apostles, that every one of them should say, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.' For if there is any one to whom these words in the prayer are not necessary, he must be said to be without sin. And if Christ had foreseen that there would have been any such, so much better than his apostles, he would have taught them another prayer, in which they should not have asked 'forgiveness of sins' for themselves, who had already obtained remission of all in baptism." Again he says,^s "If any one say that this prayer is not necessary in this life for every saint of God, that knows and does the will of God, except one, the Holy of Holies, he is in a manifest error, and pleases not that God whom he pretends to praise." "For this prayer which we use,^b was given as a rule to the apostles by the heavenly Lawgiver, who said to them, 'Pray thus.' He enjoined the rams of his flock, the leaders of his sheep, the chief members of the great shepherd to use it. And they thence learned to say, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.'" In his *Retractations*ⁱ he confirms all this, calling it "one of Christ's commands to use this prayer, which the whole Church will continue to use to the end of

Oratio Dominica, quam etiam ipsis arietibus gregis, id est, apostolis suis Dominus dedit, ut unusquisque Deo dicat, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.' Cui enim hæc in oratione verba necessaria non fuerint, ipse hic sine peccato vivere pronuntiandus est. Quales si aliquos futuros Dominus prævideret, meliores utique, quam exstiterunt ejus apostoli, aliam illos orationem doceret, qua non peterent dimitti sibi peccata, quibus in baptismo fuerant omnia jam dimissa. (ii. 412.)

^s Aug. de Peccator. Merit. lib. iii. c. xiii. Quam orationem quisquis cuilibet etiam homini sancto et Dei voluntatem scienti ac facienti, præter unum Sanctum sanctorum, dicit in hac vita necessariam non fuisse, multum errat, nec potest omnino illi ipsi placere, quem laudat.

^b Ibid. cxlii. p. 675, (tom. viii. opp. p. 146, b. edit. Basil.) Ipsi apostoli didicerunt orare; quod oramus, ipsis data est regula postulandi a jurisperito cælesti. 'Sic orate,' inquit. Et quum quædam præmisisset, posuit et hoc, ut docerent arietes nostri, duces ovium, et præcipua membra pastoris et congregatoris unius gregis: ipsi didicerunt dicere, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.'

ⁱ Ibid. *Retract.* lib. i. c. xix. (tom. i. opp. p. 27, edit. cit.) In eisdem mandatis est quod jubemur dicere, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.' Quam orationem usque ad finem sæculi tota dicit ecclesia.

the world." St. Chrysostom, in two volumes of his works, the third and fifth, repeats this almost twenty times, "That the Lord's Prayer was a common form in use among them, by the express command of Christ." And there are many other scattered passages throughout his writings, to the same purpose; which, because I have produced them at large in the last chapter, I need not here repeat them.

SECT. II.—*And, accordingly, it was used by the Primitive Church in all her Offices, particularly the Administration of Baptism.*

Evident it is, beyond dispute, that the whole Primitive Church constantly used it in all her holy offices, out of consciousness and regard to Christ's command. This, as we have heard Tertullian word it,^k was laid as the foundation of all other prayers. It is the prayer of the Church. The whole Church says, "Forgive us our trespasses," as we have it before in the testimony of St. Austin.^l And the practice was so universal and well known, from the beginning, that Lucian, the heathen, is thought to refer to it in one of his Dialogues,^m where he speaks, in the person of a Christian, of the prayer which began ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, 'with our Father.' But we have more certain evidence from the records and offices of the Church. For there was no considerable Divine office, in the celebration of which this prayer did not always make a solemn part. Particularly in baptism, as soon as the person baptized came up out of the water, he was enjoined to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven." Immediately after, says the author of the Constitutions,ⁿ "Let him stand and pray the prayer which the Lord hath taught us." And so Chrysostom,^o "As soon as he rises out of the water, he says those words, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' &c.

^k Tertul. c. ix. Vid. sub litt. (b), p. 304.

^l Aug. de Verbis Apostol. p. 150, (394.) Vid. litt. (e), p. 304.

^m Lucian. Philopatr. p. 1128. Vid. supra chap. v. sect. v. litt. (i), p. 200.

ⁿ Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. Μιστὰ τοῦτο ἰστῶς προσευχίσθαι τὴν εὐχὴν ἣν ἰδιδάξιν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Coloss. p. 1359, (p. 201, c. edit. Francof. 1697.) Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀνελθὼν, ταῦτα φθίγγεται τὰ ῥήματα, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, &c. — It. Hom. lxii. in Paralytic. tom. v. p. 934, (hom. lxx. p. 836.)

SECT. III.—*And in the Celebration of the Eucharist.*

In like manner, in the celebration of the other sacrament of Christ's body and blood, it was commonly used at the close of the consecration prayer. So it is expressly more than once noted by St. Austin :^p "After the sanctification of the sacrifice, we say the Lord's Prayer." And again,^q "The whole Church almost concludes the prayer of benediction and sanctification with the Lord's Prayer." Upon this account he tells his hearers,^r "That all who were communicants, heard this prayer said daily at the altar." And he expressly makes this difference between the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, that men might remember the former by hearing it daily repeated at the altar; but the Creed was not so, for as yet it was never publicly used, but only in the occasional service of baptism; whereas, the Lord's Prayer was of constant use by being a daily part of the communion-service. Cyril, in his *Mystagogical Catechism* to the *Illuminated*, gives the same account of it :^s "After the oblation prayer we say that prayer which our Saviour delivered to his disciples, calling God our Father with a pure conscience, and saying, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.' " And St. Jerom,^t though he does not so precisely note what part of the communion-office it was

Ἡμεῖς οὐ πρότερον δυνάμεθα καλεῖσαι Πατέρα, ὥς ἐν τῇ κολυμένηῃ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποσιφύμεθα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὅταν γούν ἐκίθην ἀνέλθωμεν τὸ ποταμὸν ἐκίνο φορτίον ἀποδόμενοι, τότε λέγομεν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^p Aug. Hom. lxxxiii. de Diversis, p. 556. Post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam.

^q Ibid. Epist. lix. ad Paulin. quæst. v. (tom. ii. opp. p. 299, fin. edit. Basil.) Precationes facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici : orationes, quum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum communicatur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit. (ii. 386.)

^r Ibid. Hom. xlii. inter l. tom. x. p. 197, (p. 531, d. edit. cit.) In ecclesia ad altare quotidie dicitur ista Oratio Dominica, et audiunt illam fideles.

^s Cyril. Catech. Mystag. v. p. 298. Ἐἵτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν λέγομεν ἐκίθη, ἣν ὁ Σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μετὰ καθαῶς συνειδήσεως Πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ λέγοντες, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^t Hieron. lib. iii. cont. Pelag. c. iii. Docuit apostolos suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui, Pater noster, qui es in cælis, &c.

used in, yet, in general, he says, "Christ taught his apostles this prayer, that believers might every day, in the sacrifice of his body, have boldness to say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.'" And St. Chrysostom, in a covert way, intimates the same, when he tells his hearers, "That if they forgive their enemies, they may come with a pure conscience to the holy and tremendous table, and boldly say the words that are contained in the prayer. The initiated know what I mean." He means that petition of the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us;' which he expresses thus covertly, because of non-communicants, catechumens, or infidels, that might be present at a popular discourse in a general assembly. He speaks more plainly in his Sermon upon Eutropius, where, pressing the people to forgive the injury which that great statesman had done the Church, he uses this argument to them: "How otherwise will you take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer, wherein we are commanded to say, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.'" This plainly shews that the Lord's Prayer was then used as an ordinary and constant part of the communion-service; only with this difference, that in the Greek Church and the Gallican Church it was said by the priest and all the people together, as Mabillon^y proves out of Gregory of Tours,—and Leontius in the Life of Joannes Eleemosynarius, bishop of Alexandria,—and the Epistles of Gregory the Great, who expressly notes the difference between the Greek and Latin Church in this particular: "Among the Greeks the Lord's Prayer is said by all the people; but with us by the priest alone." And in this the

^u Chrysost. Hom. xxvii. in Genes. p. 358, (p. 300, edit. Francof.) Vid. Græca supra, c. vi. sect. ii. litt. (ε), p. 270.

^x Ibid. Hom. in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 554, (p. 485, fin. edit. cit.) Πῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ τούτου λυθίντος, ὑμῖς μυστηρίων ἔψισθε, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἑαῖντε ἐκείνην, δι' ἧς κλυύμεθα λίγην, "Αφίς ἡμῖν, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ἀφιλίστοις ἡμῶν, τὸν ὑμῶν ἀφιλίστην ἀπαυτῶντες δίκην;

^y Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. c. v. n. xxii. ex Gregor. Turon. de Mirac. Martini, lib. ii. c. xxx.

^z Gregor. lib. vii. ep. lxiv. Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo sacerdote.

Gallican Church chose to follow the way of the Greek Church, as we now follow the Gallican Church and not the Roman. The manner of the Mosarabic liturgy in Spain, is noted also by Mabillon to be different from both these; for there the priest repeated every petition by itself, and the people answered to each petition separately, 'Amen.' But these differences in the manner of using it only serve to confirm the use of it in general, and shew us that it was never omitted by any Church in the public service of the altar, at least from the beginning of the fourth century, when Cyril of Jerusalem lived, whose Mystical Catechisms are a clear evidence for it.

SECT. IV. — *And in their Morning and Evening Prayers.*

It also made a part in their daily morning and evening prayers distinct from the communion-office; of which we have instances in the Canons of the Councils of Gironde^a and Toledo;^b which shall be recited hereafter, when we come to consider more exactly the several parts of the morning and evening service.

SECT. V. — *And in their Private Devotions.*

They used it also in their private devotions: as is evident from that passage in St. Chrysostom upon Psalm cxii. where he says,^c "That Christ, to induce us to unanimity and charity, enjoins us to make common prayer, and obliges the whole Church, as if it were but one person, to say, 'Our Father,' and, 'Give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil;' always using a word of the plural number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make prayer for his brethren." This implies, that in their private devotions, as well as public, they thought themselves obliged, by the command of Christ, to use the

^a Conc. Gerund. c. x. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1569.) Ita nobis placuit, ut omnibus diebus, post matutinas et vespertinas, Oratio Dominica a sacerdote proferatur.

^b Conc. Tolet. IV. c. ix. Vid. sub litt. (h) seq.

^c Chrysostom. Comm. in Psalm. cxii. p. 369, (p. 320, c. d. edit. Francof. 1698.) Vid. Græca supra, chap. vi. sect. iii. sub. litt. (m), p. 272.

Lord's Prayer. In another place, he gives us an instance in the practice of a holy man, who, to the form of his private devotions (which he also there recites), always added the Lord's Prayer, or the prayer of the faithful,^d as he styles it, for a particular reason, of which more by and by; making it both the conclusion and uniting tie of all his other prayers for all men. In compliance with this general practice it is, that the author of the Constitutions^e orders every one to use the Lord's Prayer three times a-day. And this Cotelierius thinks was done in honour of the Holy Trinity,^f citing Theodoret and Isidore for his opinion. St. Ambrose also, writing instructions to virgins,^g directs them to sing psalms in bed, and say the Lord's Prayer between every psalm. And the fourth Council of Toledo^h makes it deprivation for any clergyman to omit using the Lord's Prayer daily, either in his public or private offices of devotion, censuring him as a proud contemner of the Lord's injunction.

SECT. VI.—*Whence it had the name of Oratio Quotidiana, the Christian's daily Prayer.*

Now, this being the constant use that was daily made of the Lord's Prayer, it hence took the name of *Oratio Quotidiana*, 'the daily prayer,' as is observed in the foresaid Canon of that Council. And so we find it styled in Cyprian, who thought that petition in the Lord's Prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' might be taken in a spiritual, as well as a literal sense, and refer to the eucharist, or the body and blood

^d Chrysostom. Hom. x. in Coloss. p. 1385, (p. 233, e. edit. Francof.) Ἐπιθίς τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν πιστῶν, ὡς κορυφαία τινὰ καὶ σύνδεσμον ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχῶν ποιησάμενος.

^e Constitut. lib. vii. c. xxiv. Οὕτω προσεύχισθε, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς εὐχαριστίαις, κ. τ. λ. Τεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχισθε.

^f Cotel. in loc. In honorem Sanctissimæ Trinitatis: ut colligo ex Theodoro, ep. cxlv. et Isidoro, Originum, lib. vi. c. ult. Euthymium consule ad Psalm. liv. 18. Dicendum (illis fidelibus), ut singulis diebus, qui amplius non potest, saltem duabus vicibus oret, mane scilicet et vespere, dicens symbolum, vel Orationem Dominicam.

^g Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. p. 115, edit. Basil. 1567. In ipso cubili volo Psalmos cum Oratione Dominica frequenti contextos vice.

^h Conc. Tolet. IV. c. ix. (al. x.) Quisquis sacerdotum vel subagentium clericorum hanc Orationem Dominicam quotidie, aut in publico aut in privato officio, præterierit, propter superbiam judicatus, ordinis sui honore privetur.

of Christ, the celestial bread,ⁱ which they then desired to receive every day. And the Council of Toledo cites St. Hilary to the same purpose :^k “ ‘ Give us this day our daily bread.’ God desires nothing so much as that Christ may dwell in us daily, who is the bread of life, and the bread that comes from heaven. And because this is our daily prayer, we therefore pray daily that this bread may be given us.” St. Austin also means the Lord’s Prayer when he says,^l “ ‘ That the Christian’s daily prayer makes satisfaction for those lesser and daily failings, without which no man lives.’” Upon which account, he says, in another place,^m “ ‘ That this daily prayer is a sort of daily baptism, because, in the pious use of it, men obtain daily remission of sins, as they did at first in baptism.’” Possidius also makes this remark in his *Life upon his practice and that of St. Ambrose*,ⁿ “ ‘ That they both trusted more in God’s mercy than their own merits, being used to pray in the words of our Lord’s daily prayer, ‘ Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us : ’ ” from all which, and much more that might be alleged upon this head, it appears that this prayer, in the very words which Christ delivered it in, was not only an allowed form, but a prayer of daily use both in their public and private devotions.

ⁱ Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 147, (p. 104, edit. Amstelod.) *Christus noster panis est. Hunc panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne, qui in Christo sumus, et eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus . . . a Christi corpore separemur.* (147.)

^k Conc. Tolet. IV. c. ix. Sanctus Hilarius dicit, ‘ Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.’ Quid enim tam vult Deus, quam ut quotidie Christus habitet in nobis, qui est panis vitæ et panis e cælo? Et quia quotidiana oratio est, quotidie quoque ut detur, oratur.

^l Aug. Enchirid. c. lxxi. De quotidianis brevibus levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana oratio fidelium satisfacit. Eorum enim est dicere, ‘ Pater noster, qui es in cælis.’

^m Ibid. Hom. cxix. de Tempore, p. 306, (tom. x. p. 859, edit. Basil. 1569.) Remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione baptismatis sacri; sed etiam in Oratione Dominica et quotidiana. In illa invenietis quasi quotidianum baptismum.

ⁿ Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxvii. Sciens examen æquitatis Divinæ, de bono Domino se dicit magis, quam de meritis suis confidere. Cui etiam in Oratione quotidiana Dominica dicebat, ‘ Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.’

SECT. VII.—*And was used by all Heretics and Schismatics, as well as Catholics.*

Neither were there any sects or heresies that pretended, in those times, to object the least thing against the use of it. The Donatists broke off from the Church, and set up conventicles of their own, but they did not alter the way of worship; "They still thought themselves obliged," as Optatus says,^o to use the Lord's Prayer at the altar." The Pelagians could not relish well one petition in it, "Forgive us our trespasses;" for they proudly thought the saints were without sin, and had nothing to ask forgiveness of. Yet they also continued to use it, and accounted for their practice, by putting this false gloss upon it, that they then prayed not for their own sins, but the sins of others. We find this often objected to them in the African councils,^p but never any charge brought against them, as if they omitted the Lord's Prayer in whole, or even this single petition in it. St. Austin, indeed, often says,^q "That their impious tenets

^o Optat. lib. ii. p. 57, Paris. 1631. Ad altare conversi Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non potestis. — It. lib. iii. p. 72, edit. cit. Oratio Dominica apud nos et apud vos una est.

^p Conc. Milevit. II. c. viii. (ap. Labb. c. vii. tom. ii. Conc. p. 1539.) Quicumque dixerit, in Oratione Dominica ideo dicere sanctos, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, ut non pro se ipsis hoc dicant, quia non est eis jam necessaria ista petitio, sed pro aliis, qui sunt in suo populo peccatores: et ideo non dicere unumquemque sanctorum, 'Dimitte mihi debita mea,' sed, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ut hoc pro aliis potius, quam pro se justus petere intelligatur, anathema sit. — Cau. ix. (can. viii.) Placuit, ut quicumque verba ipsa Dominicæ Orationis, ubi dicimus, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ita volunt a sanctis dici, ut humiliter, non veraciter, hoc dicatur, anathema sit. — Cod. Afric. c. cxv. "Ἡρεσιν, ἵνα ὅστις δήποτε εἴποι, ἐν τῇ δισποτικῇ εὐχῇ διὰ τοῦτο λέγειν τοὺς ἁγίους," Ἀφίς ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἡμῶν οὐχ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἱαντῶν τοῦτο λέγουσι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς λοιπὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖα αὐτῇ αἰτήσις, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ λαφ' αὐτῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν, καὶ μὴ λέγειν ἵνα ἕκαστος τὸν ἁγίον, "Αφίς μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενά μου, ἀλλ' ἀφίς ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἡμῶν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ ἱαντοῦ τὸν δίκαιον αἰτοῦντα νοῦσθαι, ἀνάθημα εἴη. — Can. cxvi. 'Ομοίως ἥρεσιν, ἵνα οἵτινες δήποτε αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα τῆς δισποτικῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπου λέγεται, "Αφίς ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἡμῶν" οὕτως βούλονται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων λήγισθαι, ὡς ταπεινοφρόνως καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα λαχθῆναι, ἀνάθημα εἴη.

^q Aug. Epist. xcii. ad Innocentium. Nobis etiam Dominicam Orationem impiis disputationibus conantur auferre. . . . Dicunt, posse hominem in hac vita, præceptis Dei cognitis, ad tantam perfectionem justitiæ sine adjutorio

and disputations tended to take away the use of the Lord's Prayer;" but then he explains himself to mean, not that they laid aside the use of it, but that they taught that a man might come to such perfection in righteousness in this life, by observing all the commands, and that by his own free will, without the help of the grace of Christ, that he needed not to say, "Forgive us our trespasses," for himself, but only for others. They owned that the apostles used the Lord's Prayer;^r but then, they said, they were so holy and perfect, without all manner of sin, that they did not say for themselves, "Forgive us our trespasses," but only for other sinners, that were yet imperfect. St. Chrysostom mentions another sort of men, who were also offended at this petition, because of the condition that was in it, "Forgive us, as we forgive others;" and therefore they curtailed the prayer, by dropping this petition when they said it. But he rebukes them for this,^s and bids them not be so vainly cautious as to think they were excused by curtailing the prayer, but advises them to use the whole prayer, as Christ appointed it to be used, that the necessity of this petition might daily terrify them from revenge, and compel them to grant pardon to their neighbours; so that, though there were some heretics, and other ill men, who did not like this one petition for different reasons, yet they all continued to use the prayer either in whole or in part; and there is no instance of any that totally rejected it.

gratiæ Salvatoris, per solum liberum voluntatis arbitrium, pervenire, ut ei non sit jam necessarium dicere, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'

^r Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. ii. c. x. Quidam contra Orationem Domini-
cam argumentantur: Quia etsi orabant eam, inquirunt, sancti et perfecti jam
apostoli, nullum omnino habentes peccatum, non tamen pro se ipsis, sed pro
imperfectis adhuc peccatoribus dicebant, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'—Id.
Epist. xciv. ad Hilarium. Omnes, qui spem habemus in Christo, huic pestiferæ
impietati resistere, eamque concorditer damnare et anathematizare debemus, quæ
contradicit etiam orationibus nostris, concedens quidem, ut dicamus, 'Dimitte
nobis debita nostra,' sicut et nos dimittimus debitobus nostris: et hoc ita con-
cedens, ut asserat hominem in hoc corruptibili corpore, quod aggravat animam,
posse suis viribus ad tantam justitiam pervenire, ut neque hoc illi sit dicere
necessarium, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'

^s Chrysostom. Hom. xxii. tom. i. p. 288, (p. 257, edit. Francof.) Vid.
Græc. chap. vi. sect. i. litt. (u), p. 264.

SECT. VIII.—*That it was esteemed a Divine and Spiritual Form of Prayer.*

There was no objection against it in those days that it was a form, or that it was not a spiritual prayer, because it was used in the very words in which Christ had delivered it; but, on the contrary, it was recommended as the most spiritual and prevalent prayer that could be used, because of the dignity of its author. St. Cyprian thus argues for the use of it: ‘Christ,’ says he, ‘had foretold, that ‘The hour was coming, when the true worshippers should worship the Father in spirit and in truth;’ and he fulfilled what he had promised before, that we, who had received the Spirit and truth by his sanctification, might worship, in spirit and truth, by his tradition, or the prayer which he delivered to us; for what prayer can be more spiritual, than that which is given us by Christ, by whom the Holy Spirit is sent to us? What can be esteemed a truer prayer with the Father, than that which came out of the mouth of his Son, who is truth itself? So that to pray otherwise than he has taught us, is not only ignorance but a crime; since he has laid it down, and said, ‘Ye reject the commandment of God, to establish your own tradition.’ Let us, therefore, my dearly

* Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 139, (p. 99, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Christus prædixerat, horam venire, quando veri adoratores adorarent Patrem in Spiritu et veritate, et implevit quod ante promisit; ut, qui Spiritum et veritatem de ejus satisfactione percepimus, de traditione quoque ejus vere et spiritaliter adoremus. Quæ enim potest esse magis spiritalis oratio, quam quæ a Christo nobis data est, a quo nobis et Spiritus Sanctus missus est? Quæ vera magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ a Filio, qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolata est? ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed et culpa; quando ipse posuerit et dixerit, ‘Rejicitis mandatum Dei, ut traditionem vestram statuatis.’ Oremus itaque, fratres dilectissimi, sicut magister Deus docuit. Amica et familiaris oratio est Deum de suo rogare, ad aures ejus ascendere Christi oratione. Agnoscat Pater Filii sui verba. Quum precem facimus, qui habitat intus in pectore, ipse sit et in voce. Et quum ipsum habeamus apud Patrem advocatum pro peccatis nostris; quando peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus, advocati nostri verba promamus. Nam quum dicat, ‘quia quodcumque petierimus a Patre in nomine ejus,’ dabit nobis; quanto efficacius impetramus, quod petimus in Christi nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione? He begins this sermon with these words: Qui fecit vivere, docuit et orare; benignitate ea, scilicet, qua et cetera dare et conferre dignatus est: ut dum prece et oratione, quam Filii docuit, apud Patrem loquimur, facilius audiamur. (139.)

beloved brethren, pray as our God and Master taught us. It is a friendly and familiar way of praying, to beseech God, in his own words, 'To let the prayer of his Son come to his ears.' Let the Father hear and acknowledge the words of his Son; when we make our prayers, let him that dwells in our heart, be also in our voice. And forasmuch as we have him our advocate with the Father for our sins, when we sinners pray for the pardon of our sins, let us bring forth the words of our advocate; for, since he has said, that 'Whatever we ask the Father in his name, he will give it us,' how much more efficaciously shall we obtain what we ask in the name of Christ, if we ask it in his prayer?" He introduces all this discourse with these words: "He that made us live, taught us to pray, by the same kindness that he confers all other things upon us; that whilst we speak to the Father in the prayer and oraison which the Son taught us, we should more easily be heard." So far was this holy man from thinking the Lord's Prayer a dead form, that could not be offered with the true spirit of prayer; that, on the contrary, he labours with all his might to convince men, that no prayer could be more justly styled worshipping God in spirit and in truth, or with greater advantages be presented to the Father. St. Chrysostom was of the same mind, that praying by the Lord's Prayer might justly be termed "praying by the Spirit," for he uses this as an argument for the Holy Spirit's operation upon us. "If there were no Holy Ghost," says he,^u "we that are believers, could not pray to God; for we say, 'Our Father which art in heaven.' As, therefore, we could not say that Jesus was the Lord, so neither could we call God our Father without the Holy Ghost. How does that appear? From the same apostle, who says, 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.'" And St. Austin,^x expounding those words of the apostle (Rom. viii. 26), "We know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit

^u Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in Pentecost. tom. v. p. 552, (hom. xxxix. p. 493, edit. Francof. 1698.) Vid. Græc. supra, chap. vi. sect. v. sub litt. (γ), p. 279.

^x Aug. Epist. cxxi. ad Probam, c. xiv. Neque enim ullo modo credendum est, vel ipsum, vel quibus ista dicebat, Dominicam nescisse Orationem. (ii, 297.)

helpeth our infirmities," concludes, "That the Spirit's helping and teaching them to pray as they ought, could not mean his helping them to new words and expressions; for both the apostle, and they to whom he wrote, were well acquainted already with the Lord's Prayer, so that there could be no want of the Spirit's assistance in that respect. But the want was this: men are commonly ignorant of the real benefit of temporal tribulation and affliction, which tends either to cure the tumour of pride, or exercise and try men's patience, and crown it with a greater reward, or else to chastise and abolish such other sins as they are subject to. Men being ignorant of these advantages, are usually most inclined to ask a perfect freedom and immunity from temporal affliction; but the Spirit corrects this ignorance, and helps this infirmity, and teaches men rather to ask patience of God, and submission to his will, that they may not think themselves neglected of God, though he do not remove such afflictions, but with a devout and pious patience hope for greater good arising from them." This is St. Austin's exposition of that famous passage of the apostle, concerning the assistance of the Spirit in prayer; by which he is so far from derogating from the Lord's Prayer, as void of the Spirit, that he supposes the very knowledge of it to be antecedently a work of the Spirit. And he says further,^y "That when men believe, and hope, and desire, and consider the things they ask of God in the Lord's Prayer, they are then qualified with those graces of the Spirit, faith, hope, and charity, which are necessary to bring a pious votary unto God." Men that say such things as these of the Lord's Prayer, could not conceive any mean thing about it, derogatory to the spirit of prayer; but must be presumed to entertain the most high and venerable notions of it, of any that can possibly be imagined.

^y Ibid. c. xiii. Fides ergo, et spes, et caritas ad Deum perducunt orantem, hoc est, credentem, sperantem, desiderantem, et quæ petat a Domino in Dominica Oratione considerantem. (297.)

SECT. IX.—*And the Use of it a peculiar Privilege, allowed only to Communicants and perfect Christians.*

And that they did so, is evident from one thing further, very observable in the ancient discipline and practice; that is, that then the use of the Lord's Prayer was not a mark of infamy or reproach, but an honorary privilege, allowed to none but communicants, or complete and perfect Christians. For, as I have had occasion to remark once or twice, in former parts of this work,² all catechumens, or persons unbaptized, were absolutely debarred from the use of this prayer; they were not allowed to call God 'Our Father,' till they were regenerated and made sons by the waters of baptism. I have noted several passages out of St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, and Theodoret, to this purpose, which need not here be repeated. To these I shall only add one passage out of Chrysostom, in his Homily upon the Paralytic,³ where, speaking of baptism, he says, "Before we have washed away our sins in the font of the holy waters, we cannot call God 'Our Father;' but when we return from thence, having put off the load of our sins, then we say, 'Our Father which art in heaven.'" And upon this account, as has been also noted before, this prayer was peculiarly called εὐχὴ πιστῶν, 'the prayer of communicants or believers,' because none had a right to use this prayer, but only such as had a right to communicate at the altar, and there hear it daily repeated.

² Book i. chap. iv. sect. vii. and Book x. chap. v. sect. ix.

³ Chrysostom. Hom. lxii. tom. v. p. 934, (hom. lxv. p. 836, edit. Fraucof. 1698.) Vid. Græc. supra, chap. vi. sect. v. sub litt. (b), p. 279.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE USE OF HABITS, AND GESTURE, AND OTHER RITES
AND CEREMONIES IN THE SERVICE OF THE ANCIENT
CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*No certain Evidence for the use of distinct Habits in the Apostolical Age, or the two following.*

THE next things to be spoken of are the circumstances and ceremonies of habits, gestures, and times appropriated to Divine service. Of all these it may be said in general, that, as they are matters of indifferent usage in their own nature, so the Church used her liberty in the appointment and observation of them. The writers of the Romish Church, Baronius, Du Saussay, and Bona, who will have every ceremony to be apostolical, pretend that the apostles themselves wore a distinct habit in all their sacred ministrations. Bona is very confident that St. Paul's cloak which he left at Troas,^a was a sacerdotal vestment. And others speak of St. Peter's *Planeta*, which is said to be sent from Antioch to Paris, and kept there as a sacred relic in the temple of St. Genouesa. And others mention St. John's, which is said to be sent to Gregory the Great. But Bona himself will not undertake to vouch for these, because of the silence of all ancient writers about them.^b Yet he is very angry with Nicholas Alemannius, for saying,^c "That neither the apostles

^a Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xxiv. n. i. Huc pertinet penula a Paulo Troade relicta, quam fuisse vestem sacerdotalem suo loco indicabo.

^b Ibid. lib. i. c. v. n. ii. Planetæ S. Petri, ab Antiochia Parisios delatæ et in templo S. Genouesæ collocatæ, meminit in vita S. Hugonis Cluniacensis alter Hugo, ejusdem monasterii monachus apud Surium die xxix. Aprilis. Sacram item vestem sancti Joannis evangelistæ Gregorio Magno transmissam refert Joannes diaconus in ejus vita, lib. iii. c. lix. Sunt et aliæ quædam historiæ de vestibus apostolorum, quibus in oblatione divini sacrificii usi fuisse dicuntur, quorum dubia est fides, tum propter antiquitatem, tum propter veterum de illis silentium.

^c Alemann. de Parietinis Lateran. c. ix. apud Bonam, ibid. qui hæc de eo habet: Audacious quam par esset, Nicolaus Alemannius in dissertatione de Parietinis Lateranensibus, c. ix. sacrarum vestium usum non solum apostolis, sed

nor apostolical men, used any sacred vestments; and that the opinion which maintains it, is to be exploded as ridiculous, and what is rejected by learned men." Vicecomes was a diligent inquirer into antiquity, and yet he could find no ground for this assertion, but has some arguments against it, which Bona is put to answer. And, till some better arguments can be produced to support it, I think it most prudent to leave uncertain tradition to shift for itself, and proceed to an age wherein we have more light and certainty in the matter.

SECT. II.—*What Evidence there is for them in the Fourth Century.*

In the beginning then of the fourth age, when the Church was quietly composed by Constantine, and settled in peace, we are sure a distinction was made in the habits and vestments of Divine service. For Constantine^d himself is said to have given a rich vestment embroidered with gold to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to be worn by him when he celebrated the service of baptism. And it was one of the accusations that the Arians afterward brought against Cyril, that he had sold it. Valesius^e thinks that it was not intended for an ordinary habit, whenever the bishop celebrated the office of baptism, but only when he performed the service of the great day of our Lord's baptism, which was the festival of Epiphany, held in great veneration at Jerusalem. This is not so likely in my opinion; but be it as it will, it makes no alteration in

etiam apostolicis viris abnegat: idque ait explodendum esse tamquam ridiculum, et ab omnibus viris doctis improbari. Nimia prorsus audacia. Nemo enim negabit viros doctos fuisse Valdensem, Democharem, Baronium, Stapletonium, Saussayum, et alios contrariæ sententiæ adsertores, &c.

^d Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxvii. Τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ἣν ὁ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν γεραίρων, δίδωκε τῷ Μακαρίῳ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερίῳ ἀρχιερεῖ, ἵνα ταύτην περιβαλλόμενος, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐπιτελῇ λειτουργίαν ἐν χρυσῶν δὲ αὐτῇ κατισκυσαστο ἡμάτων. (Cant. 110.)

^e Vales. in loc. Hunc locum de baptismi sacramento intellexerunt interpretes. Ego vero de festo Epiphaniarum die malim intelligere, quo Christus in Jordane est baptizatus. Hunc enim diem præcipuo honore colebant Hierosolymitani, eo quod apud ipsos Christus tinctus fuisset. Eoque die infantes baptizari apud illos solebant, ut legere memini in Typico monasterii sancti Sabæ, ubi etiam officium illius diei refertur.

the case; for still it was a sacred vestment to be used in the celebration of the liturgy or Divine service, which is enough to the present purpose. Not long after, we find Athanasius accused by his enemies for laying a tax upon the Egyptians, to raise a fund for the linen vestments of the Church. The thing is mentioned both by Athanasius himself,^f and Sozomen,^g the one calling them ‘linen *sticharia*,’ and the other ‘linen *tunics*,’ which are the same thing. Where, we are to observe, that the accusation was not that he used such vestments in the church, but only that he laid a tax upon the people to provide them; which supposes them to be in use, else there had been no colour or foundation for such a charge against him. St. Jerom often mentions this distinction of habits as generally observed in his time. I urge not those words which he has in his commentary upon Ezekiel:^h “The religion of God has one habit in its ministry, and another for the common uses of life:” because I think he is there speaking of the Jewish priests, in opposition to the idol-priests of Isis and Serapis. But what he says in his book against Pelagius, plainly relates to the Christians:ⁱ “What harm or enmity, I pray, is it against God, if I use a more cleanly garment? If a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the ecclesiastical order, come forth in a white vestment, when they administer the sacraments?” He says also, in his epitaph upon Nepotian,^j “That Nepotian, for his ordinary wearing, used the *pallium*, ‘the cloak that was

^f Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 778, (p. 178, edit. Paris. 1698.) Πλάττονται πρώτην κατηγορίαν . . . περί στιχαρίων λινῶν, ὡς ἰμοῦ κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἱσχυαλόντες, καὶ πρώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτήσαντες.

^g Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxii. Ἐντιῦθεν δὲ πρώτην ὑπαμίμνι γραφὴν ὡς χιτῶνίαν λινῶν φέρον ἱπικτιθίς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ παρὰ τῶν κατηγόρων τοιοῦτον δασμὸν εἰς-πραξάμενος.

^h Hieron. Comment. in Ezech. c. xliv. p. 668, edit. Basil. 1565. Religio alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi.

ⁱ Ibid. lib. i. cont. Pelag. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitie contra Deum, si tunica habuero mundior? Si episcopus, presbyter, diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacramentorum, candida veste processerit?

^j Ibid. Epist. iii. ad Heliodor. p. 23, d. edit. Paris. 1643. Apprehensa avunculi manu, ‘Hanc,’ inquit, ‘tunicam, qua utebar in ministerio Christi, mitte dilectissimo mihi, ætate patri, fratri collegio.’ — It. Epist. ad Præsid. Diacon. Difficile est locum Stephani implere, et populos subjacentes candenti desuper veste despiciere.

in common use among Christian philosophers:’ but in his ministrations he used a tunic, which he ordered his uncle Heliodore to send as his legacy to St. Jerom.” St. Chrysostom also intimates, that the deacons wore a peculiar habit in their ministrations, when he says,^k “Their honour, crown, and glory, did not consist so much in their walking about the church in a white and shining garment, as in their power to repel unworthy communicants from the Lord’s table.” This implies that they had a distinct habit, when they ministered in Divine service. And so it is remarked by Sozomen, when, speaking of the assault that was made upon the Church by the enemies of Chrysostom, he says,^l “The priests and deacons were beaten and driven out of the church, as they were in the vestments of their ministration.” And there is among St. Chrysostom’s works a homily upon the prodigal son, written by Severianus, bishop of Gabala, contemporary with St. Chrysostom; who, speaking of the deacons ministering in the sacred mysteries, says,^m “They resembled the wings of angels, with their veils, or tippets, on their left shoulders, running about the church, and crying out, ‘Let none of the catechumens be present at the celebration of the mysteries,’” &c. In like manner, Nazianzen, in his vision of the Church of Anastasia, represents the deacons standingⁿ ἐν εἵμασι παμφανόουσιν, ‘in their bright and shining garments.’ And in his will he leaves to his deacon Evagrius [Eutropus?] a κάμασον and a στιχάριον, which were then the common names for these ‘surplices,’ or ‘white garments,’ used in Divine service.^o The Council of Laodicea

^k Chrysostom. Hom. lxxxii. al. lxxxiii. in Matth. p. 705, (p. 872, edit. Francof. 1697.) Τοῦτο ὑμῶν ἄξιον, ταῦτα ἡ ἀσφάλεια, ταῦτα ἡ στέφανος, οὐχ ἵνα λαλοῦν χριστιανικοῦ καὶ ἀποστέλλοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιήτοι.

^l Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxi. Ἰερίων δὲ καὶ διακόνων τυπτομένων τι, καὶ πρὸς βίαν ὡς εἶχον σχήματος ἱλαυομένων. (P. 352.)

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvii. de Filio Prodigio, tom. vi. p. 375, (p. 313, tom. vi. edit. Francof.) cit. supra, c. vi. sect. vi. litt. (m), p. 283.

ⁿ Nazianz. Somn. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 78.

Οἱ δ’ αἱρεῖ ὑποδεσσύρεις ἐν εἵμασι παμφανόουσιν

Ἔστασαν, ἀγγελικῆς εὐκρίνους ἀγλαΐης.

^o Id. in Testamento, ap. Brisson. de Formulis, lib. vii. plagula RRRR. col. 1, p. 671, (verius, p. 681), lin. 30, 31, (edit. Francof. 1592.) Εὐτρεῖα . . . βούλομαι, δοῦναι κάμασον ἵνα, καὶ στιχάριον ε, πάλῃ γι, κ. σ. λ.

has two canons concerning the little habit called the *orarium*,^p which was a 'scarf, or tippet' to be worn upon the shoulders, and might be used by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but not by subdeacons, singers, or readers, who are expressly debarred the use of it in that council. The fourth Council of Carthage^q speaks of the *alba*, or 'surplice,' which the deacon is ordered to wear, when the oblation is made, or the lessons are read. The Council of Narbo^r mentions the same. The first Council of Braga speaks of the *tunica* and the *orarium*^s as both belonging to deacons; and the third Council of Braga^t orders priests to wear the *orarium* on both shoulders, when they ministered at the altar. By which we learn, that the *tunica*, or 'surplice,' was common to all the clergy; the *orarium* on the left shoulder proper to deacons; and on both shoulders the distinguishing badge of priests.

The fourth Council of Toledo is most particular in these distinctions; for, in one Canon it says, "That if a bishop, presbyter, or deacon be unjustly degraded, and be found innocent by a synod, yet they shall not be what they were before, unless they receive the degrees they had lost, from the hands of the bishops before the altar. If he be a bishop," he must receive his *orarium*, his ring, and his staff; if a pres-

^p Conc. Laodic. c. xxii. "Οτι οὐ δι' ὑψηρότην ἱεράριον φορεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰς θύρας ἱγκαταλιμπάνειν.—Can. xxiii. "Οτι οὐ δι' ἀναγνώστας ἢ ψάλλτας ἱεράριον φορεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἀναγιγνώσκων καὶ ψάλλον.

^q Conc. Carth. IV. c. xli. Ut diaconus, tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis, alba induatur.

^r Conc. Narbon. an. 589, c. xii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1020.) . . . Nec diaconus, aut subdiaconus certe, vel lector, antequam missa consummetur, alba se præsumat exuere.

^s Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxvii. (ap. Labb. Conc. II. c. ix. tom. v. p. 841.) Placuit, ut quia in aliquantis hujus provinciarum ecclesiis diacones absconsis infra tunicam utuntur orariis, ita ut nihil differre a subdiacono videantur, de cetero superposito scapular, sicut decet, utantur orario.

^t Conc. Bracar. III. c. iii. (ap. Labb. Conc. IV. c. iv. tom. vi. p. 564.) Quum sacerdos ad solemnia missarum accedit, aut pro se Deo sacrificium oblaturus, aut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sumturus, non aliter accedat, quam orario utroque humero circumseptus.

^u Conc. Toletan. IV. c. xxviii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1714.) Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus, in sancta synodo innocens reperitur, non potest esse quod fuerat, nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altario de manu episcoporum. Si episcopus est, orarium, annulum, et baculum: si presbyter, orarium et planetam: si diaconus, orarium et albam.

byter, his *orarium* and *planeta* ; if a deacon, his *orarium* and *alba*." And in another Canon,^x "That the deacon shall wear but one *orarium* ; and that upon his left shoulder, wherewith he is to give the signal of prayers to the people." Where we may observe also the reason of the name *orarium* in the ecclesiastical sense, *ab orando*, 'from praying ;' though, in common acceptation it signifies no more than a handkerchief to wipe the face, and so comes from *ore*, in which signification it is sometimes used by St. Ambrose,^y and St. Austin,^z as well as by the old Roman authors. But here we take it in the ecclesiastical sense, for a sacred habit appropriated to bishops, priests, and deacons, in the solemnities of Divine service ; in which sense it appears to have been a habit distinct from that of civil and common use, by all the authorities that have been mentioned. The author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, under the name of St. Austin, speaks also of the *dalmatica*,^a as worn both by the bishops and deacons : but whether it was then a garment of sacred use, is not said by him or any other ancient writer that I know of ; and therefore I content myself with the proofs already alleged, as sufficient to shew that, in the fourth age, a plain distinction of habits was made in the sacred service of the Church.

^x Conc. Toletan. IV. c. xl. Orariis duobus nec episcopo quidem liceat, nec presbytero uti, quanto minus diacono, qui minister eorum est. Unum igitur orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.

^y Ambros. de Fide Resurrectionis in Satyri Fratris sui Obitu, (tom. iv. opp. p. 333, c. edit. Paris. 1642.) Audivit defunctus (Lazarus) et exivit foras de monumento, ligatus pedes et manus institis, et facies ejus orario colligata erat. — Id. Epist. liv. ad Marcell. Soror. (tom. v. p. 316. m.) Quanta oraria jactantur ? Quanta indumenta super reliquias sacratissimas et tactu ipso medicabilia reposcuntur ?

^z Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. tom. v. opp. p. 1345, b. Tunc, sicut poterit, oculum lapsum atque pendentem loco suo revocatum ligavit orario.

^a Ibid. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. quæst. iv. tom. iv. Quasi non hodie diaconi dalmaticis induantur sicut episcopi.

among many others handed down from ancient tradition. And Cyprian^d may be supposed to hint it, when he speaks of their standing in prayer.

It is mentioned also by Clemens of Alexandria,^e and Peter,^f bishop of Alexandria, who died some years before the Council of Nice. He says, “We keep the Lord’s day as a day of joy, because then our Lord rose from the dead, and our tradition is not to kneel on that day.” In the time of the Council of Nice, there was some disagreement about this practice, and, therefore, that council made a Canon to bring all Churches to an uniformity in this matter;^g “Because there are some who kneel on the Lord’s day, and in the days of Pentecost, that all things may be uniformly performed in every parish or diocess, it seems good to the holy synod that prayers be made to God standing.” After this,^h St. Hilary speaks of it again as an apostolical practice, neither to fast nor worship kneeling on the Lord’s day, or the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. Epiphanius says,ⁱ “That, on the appointed days, they prayed kneeling; but during the whole fifty days

geniculis adorare. Eadem immanitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.

^d Cyprian. de Orat. p. 152, (p. 107, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Quando stamus ad orationem, fratres dilectissimi, vigilare et incumbere ad preces toto corde debemus.

^e Clement. Stromat. vii. p. 854. Ταύτη καὶ προσανατίνομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἵρομεν, τοὺς τε πόδας ἐπιγίρομεν κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς εὐχῆς συνεκφώνησιν, ἱστανομένουσιν τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν νοητὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ συναφιστάνομεν τῷ λόγῳ τὸ σῶμα τῆς γῆς περιέμενοι, μακάριοι ποιησάμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἱπταμενίῃν τῇ πόδι τῶν κρείττονων, ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια χωρὶν βιαζόμεθα, τοῦ θεοῦ καταμεγαλοφρονούντες τοῦ σαρκικοῦ.

^f Pet. Alex. c. xv. ap. Bever. tom. ii. p. 23. Κυριακὴν δὲ χαρμεσύνης ἡμεῖς ἀγομεν, διὰ τὸν ἀναστάντα ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲ γόνατα κλίνειν περιελήθαμεν.

^g Conc. Nicæn. c. xx. Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς αἰσι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνα κλίνοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις ἐπὶ τοῦ πάντα ἰσούσιν ἐν πάσῃ περιουσίᾳ ἡμωφρονέοντες φιλᾶσθαι, ἱστῶσας ἰδοὺ τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδίδοναι τῷ Θεῷ. (ii. 246.)

^h Hilr. Prolog. in Psalm. p. 189. Hæc quidem sabbata sabbatorum ea ab apostolis religione celebrata sunt, ut his quinquagesimæ diebus nullus neque in terram strato corpore adoraret, neque jejunio festivitatem spiritalis hujus beatitudinis impediret: quod id ipsum etiam extrinsecus in diebus Dominicis est constitutum. (Paris. 1693, p. 8.)

ⁱ Epiphanius. Exposit. Fid. n. xxii. . . . διχα μόνος τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἕλης τῶν πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐτε γονυκλισία γίνεται, οὔτε νηστία προστίθεται.

of Pentecost, they neither fasted nor kneeled." St. Jerom^k reckons it among the traditions of the universal Church, neither to fast nor kneel on the Lord's day or Pentecost. St. Austin is a little doubtful as to the practice of the Church universal;^l but he assures us, that, as far as he knew, all Churches in Afric forbore fasting, and prayed standing, and sung allelujah at the altar every Lord's day, and all the days of Pentecost, in token of our Saviour's resurrection. We find the same in St. Basil^m who derives it from apostolical practice. And Cassianⁿ testifies of the Egyptian Churches; that from Saturday night to Sunday night, and all the days of Pentecost, they neither kneeled nor fasted. And, in another place,^o he gives the reason of this; because kneeling was a sign of deep repentance and mourning, which they omitted on those days, out of respect and reverence to our Saviour's resurrection. Hence it was that the author of the Constitutions^p makes it one of his apostolical orders, that 'all men should pray three times, or three prayers, on the Lord's day, standing, in memory of him who rose the third day from

^k Hieron. Dialog. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. Die Dominico et per omnem Pentecosten, nec de geniculis adorare, et jejunium solvere soleant.

^l Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xvii. Ut autem stantes in illis diebus et omnibus Dominicis oremus, utrum ubique servetur, ignoro.—Ibid. c. xv. Propter hoc et jejunia relaxantur, et stantes oramus; quod est signum resurrectionis. Unde etiam omnibus diebus Dominicis id ad altare observatur, et Halleluia canitur.

^m Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. 'Ορθοὶ μὲν πληροῦμεν τὰς εὐχὰς, ἐν τῇ μὲν τοῦ σαββάτου τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐ πάντες οἶδαν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς συναναστάντες Χριστῷ, καὶ τὰ ἔτι ζητοῦν θείλονται, ἐν τῇ ἀναστασίῳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς διδομένης ἡμῖν χάριτος διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν προσειχὴν σάβουως ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομνησόμενοι ἄλλ' ὅτι δοκῇ πῶς τοῦ προδεκαμένου αἰῶνος εἶναι εἰκόν.

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xviii. Hoc quoque nosse debemus, a vespere sabbati, quæ lucescit in diem Dominicum, usque ad vesperam sequentem, apud Ægyptios genua non curvari; sed nec totis quidem Quinquagesimæ diebus, nec custodiri in eis jejuniorum regulam.

^o Ibid. Collat. lib. xxi. c. xx. Ideo in istis diebus (a Paschate ad Pentecosten) nec in genua in oratione curvantur, quia inflexio genuum, velut penitentiam ac luctus indicium est. Unde etiam per omnia eandem in illis solemnitatem, quam die Dominica custodimus, in qua majores nostri, nec jejunium agendum, nec genu esse flectendum, ob reverentiam resurrectionis Dominicæ tradiderunt.

^p Constitut. lib. ii. c. lix. 'Εν ᾗ καὶ τρεῖς εὐχὰς ἱστώμεν, ἱπταίμεν, μνήμης χάριν τοῦ διὰ τριῶν ἀναστάντος ἡμεῶν.

the dead.' And from hence came that usual form so often mentioned by St. Chrysostom^q and others, of the deacons calling upon the people in prayer, ὁρθῶς στῶμεν καλῶς, 'Let us stand upright with reverence and decency;' alluding to the posture then commonly used in prayer on the Lord's day. How long this custom continued in the Church, is not easy to determine: but we may observe it to be mentioned by Martin Bracarensis^r in the sixth century, and the Council of Trullo^s in the seventh century, and the third Council of Tours,^t in the time of Charles the Great. Nor do we meet with any exception to this rule all this time, save only one relating to the penitents, or those that were under the discipline of the Church; who being, by their falling into scandalous sins, reduced to a state of penance, were not allowed this privilege of standing at prayers on the Lord's day; but were obliged, in token of their humiliation, to kneel at all times, not excepting the days of relaxation, as the fourth Council of Carthage^u words it in a canon made in this behalf.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xxix. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 375, (p. 333, edit. Francof.) Vid. cit. supra, c. vi. sect. i. litt. (†). — It. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 740, (p. 516, c.) Στῶμεν καλῶς, διηθῶμεν.

^r Martin. Bracar. Collect. can. c. lvii. apud Justell. in Append. tom. i. fol. xxvi. Si quis presbyter, publica pœnitentia a sacerdote accepta, aut aliqua necessitate, die Dominica pro quadam religione jejunaverit, sicut Manichæi, anathema sit. Similiter quia quod ab apostolis traditum (est) canon tenet antiquus, placuit ut per omnes Dominicas et per omnes dies Paschæ, usque ad quinquagesimam, non prosternant se in oratione humilitatis, sed recto vultu ad Dominum fungantur orationis officio, quia in his diebus gaudium resurrectionis Domini celebramus.

^s Conc. Trul. c. xc. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1179.) Ταῖς κυριακαῖς μὴ γόνυ κλίνειν ἐκ τῶν Διοφόρων ἡμῶν πατέρων κανονικῶς παρελάβομεν, τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμῶντες ἀνάστασιν· ὥς ἂν οὖν μὴ ἀγνοῶμεν τὸ σαφὲς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρατηρήσεως, ὅλον τοῖς πιστοῖς καθιστῶμεν, ὥστε μὴτὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ ἱσχυριστὴν τῶν ἱεραμένων πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσοδοί, κατὰ τὸ κρατοῦν ἴθος, μηδὲνα γόνυ κλίνειν μίχρη τῆς ἐφιξῆς κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν ἱστίρας, καθ' ἣν μὴτὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ λυχνικῷ εἰσοδοί αὐθις τὰ γόνυα κάμπτοντες, οὕτω τὰς εὐχὰς τῇ Κυρίῳ προσάγομεν.

^t Conc. Turon. III. c. xxxvii. (tom. vii. Conc. p. 1267.) Sciendum est, quod exceptis diebus Dominicis et illis solemnitatibus, quibus et universalis ecclesia, ob recordationem Dominicæ resurrectionis solet stando orare, fixis in terra genibus, suppliciter Dei clementiam nobis profuturam, nostrorumque criminum indulgentiam deprecandum est.

^u Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxii. Pœnitentes etiam diebus remissionis genua flectant.

And so we have seen the concurrent testimony of all writers for the antiquity and universality of this practice.

SECT. IV.—*Secondly, Kneeling at all other times, especially on the Stationary Days and other Times of Devotion.*

At other times, kneeling was the most common and ordinary posture of devotion. This may be concluded from the former exception of the Lord's day and Pentecost from this posture: for that implies, that at other times they used a different posture in their addresses to God. This was the usual posture of their ordinary morning and evening service on the weekly days, and on the stationary or fast-days; which were called 'stationary days;' not from their standing at prayer, but from their continuing and prolonging the exercise in imitation of the military stations. The only difference between these days and the Lord's day was, that, on the Lord's day, all prayers were performed standing; but on other days, some were said standing, some kneeling. In this sense we must understand St. Chrysostom,^x when he speaks of the people's falling on the ground when they said the prayer for the whole state of the Church, and their rising again at the bishop's invocation. And so the author of the Constitutions^y represents them kneeling at the first prayer, and standing up at the second. In like manner Cassian says,^z "The people performed their private prayers kneeling, and then rose up to the minister's collect or prayer, in which all joined standing." This is to be understood of their prayers

^x Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p. 873, (p. 673, 2. edit. Francof. 1697.)
'Επίκειν δι' γενέσθαι εὐχῆν, καὶ πάντες ἱμῶν ἐν ἰδίῳ καίμῳ, καὶ πάντες ἱμῶν ἀνιστάμεθα.

^y Constitut. lib. viii. c. ix. "Ὅταν πικτοί, ἀλῆμεν γόνυ, δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. — Id. c. x. 'Εγυμνάμεθα, δεξιῶντες ἑαυτοῦς, ἑαυτοῦς καὶ ἀλλήλους, τῇ ᾧ ᾧ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδόμεθα. (i. 469.)

^z Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. c. vii. Post hæc puncto brevissimo precipientes humi, velut adorantes tantam Divinam elementiam, summa velocitate consurgunt, ac rursus erecti expansis manibus eodem modo, quo prius stantes oraverant, suis precibus intentius immorantur. Humi namque diutius procumbentem, non solum cogitationibus sicut, veram etiam somno gravius impugnari. . . . Quum autem is, qui orationem collecturus est, e terra surrexerit, omnes pariter erigantur, ita ut nullus, nec antequam inclinetur ille, genua flectere, nec cum e terra surrexerit, remorari præsumat, &c. (P. 19.)

on ordinary days, and not of the Lord's day, on which (as we have seen before), all their prayers were performed standing. As to the posture of kneeling upon other occasions, it would be endless to cite all the testimonies that may be alleged for it. It was so common among them, that the author of the Acts of Thecla^a gives prayer the name of κλίσις γονάτων, 'bending the knees.' And Arnobius, when he would describe to the heathen the manner of Christians' performing their Divine offices to God, does it by saying,^b "They all fell down upon the earth, as their custom was, and made their common prayers to him." Eusebius, speaking of the great devotion of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, says,^c "He was wont to go into the temple alone, and there pray assiduously upon his knees, making intercession for the sins of the people, till his knees were grown as hard and callous as those of camels, by continual exercise of his devotions." And so again, speaking of the Thundering Legion (who in the time of Marcus Aurelius procured rain by their prayers, to save the Roman army, and thunder to destroy their enemies), he says,^d "They fell upon their knees, as was the usual custom of Christians in their prayers, and so made their supplications to God at the head of the army, as it was going forth to battle." Tertullian had his eye upon this very story, when he tells Scapula,^e "That the geniculations, or prayers on the bended knee, together with the fastings of Christians, were always effectual in driving away drought and famine." It were easy to give a thou-

^a Acta Theclæ ap. Grabe Spicileg. tom. i. p. 96. Εἰσελθόντες τοῦ Παύλου εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ὀσηνοφόρου, ἰγύνοντο χαρὰ μεγάλη, καὶ κλίσιν γονάτων, καὶ κλίσιν ἄρτων, κ. τ. λ.

^b Arnob. lib. i. p. 25, (p. 9, lin. xiii. seq. edit. Hamburg. 1610, fol.) Hæc totius summa est actionis, hic propositus terminus divinorum officiorum, hic finis, hinc omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus.

^c Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. Μόνος ἐσέχευτο εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀσκήσαντό τε πύμνος καὶ τοῖς γόνοις, καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφαισι· ὡς ἀπιστοληνθείαι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ διὰ καμῆλου, διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν κλῆσαι καὶ γόνου προσκυνοῦντα τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ αἰτιῶσθαι ἄφαισι τῷ λαῷ. (P. 78.)

^d Ibid. lib. v. c. v. Ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνου θίντας, καὶ τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκίον ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν γῶν ἴθως, καὶ τὰς τὸν Θεὸν ἐκείνους τραπίδας.

^e Tertul. ad Scapul. c. iv. Marcus Aurelius in Germanica expeditione, Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illa impetravit. . . . Quando non geniculationibus et jejunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsa? (P. 71.)

sand other instances^f of the like practice out of the ancient writers; but in a case so clear and uncontested, I think it next to impertinence to trouble my reader with them. I only note, that though these two postures of prayer were very indifferent in their own nature, yet it was always esteemed an instance of great negligence or great perverseness to interchange them unseasonably one for the other: that is, to pray kneeling on the Lord's day, when the Church required standing; or standing on other days, when the rules and custom of the Church required men to kneel. And, therefore, as the Canons of Nice and Trullo reflect upon those who were superstitiously bent upon kneeling on the Lord's day; so others, with equal severity, complain of the remissness and negligence of such as refused to kneel at other times, when the Church appointed it. It is a very indecent and irregular thing, says Cæsarius of Arles,^g "That, when the deacon cries out, 'Let us bend the knee,' the people should then stand erect as pillars, in the church." These were but small observations in themselves, but of great consequence, we see, when done perversely to the scandal and disorder of the Church, whose great rule in all such cases, is that

^f Vid. Herm. Past. part. i. vis. i. n. i. (apud Coteler. tom. i. p. 75.) Genibus positus cœpi orare Dominum. — Clem. Roman. Epist. i. ad Corinth. n. xlviii. ibid. p. 174. Προσπίσωμιν τῇ Δισπόσῃ, καὶ κλαύσωμιν ἰκιστεύοντες αὐτὸν, ὅπως ἴλως γινόμενος ἱσικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν. — Passio Ignat. ap. Coteler. tom. ii. p. 176. Cum genuflexione omnium fratrum . . . subductus est cum festinatione in amphitheatrum, &c. — Passio Cyprian. p. 13, (pp. 14, 15, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Genu in terra flexit, et in orationem se Domino prostravit. — Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxi. Γόνα κλίνας ἐπ' ἰδάφους, ἰκίστης ἐγίγιντο τοῦ Θεοῦ. — Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (tom. v. opp. p. 1342, a. edit. Basil. 1569.) Ubi nobis ex more genua figentibus atque incumbenibus terræ, ille se ita projecit, tamquam fuisset aliquo impellente graviter prostratus, et cœpit orare. — Chrysostom. Hom. xxii. de Ira, tom. i. p. 278, (p. 248, c. edit. Francof.) Τῶν γονάτων σου χαμὰι κυμῖνον, πολλαχοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς οἰκίας πλανᾶσθαι σου τὴν διάνοιαν ἴδῃς. — Prudent. Cathemerin. hymn. ii.

Te mente pura et simplici,

Te voce, te cantu pio,

Rogare curvato genu,

Flendo et canendo, discimus.

^g Cæsar. Arelatens. Hom. xxiv. (Bibl. Max. Patr. tom. viii. p. 853, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Diacono clamante, 'Flectamus genua,' maximam partem populi, velut columnas erectas, stare conspicio, quod Christianis, dum in ecclesia oratur, omnino nec licet, nec expedit.

of the apostle, "Let all things be done decently and in order."

SECT. V.—*Thirdly, Bowing down the Head.*

A third posture of devotion was bowing down the head, or an inclination of the body between the postures of standing and kneeling. This was chiefly used in receiving the bishop's or priest's benedictions, in all direct and formal addresses to God for his mercy and favour upon the people, whether catechumens, penitents, or any other. Thus we find in the Constitutions,^h the catechumens are bid to bow the head, in order to receive the bishop's benediction in a form of invocation there appointed to be said over them. So, likewise, the energumens have the same direction:ⁱ "Bow down your heads, ye energumens, and receive the benediction." In like manner the candidates of baptism^k and the penitents^l are bid to rise up, after the deacon's prayer, and bow their heads to receive the benediction. And this may be confirmed out of Chrysostom, who says,^m "The deacon, in the time of the oblation, presented the energumens, and bid them bow their heads only, to indicate, at least by the habit and gesture of the body, that they were in a praying posture." And this he repeats in other places,ⁿ where he particularly speaks of those that were possessed of evil spirits.

^h Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. Κλίνειτε, καὶ ὑπολογισθεῖτε . . . κλινόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὑπολογίστω αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος ὑπολογίαν τοιαύτην· ὁ Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Ibid. Κλίνειτε, οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι καὶ ὑπολογισθεῖτε.

^k Ibid. c. vii. Κατασφραγισάμενοι τῇ Θιᾷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, κλιναντες ὑπολογίσθησαν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

^l Ibid. c. viii. Ἀναστάντες κλίνειτε, καὶ ὑπολογισθεῖτε.

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxviii. sive iii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 365, (p. 324, b. edit. Francof. 1698.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους παρ' ἐκείνων ἴσῃσι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κλιύει κλῖναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῇ σχήματι ποιῆσαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐκτενείας.

ⁿ Ibid. Hom. xxix. tom. i. p. 374, (p. 332, a. edit. cit.) Ἔσται δὲ ἡ χάρις, ἃν διδάξωμεν ὑμᾶς, τίνος ἵκειν ἐκίνη γίνεται πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ εὐχὴ, καὶ τί δήποτε τοὺς δαιμονῶντας, καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ ποτηρῇ κατεχόμενους εἰσαγάγειν κλιύει τότε ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κλῖνιν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

SECT. VI.—*Fourthly, Prostration.*

The last posture of devotion was prostration, or lying along, in the humblest manner, upon the ground. This seems to have been the proper posture for extraordinary humiliations, when men had some singular request more earnestly to recommend to God. We often read of Moses, and other saints, falling upon their faces in Scripture, when they were to make some extraordinary intercession for the sins of the people; and, in imitation of them, the same gesture was sometimes used in the Christian Church. Some lapsers, when they sued for admission to a state of penance, did not only fall down upon their knees, but prostrate themselves before the faithful, to beg their prayers as they entered into the church. Which is particularly noted by Socrates,^o of Ecebolius, the sophist; who, having lapsed in the time of Julian, desired favour under Jovian; and the more to move compassion, he put himself into the mournfullest posture, falling upon his face before the gate of the church, and crying out, *Calcate me insipidum sal*, ‘Tread me under foot as salt that has lost its savour.’ But this was not the only case in which they used this mournful posture; but they also practised it upon other occasions, whenever any great necessity urged them with greater ardency to prefer their petitions to God. Thus Socrates observes of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople,^p “That when he was in a great strait about the admission of Arius into the Church, he prostrated himself upon his face under the communion-table, and there prayed to God, for many days and nights together, that God would give some token to determine which of their doctrine was true. If the doctrine of Arius was true, he desired that he himself might not live to see the day appointed for the disputation; but, if his own were true, then he desired that Arius might suffer the punishment due to his impiety.” Which he accordingly did, voiding his

^o Socrat. lib. iii. c. xiii. Ἐίψας ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ οἴκου, Πατήσατέ με, ἰβόα, τὸ ἄλας τὸ ἀναίσθητον. (P. 188.)

^p Ibid. lib. i. c. xxxvii. (Cant. p. 73.) Εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐισελθὼν, ὑπὸ τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἑκτίνας, εὐχεται διακρύων. κ. τ. λ.

entrails, as he had occasion to go to stool, whilst he was going triumphantly to the church. Theodoret makes a like remark upon the behaviour of Theodosius the Great,¹ “That when he first entered the church, after he had been for some time excluded by St. Ambrose, he would neither pray to God standing nor kneeling, but prostrate, with his face to the ground, using those words of the psalmist, ‘My soul cleaveth to the dust, O quicken thou me according to thy word.’” By which we learn, that this posture was chiefly appropriated to deep humiliations, and expressions of shame or sorrow, upon some very remarkable occasion, but scarce ever used as a general practice of the Church.

SECT. VII.—*Sitting, no allowed Posture of Devotion.*

There is one posture more, which some plead for as a posture of adoration, but it never had any allowance in the practice of the ancient Church; that is, sitting, which Cardinal Perron, and some others in the Romish Church, pretend was the posture in which the apostles received the communion at its first institution; and that this was then a common posture of adoration used among the heathens. But the learned Mr. Daillé^r has abundantly exposed this pretence, and shewed the falsity of it in every particular; for neither did the heathens sit at their devotions, as the cardinal imposed upon himself by a false interpretation of Plutarch and Tertullian: neither did the apostles communicate sitting, but lying along on beds or couches, which all men know to be a different posture; neither did they worship the eucharist in any posture; neither did the Primitive Christians ever use or take sitting for a posture of devotion. Tertullian, indeed, says,^s “There were some superstitious

¹ Theodoret. lib. v. c. xviii. al. xix. (Cant. p. 217.) Οὕτως ὁ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς εἶω γενέσθαι θαρρόμενος τοῦ θείου νεώ, οὐχ ἰσχύων τὸν διαπύστην ἐκίσιμιν, εἰδὼς τὰ γόνατα κλίνας· ἀλλὰ πρηνὲς ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπίδου κείμενος, τὴν δαυιδικὴν ἀφῆκε φωνήν, Ἐπολλήθη τῷ ἰδάφῳ ἡ ψυχὴ μου, ζῆσόν με κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου.

^r Dall. de Objecto, Cult. Relig. lib. ii. c. ii. p. 225–228, edit. Genev. 2664.

^s Tertul. de Orat. c. xii. (Paris. 1664, 134.) Item, quod adsignata oratione adsidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem, nisi si Hermas ille, cujus scriptura fere Pastor inscribitur, transacta oratione non super lectum adsedisset, verum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad observationem vindicaremus. Utique

persons in his time, admirers of the book called *Hermes Pastor*, who made it a matter of conscience to sit down for some time *adsignata oratione*;" that is, 'not in time of prayer,' as some falsely render it; but, 'when prayer was ended,' because they found the example of the pastor in that book to that purpose; for as he sat down upon a bed after prayer, so they thought themselves obliged to do the same in compliance with his example. But this is no proof of their sitting at prayer, but only after prayer was ended; and that, too, grounded upon a very weak and superstitious opinion, that every circumstance of an action or narration, however indifferent in itself, was to be drawn into example, and to be made matter of necessary duty. According to which way of reasoning, as Tertullian observes, "They must have worshipped nowhere but where there was a bed; not sat upon a chair or bench, because this would have been a deviation from their example." He adds, "That the heathens only were used to sit after prayer before their idols," and for that very reason it was not fit for Christians to imitate their practice. All which shews, that the Christians then were so far from using sitting as a posture of devotion, that they did not think it proper to sit, even after prayer, in the presence of God, whilst an angel of prayer (it is his phrase) stood by them, and because it looked more like a heathenish than a Christian practice.

non. Simpliciter enim et nunc positum, 'Quum adorassem et adsedissem super lectum,' ad ordinem narrationis, non ad instar disciplinæ. Alioquin nusquam erit adorandum, nisi ubi fuerit lectus. Immo contra Scripturam fecerint, si quis in cathedra aut subsellio sederit.

* Tertul. de Orat. c. xii. (ead. edit. 134.) Porro quum perinde faciant nationes, adoratis sigillaribus suis residendo, vel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur, quod apud idola celebratur. Eo apponitur et irreverentiæ crimen, etiam ipsis nationibus, si quid saperent, intelligendum. Siquidem irreverens est adsidere sub conspectu contraque conspectum ejus, quem quam maxime reverearis ac venereris: quanto magis sub conspectu Dei vivi, angelo adhuc orationis adstante, factum istud irreligiosum est, nisi exprobramus Deo, quod nos oratio fatigaverit?

SECT. VIII.—*Some superstitious Practices in Devotion noted by Tertullian.*

Tertullian, in the same book, takes notice of some other superstitious observations, which some ran into in their devotions in imitation of the heathen. Some thought it necessary to put off their cloaks when they went to prayer; which he condemns as symbolizing with idolaters: for so the heathen^u were used to do in reverence to their idols. This was superstition, not religion; and more an affectation and curiosity, than any thing of rational and manly service. Others would not pray without washing the whole body in water, as if that made them more acceptable to God: whereas the true purity was that of the spirit, to lift up holy hands free from deceit, murder, cruelty, witchcraft, idolatry, and other such corruptions,^v which defile both flesh and spirit. A man that is free from these, is always clean, being once washed in the blood of Christ; but he that is inwardly polluted, is unclean, though he wash every member of his body every day. It is the superstition of these practices that Tertullian complains of; for, otherwise, the Christians themselves had their fountains before the Church in many places, for men to wash their hands, as a matter of decency, before they went to worship God: as has been shewed in another place.^w And the evil of such practices consists not in the

^u Tertul. de Orat. c. xii. (pag. 134.) Hujusmodi non religioni, sed superstitioni deputantur, adfectata et coacta, et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii, certe vel eo coërcenda, quod gentilibus adæquent. Ut est quorundam [ex-]positis penulis, orationem facere: sic enim adeunt, ad idola nationes.

^v Ibid. c. xi. (pag. 133.) Quæ ratio est, manibus quidem ablutis, spiritu vero sordente orationem obire? quando et ipsis manibus spirituales munditiæ sunt necessariae, ut a falso, a cæde, a sævitia, a veneficiis, ab idololatria, ceterisque maculis quæ spiritu conceptæ manuum opera transiguntur, puræ adlevantur. Hæ sunt veræ munditiæ, non quas plerique superstitiose curant, ad omnem orationem etiam cum lavacro totius corporis aquam sumentes. Id quum scrupulose percontarer, et rationem requirerem, comperi commemorationem esse in Domini deditioem. Nos Dominum adoramus, non dedimus, immo et adversari debemus deditoris exemplo, nec propterea manus abluere, nisi quod conversationis humanæ inquinamentum, conscientiæ causa, lavemus. Ceterum satis mundæ sunt manus, quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lavimus. Omnibus licet membris lavet quotidie Israël, numquam tamen mundus est.

^w Book viii. chap. iii. sect. vi.

bare use of such things, but in laying the opinion of necessity upon them, and affixing holiness to the usage, and making them become essential parts of Divine service.

SECT. IX.—*That the Ancients uncovered their Head in their Devotions.*

Such practices, therefore, as were attended with superstition, they disclaimed: but retained such other rites and ceremonies, as were either proper expressions of decency in their own nature; or, by their significancy and symbolical use, might be improved to a spiritual advantage. They prayed with the head uncovered, according to the apostle's direction, as esteeming it a great indecency to do otherwise. So Chrysostom in his comment on the place.^x Tertullian adds another reason in his Apology to the Gentiles,^y “We pray uncovered, because we are not ashamed to appear with open face; making it a sort of testimony and symbol of their innocency in their addressing God without covering.” On the other hand, as both nature and custom had made it decent for women to be covered, so they were very precise in requiring this to be observed, especially in religious assemblies. Some pleaded an exemption for virgins in the case, which gave occasion to Tertullian to write his book *De Velandis Virginibus*,^z wherein he argues both virgins and matrons to be under the same obligation of being veiled, or covered, in time of Divine service: and he severely inveighs against those who hanged a fringe or riband about their heads, and pretended to call that a covering. But some learned persons think he was too severe in this reflection,^a

^x Chrysostom. 1 Cor. Hom. xxvi. p. 280, edit. Francof. 1697, a. Τὸς μὲν ἄνδρα οὐκ αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζει ἀπατενέλειται ὄψαι, ἀλλ’ ὅταν εὐχῆται μένει.

^y Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. Capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, oramus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, &c.

^z Ibid. de Veland. Virgin. c. xvi. (Paris. 1664, p. 182.) Quantam castigationem merebuntur etiam illæ, quæ inter psalmos, vel in quacumque Dei mentione resectæ perseverant? Meritone etiam quæ in oratione ipsa facillime fimbriam, aut villum, aut quodlibet filum cerebro superponunt, et tectas se opinantur? Tanti caput suum metiuntur.

^a Du Pin. Biblioth. tom. i. p. 95, (p. 173, edit. Paris. 1692, 4to.) Libri de Velandis Virginibus titulo notum est argumentum; at id de virginibus Deo consecratis non modo venit intelligendum, in eo enim opere Tertulliano animus

and almost singular in applying it to the case of virgins, who were then allowed a greater liberty in this matter above matrons or married women, by the general discipline of the African Church.

SECT. X.—*And lift up their Hands toward Heaven, sometimes in the Form of a Cross.*

It is more uncontested, what Tertullian observes of another ceremony:^b “That they usually prayed with their arm expanded, and their hands lift up to heaven, and that sometimes in the form of a cross, to represent our Saviour’s passion.” For this is also noted by Minucius, when he says,^c “They worshipped God with a pure mind, and their hands stretched forth in the form of a cross.” And by Asterius Amasenus, in a fragment of his Homily concerning prayer, preserved in Photius, who says,^d “The Christian represents the passion of the cross by his gesture, whilst he expands his arms, and lifts them up in the figure of a cross.” After this manner, Paulinus describes St. Ambrose,^e in his last minutes, praying to God with his hands expanded in the form of a cross. And Prudentius, relating the passion of Fructuosus, a Spanish bishop and martyr, in the time of Gallienus, says,^f

est probare, velandas esse virgines, h. e. vultu velato esse in ecclesia, quod contra patriæ suæ morem demonstrandum suscepit, in qua solæ nuptæ velabantur. Idcirco contra morem loquitur, et eum contra veritatem præscribere non posse contendit; quod verum est, quum agitur de dogmate, non vero quum de disciplina parvi momenti.

^b Tertul. de Apol. c. xxx. Manibus expansis, quia innocuis, &c. — Id. de Orat. c. xi. Nos vero, non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus e Dominica passione modulatum, et orantes Christo confitemur. (P. 133.)

^c Minuc. Dialog. p. 90. Crucis signum est, quum homo, porrectis manibus, Deum pura mente veneratur.

^d Aster. ap. Phot. Cod. cclxxi. Εὐχὴ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν βοήθεια, ὁμιλία πρὸς Θεὸν, λήθη τῶν γηϊνῶν, ἄσπδος πρὸς οὐρανόν· καὶ τὸ ὄρθιον δὲ τῆς προσευχῆς, ἐκτεταμένως προβαλλόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάθος ἐν σφί σχήματι ἱξινονίζεσι.

^e Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 12, (p. 89, e. edit. Paris. 1642.) Ab hora circiter undecima diei, usque ad illam horam, qua emisit Spiritum, expansis manibus in modum crucis orabat.

^f Prudent. Peristephanon. Hymn. vi. in Fructuos. v. 103, seqq.

Nexus denique, qui manus retrorsus

In tergum revocaverant revinctas,

"The bands which tied his arms, were first burnt off without touching his skin; for they durst not restrain those arms which were to be lift up to the Father in the manner of a cross." And this, probably, is St. Chrysostom's meaning, when he says,^s "The sign of the cross was used even by the emperors upon all occasions: on their purple, on their diadems, in their prayers, on their arms, and at the holy table." And, in reference to this gesture, it is that Eusebius tells us,^h that Constantine ordered his own image to be stamped on his golden medals, representing him in the posture of a suppliant, looking up to heaven, with his arms stretched forth to God. Origen says,ⁱ "This was to represent the lifting up of their hearts to God in the heavens." And Chrysostom more largely sets forth the use of it in explaining those words of the Psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice." "What means," says he,^k "the stretching forth

Intacta cute decidunt adusti,

Non ausa est cohíbere pœna palmas,

In morem crucis ad Patrem levandas,

Solvit brachia, quæ Deum precentur. (Hanov. 1613, p. 122.)

^s Chrysostom. Demonstrat, quod Christus sit Deus, c. viii. tom. v. p. 838, (p. 749, e. edit. Francof. 1698.) 'Εν πορφύραις σταυροῖς, ἐν διαδήμασι σταυροῖς, ἐπὶ εὐχῶν σταυροῖς, ἐπὶ ὅπλων σταυροῖς, ἐπὶ τῆς τραπίζης τῆς ἱερᾶς σταυροῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^h Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xv. 'Ος ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς νομίμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς εἰκόνα ᾧδε γράφισθαι διτύπου' ὡς ἂν βλῖπτει δοκίμῃ, ἀνατιναμένους πρὸς θεὸν, τρόπον εὐχομένου. (Cant. 634.)

ⁱ Origen. περὶ εὐχῆς, n. ix.

^k Chrysostom. in Psalm. cxl. p. 550, (p. 477, b. c. edit. Francof. 1698.) Τί βούλεται καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἡ ἔκτασις ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ; ἵπτιδ' ὅτι πολλὰς πονηρίας διακονοῦνται αὐταί, οἷον πληγαῖς, φόνοις, ἀρπαγαῖς, πλεισιξίαις, δι' αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο κεινόμεθα αὐτὰς ἀνατίνιμι, ἵνα ἡ τῆς εὐχῆς διακονία δις αὐταῖς γίνηται τῆς κακίας, καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς πονηρίας, ἵν' ὅταν μίλλῃς ἀρπάξῃς, ἡ πλειονεκτίῃ, ἡ τύπτῃ ἱεροῦ, ἀναμνηθεὶς ὅτι ταύτας μίλλῃς ἀντὶ συνηγόρων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἵκπῃς, καὶ διὰ τούτων τὴν θυσίαν ἀνατίμπῃς ἐκείνῃ τὴν πνευματικὴν, μὴ καταισχύνῃς αὐτάς, καὶ ἀπαρρησιάστους ἐργάσῃ τῇ διακονίᾳ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἐργασίας· κάθαιρει τοίνυν αὐτὰς ἐλεημοσύνη, φιλανθρωπία, προστασία διομένῃ, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὰς εἰς εὐχὴν ἄγει. εἰ γὰρ ἀνίπτους αὐτὰς οὐκ ἱπτιρέπῃς εἰς εὐχὴν ἱπτιρεῖσθαι, πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἁμαρτήμασιν οὐκ ἂν εἴης δίκαιος αὐτὰς μισῇν. — Vid. Clement. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 854. Ταύτη καὶ προσανατίνομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄρομεν, τοὺς τε πόδας ἐπιγίγρομεν κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς εὐχῆς συνιφώνησιν, ἵνα κολυθεύοντες τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν νοστήν οὐσίαν· καὶ συναφιστάμεν τῇ λόγῳ τοῦ σώματος τῆς γῆς περιώμενοι, μετὰ τῶν ποιστάμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἱπτιρομένην τῇ πόθῳ τῶν κριττόνων, ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια χωρεῖν βιαζόμεθα, τοῦ δισμοῦ καταμειγαλοφρονοῦντες τοῦ σαρκικοῦ.

our hands in prayer? Because they are instrumental in many sorts of wickedness, as fighting, murder, robbery, and rapacious avarice: therefore, we are commanded to lift them up, that the ministry of prayer may tie them up from vice, and deliver them from wickedness; that when you are inclined to rob, or plunder, or smite your neighbour, you should then remember, that these hands are the advocates, as it were, which you are to send forth to God, and by which you are to offer the spiritual sacrifice of prayer to him. And, therefore, you ought not to dishonour them, and destroy their confidence by letting them minister to wicked actions; but rather cleanse them by alms-deeds, and humanity, and assistance of those that are in want, and so lift them up to God in prayer. For if you cannot endure to lift up unwashed hands, how much less should you think it meet to defile them with sin?" By all this it appears, that these ceremonies both of washing hands and lifting them up in prayer, were of spiritual use, and designed for pious ends, to put men in mind of internal purity by external symbols; and that this significancy was the chief thing that could justify and account for the use of them, as ceremonies in Divine service.

SECT. XI.—*But yet were great Enemies to all Theatrical Gestures.*

But as they allowed of such decent and significant ceremonies as those that have been mentioned, so they were great enemies to all light and theatrical gestures. They required a modest, and grave, and well-composed behaviour in all external deportment; as thinking no other becoming the majesty of God, or the character of those that were to address him. Upon this account Tertullian¹ requires a modesty and

¹ Tertul. de Orat. c. xiii. Cum modestia et humilitate adorantes magis, commendabimus Deo preces nostras, ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis. Ne vultu quidem in audaciam erecto. Nam ille publicanus, qui non tantum prece, sed et vultu humiliatus atque dejectus orabat, justificatior Phariseo procacissimo discessit. Sonos etiam vocis subjectos esse oportet, aut quantis arteriis opus est, si pro sono audiamur? Deus autem non vocis, sed cordis auditor est, sicut conspctor. . . . Quid amplius referent isti, qui clarius adorant, nisi quod proximis obstrepuunt? (P. 134.)

humility in his votaries, even in lifting up their hands in prayer, that they should not toss them up indecently on high, nor appear with a countenance expressing elation and boldness; because the publican's humility and dejection was more commendable than the audaciousness of the Pharisee. He requires also a gentle and submissive voice, since God did not hear men for the sound of their words, or the strength of their lungs or arteries, but the fervency of their hearts: and they that were loud in prayer, he tells them, did nothing else but hinder their neighbours' devotion. St. Cyprian expresses himself much after the same way in his directions about the manner of praying;^m "Let them that pray," says he, "do it with an orderly voice, expressing quietness and modesty. Let us consider ourselves as standing in the sight of God; and that we are to please the Divine eyes both with the habit or gesture of our body, and with the manner of our voice. For as it is a sign of an impudent man to make a clamorous noise, so it becomes a modest man to use modesty in his prayers. Therefore, when we meet together with our brethren, and celebrate the Divine sacrifices with the priest of God, we ought to be mindful of reverence and discipline; not tossing out our prayers with a rude and disorderly voice, nor with a tumultuous loquacity pouring forth these petitions, which ought to be recommended modestly to God. For God is not the hearer of the voice, but the heart: neither needs he to be reminded by noise and clamour, who sees the thoughts of men." It appears from these cautions, that men were apt to run into disorders and excesses in the manner of expressing the external part of their devotions, which needed such rules and admonitions to direct them in the purest ages.

^m Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 140, (p. 99, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Sit orantibus sermo et precatio cum disciplina, quietem continens et pudorem. Cogitemus nos sub conspectu Dei stare: placendum est Divinis oculis et habitu corporis, et modo vocis. Nam ut impudentis est clamoribus strepere, ita contra congruit verecundo modestis precibus orare. . . . Quando in unum cum fratribus convenimus, et sacrificia Divina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus, verecundiæ et disciplinæ memores esse debemus: non passim ventilare preces nostras inconditis vocibus: nec petitionem, commendandam modeste Deo, tumultuosa loquacitate jactare. Quia Deus non vocis, sed cordis auditor est. Nec admonendus est clamoribus, qui cogitationes hominum videt, &c.

And it appears yet more from St. Chrysostom, who had several sharp and severe invectives against some, who accustoming themselves to see the Roman games and plays, brought the manners of the stage into the Church, and corrupted their devotions with theatrical gestures. It will be sufficient to relate a few words out of a single passage in one of his homilies to this purpose :ⁿ “ O unhappy wretch,” says he, “ thou oughtest, with reverence and fear, to send up the angelic hymn, and with trembling make confession to God, and thereby ask pardon of thy offences. Instead of this, thou bringest into the Church the manners of mimics and dancers, by a disorderly tossing up thy hands, and beating with thy feet, and agitation of thy whole body. Dost thou not consider, that the Lord himself is present, who measures every man’s motions, and examines their consciences? Dost thou not consider that the angels stand by this tremendous table,

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Iesa. tom. iii. p. 836, (p. 725, c. edit. Francof.) “ Ἀλλοὶ καὶ ταλαίπωροι, δύνει δίδοικόντα καὶ τρέμοντα τὴν ἀγγλικὴν δοξολογίαν ἐκπίμπειν, φόβῳ τε τὴν ἱερολογίαν τῇ κτίσει ποιῆσαι, καὶ διὰ ταύτης συγγνώμην τῶν ἱπταισμένων αἰτεῖσθαι. οὐ δὲ τὰ μίμων καὶ ὀρχηστῶν ἐνταῦθα παρῶντες, ἀτάκτως μὲν τὰς χεῖρας ἱπανατίζουσιν, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἱβαλλόμενοι, καὶ ὅλῳ περικυκλώμενοι τῇ σώματι· καὶ πῶς οὐ δίδουκα, οὐδὲ φρίττις τοιούτων κατατολμῶν λογίων; οὐκ ἴνοις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀοράτως ἐνταῦθα πάρεστιν ὁ δισπότης, καὶ ἐκάστῳ τὴν κίνησιν ἀναμειβεῖ, καὶ τὸ συνιδὸς ἐξετάζει; οὐκ ἴνοις, ὅτι ἀγγιλοὶ ταύτῃ τῇ φρικτῇ παρίστανται τραπέζῃ, καὶ φόβῳ ταύτῃ περιέπουσιν; ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα οὐ κατανοεῖς, ἰκετὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς διατροῖς ἀκυσμάτων τε καὶ διαμάτων τὸν νοῦν συνισκοπίσθης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐκείναις πραττόμενα τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναφέρεις τύποις. διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς ἀσήμεναις κραυγαῖς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄτακτον δημοσιεύεις· πῶς οὖν συγγνώμην ἑξαίτησθαι τῶν οἰκίων ἁμαρτημάτων; πῶς εἰς δικτὸν ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὸν δισπότην, οὕτω καταπιφρονημένως τὴν δίησιν προτινύμενος; ἐλίσσον με, ὁ Θεός, λίγεις, καὶ τοῦ ἰλίου ἑλλότριον τὸ ἦθος ἐπιδιδύνουσαι· Σῶσόν με, βοᾶς, καὶ ζῆλον τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ σχῆμα διατυποῖς· τί συντίθουσι πρὸς ἐκείναις χεῖρες ἐπὶ μιστριωρισμῷ συνεχῶς παίζουσαι, καὶ ἀτάκτως περιφερόμεναι, κραυγὴ τε σφοδρὰ, καὶ τῇ βιαίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁδήγῃ τὸ ἄσημον ἔχουσα; οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τριβάσις ἱταριζομένων γυναικῶν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς διατροῖς φανούντων ἰσὶν ἔργα πῶς οὖν τολμᾷς τῇ ἀγγλικῇ ταύτῃ δοξολογίᾳ τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀναμυγνύειν παίγνια; — Conf. Hom. xix. in Matth. p. 195, (p. 239, edit. Francof.) Εἰσὶ τινες, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα παραγγέλματα οὕτως ἀσχημονοῦντες ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ, ὥς καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρησπορεύουσιν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς πᾶσι καταδήλους ἑαυτοὺς ποιοῦν, συρφεταδῶς βῶντες, καὶ τῇ σχήματι καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καταγιλάστους ποιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς· . . . μὴ τοῖνυν τῇ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος, μηδὲ τῇ κραυγῇ τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τῇ προθυμίᾳ τῆς γνώμης τὰς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα· μήτε μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἡχῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἐπιδιδύνειν, ὥς καὶ τοὺς πλησίον ἐκτρέφουσιν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐπιεικείας πάσης καὶ τῆς κατὰ δύναντα συντριβῆς, καὶ θαλάσσης τῶν ἔνδοξον.

and surround it with fear? But thou considerest none of these things, because thy mind is blinded with what thou hast heard and seen in the theatres; and the things which are done there, thou bringest into the rites and ceremonies of the Church; and with insignificant clamours bewrayest the disorder of thy soul. How canst thou expect to incline God to mercy, who offerest thy prayer with such contempt? Thou sayest, 'Lord, have mercy on me,' whilst thy behaviour proclaims itself a stranger to mercy. Thou criest out, 'Lord, save me,' whilst the whole deportment of thy body is in opposition to salvation. For what can those hands, which are always tossed up on high, and disorderly rolled about, contribute toward prayer? What use can there be in vehement clamour, and violent impulse of spirit, that has nothing in it but sound and noise without signification? These are more the practices of strumpets on the highway, or actors on the theatre. And how darest thou to mingle the sports of devils with that doxology, whereby angels glorify God?" Thus far St. Chrysostom, in his warmth and zeal against the corruptions that were creeping in upon devotion by absurd and ridiculous gestures. And this shews us abundantly, that as the ancients were no way averse to any rites and ceremonies, habits or gestures, that were decent and significant in their own nature, and had any real tendency toward piety; so they were utter enemies to such as were insignificant and trivial, light and theatrical, and discountenanced them as the effects of superstition or vanity, arising from misapprehensions of religion or evil customs of the world, which they laboured to extirpate, but could not always conquer; men's corrupt inclinations disposing them to commute the great things of religion for those that were small in comparison, and sometimes for those which were a real detriment and disadvantage to it, as in the cases now before us.

SECT. XII.—*Of Ceremonies used at their Entrance into the Church.*

But to pass by irregularities, and proceed with the observations of the Church. This were a proper place to take notice of several other usages, whereby they expressed their

reverence to God at their first entrance into the church. But because some of these have been already considered in a former book,^o where we speak of the respect and reverence which the primitive Christians paid to their churches, I shall but just name them in this place. Such was the ceremony of respect used by kings and emperors, who laid aside their crowns, and arms, and guards, when they entered into the house of the King of kings; of which I have only this further to observe here, that probably it was done in imitation of the old Roman magistrates, who, as some authors^p tell us, were wont to lay aside their fasces and other ensigns of honour, whenever they went into the schools of philosophy at Athens. Such was that other custom of respect observed by the monks of Egypt, who put off their shoes, when they went into the house of God: but this, I shewed, was only a topical custom peculiar to that nation, and not a general one reaching the whole Church. I observed also that there are some reasons to believe the ancients used the ceremony of bowing towards the altar at their first entrance into the church, though the arguments amount only to a probability, not a demonstration.

SECT. XIII.—*That the Bishop saluted the People with ‘Pax vobis,’ at his Entrance into the Church.*

It is more certain, that the bishop saluted the people in the usual form, *Pax vobis*, ‘Peace be with you,’ at his first entrance into the church. For this is often mentioned by St. Chrysostom,^q who derives it from apostolical practice.

SECT. XIV.—*And the People gave Alms to the Poor, who stand before the Gates of the Church for this Purpose.*

St. Chrysostom also mentions another very laudable custom, and he uses all his rhetoric to promote and encourage

^o Book viii. chap. x.

^p Pol. Synop. Critic. in 2 Reg. v. 9. Principes Romani, dum essent cum imperio Athenis, fasces deposuerunt, quum scholas ingrederentur, ut philosophos audirent: quanto æquius submittunt se principes ad verbum Dei honore adficiendum?

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 652, (p. 405, edit. Francof.) Vid. cit. supra, c. vi. sect. ix. sub litt. (p).—Hom. iii. in Coloss. p. 1338, (p. 173, edit. Francof.) cit. supra, c. vi. sect. x. sub litt. (o).

the practice of it ; which was the people's giving alms to the poor, at their first entrance into the church. " For this reason," says he, " our forefathers appointed the poor to stand before the doors of our churches, that the sight of them might provoke the most backward and inhuman soul to compassion. And as by law and custom we have fountains before our oratories, that they who go in to worship God, may first wash their hands, and so lift them up in prayer ; so our ancestors, instead of fountains and cisterns, placed the poor before the doors of the church ; that as we wash our hands in water, so we should cleanse our souls by beneficence and charity first, and then go and offer up our prayers. For water is not more adapted by nature to wash away the spots of the body, than the power of alms-deeds is to cleanse the filth of the soul. As therefore you dare not go in to pray with unwashen hands, though this be but a small offence ; so neither should you without alms ever enter the church for prayer. You, many times, when your hands are clean, will not lift them up to God before you have washed them in water ; so prevalent is the force of custom with us : let us therefore do the same

^r Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. al. xxvi. de Verbis Apostol. tom. v. p. 369, (p. 332, edit. Francof.) διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τῶν οἰκῶν τῶν εὐκτηρίων ἵστησαν τοὺς πίνοντας οἱ πατέρες οἱ ἡμίτεροι, ἵνα καὶ τὸν νοθεύτατον καὶ ἀπανθρωπώτατον αὐτῇ τῶν πινόντων ἡ ὄψις πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν ἐγείρῃ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης· ὅταν γὰρ ἰσθήκῃ χορὴς γιγνέσθων, συγκυκλῶσθων, βακίᾳ περιβιβλημένων, αὐχμῶντων, ῥυπάντων, βακτηρίας ἔχόντων, μόλις στηρίζεσθαι δυνάμειν, πολλὰκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκκομμένων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀναπύον, τίς οὕτω λίθινος, τίς οὕτως ἀδάμας, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας, καὶ τῆς πηρώσεως, καὶ τῆς πνίας, καὶ τῆς εὐσιλοῦς στολῆς, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς πρὸς συμπάθειαν ἐπικλόντων αὐτὸν, ἀντιστῆναι καὶ μῖναι πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀνένδοτος ; διὰ ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἡμῶν ἱσθήκαι παντὸς λόγου δυνατώτεροι, διὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἐπισπώμενοι, πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν τοὺς εἰσιόντας ἐκκαλοῦμενοι· καθάπερ γὰρ κρήνας εἶναι ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἰκῶν νενόμισται, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες εὐχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, πρότερον ἀπονιψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, οὕτως αὐτὰς εἰς εὐχὴν ἀνατίνοσιν· οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πίνοντας ἀντὶ πηγῶν καὶ κρηνῶν ἵστησαν οἱ πατέρες πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν· ἵν' ὥσπερ ὕδατι τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονίπτωμεν, οὕτω φιλανθρωπίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποσμήχοντες πρότερον, οὕτως εὐχόμεθα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως ὕδατος φύσις ἀπονίπτει κηλίδας σώματος, ὡς ἐλεημοσύνης δύναμις ἀποσμήχει ῥύπον ψυχῆς· ὥσπερ οὖν οὐ τολμᾷς ἀνίπτους χερσὶν εἰσελθὼν εὐχεσθαι, καὶ τοι ἔλαττον τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐκείνου, οὕτω μήτι χωρὶς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐκ' εὐχὴν ἔλθῃς πότε· καίτοι καὶ καθαρὰς πολλὰκις ἔχοντες τὰς χεῖρας, ἂν μὴ πρότερον αὐτὰς ἀπὸ πλύνωμεν ὕδατι, οὐκ ἀνατίνομεν εἰς εὐχὴν· τοσοῦτον ἴσθιν ἡ συνήθεια· τοῦτο τοῖνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ποιῶμεν· καὶ μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς ὅμην συνιδόντες μέγα ἀμάρτημα, ὅμως ἀποσμήχομεν τὸ συνιδὸς διὰ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης.

with respect to alms-deeds. And though we are not conscious to ourselves of any great and heinous crimes, let us, by charity, clear our consciences of lesser spots and blemishes, which we contract in our daily business and conversation." So again, in another place, expounding those words, "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty;" "These things," says he,^s "were spoken to the Jews, and how much more to us? Therefore the poor stand before the doors of the church, that no one should go in empty, but enter securely with charity for his companion. You go into the church to obtain mercy; first shew mercy: make God your debtor, and then you may ask of him, and receive with usury. We are not heard barely for the lifting up our hands. Stretch forth your hands, not only to heaven, but to the hands of the poor. If you stretch out your hands to the poor, you touch the very height of heaven; for he that sits there, receives your alms: but if you lift up barren hands, it profits nothing." He repeats the same in other places,^t which shews, that it was an excellent custom prevailing among them, and carefully recommended as a just preparation for prayer, among many other moral qualifications for this duty, which being vulgar and commonly known, I need not insist upon them in this place.

* Chrysostom. Hom. i. in 2 Tim. p. 1631, (p. 540, edit. Francof.) 'Ιουδαίους ταῦτα ἐλίγιτο, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν; διὰ τοῦτο ἐστήκασι οἱ πῖνῆτες πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, ἵνα μηδὲς εἰσὶν κινεῖς, ἵνα μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης εἰσὶν· εἰσερχὴν ἐλθῆναι· ἐλπίσον πρότερον· ὁ δὲ ὑστερον ἐρχόμενος πλῖον ὀφείλει· ὅταν γὰρ ἀρξώμεθα ἡμῖς, ὁ δεύτερος πλῖον κατατίθῃ· ποίησόν σοι ὀφιλῆσθαι τὸν Θεόν, καὶ τότε αὐτὸν αἰτῆσαι· δάνεισον, καὶ τότε ἀπαίτει, ἵνα μετὰ τόκου λάβῃς. βούλειται τοῦτο ὁ Θεός, οὐκ ἀποφύγει· ἂν μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης αἰτῇς, χάριν ἔχει· ἂν μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης ἀπαίτῃς, δανειξίς καὶ τόκος λαμβάνεις. ναὶ, παρακαλῶ· οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκτάσει τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἀκούσθαι ἔστιν· ἔκτεινόν σου τὰς χεῖρας μὴ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς τῶν πινήτων χεῖρας· ἂν εἰς τὰς τῶν πινήτων χεῖρας ἐκτείνης τὴν χεῖρα, αὐτῆς ἥψω τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ὁ γὰρ ἐκὶ καθήμενος λαμβάνει τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην· ἂν δὲ ἀκέρους ἀνατίνης, οὐδὲν ἄνησας.

^t Ibid. Hom. ix. de Pœnit. tom. i. p. 704, (p. 624, c.) "Ποσπερ οἱ λουτῆρες ὕδατος πεπληρωμένοι εἰσὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἵνα νίψῃ τὰς χεῖρας· οὕτως οἱ πῖνῆτες καθίζονται, ἵνα πλύνῃ τὰς χεῖρας τῆς ψυχῆς· ἔκτεινόν σου τὰς χεῖρας τὰς αἰσθητὰς τῷ ὕδατι, πλύνον τὰς χεῖρας τῆς ψυχῆς τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ.

SECT. XV.—*That they worshipped toward the East; with the Reasons for this Practice.*

There was one observation more which must not be omitted, because it was a ceremony almost of general use and practice; and that was, the custom of turning their faces to the East in their solemn adorations. The original of this custom seems to be derived from the ceremonies of baptism, in which, as has been shewed before,^u it was usual to renounce the devil with their faces to the West, and then turn about to the East, and make their covenant with Christ, from whence, I conceive, it became their common custom to worship God after the same way that they had first entered into covenant with him. The ancients give several reasons for this custom, but they all seem to glance at this one. Some say, the East was the symbol of Christ, who was called the ‘Orient,’ and ‘Light,’ and ‘Sun of Righteousness,’ in Scripture; and, therefore, since they must worship toward some quarter of the world, they chose that which led them to Christ by symbolical representation. As Tertullian tells us in one place,^w “That in fact, they worshipped toward the East, which made the heathen suspect that they worshipped the rising sun.” So, in another place, he says,^x “The East was the figure of Christ; and, therefore, both their churches and their prayers were directed that way.” Clemens Alexandrinus says,^y “They worshipped toward the East, because the East is the image of our spiritual nativity, and from thence the light first arises, and shines out of darkness; and the day of true knowledge, after the manner of the sun, arises upon those who lie buried in ignorance.” And St. Austin,^z “When we

^u Book xi. chap. vii. sect. iv.

^w Tertul. Apol. c. xvi. Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit, nos [hos] ad orientis regionem precari. (P. 16.)

^x Ibid. cont. Valent. c. iii. Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem: amat figura Spiritus Sancti orientem, Christi figuram. (Paris. 1664, p. 251.)

^y Clement. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 856. Ἐπεὶ δὲ γενεθλίου ἡμέρας εἰκὼν ἡ ἀνατολὴ πακύνει τὸ φῶς αὐξάνεται ἐκ σκοτεινῶν λάμψαν τὸ πρῶτον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καλινδουμένοις ἀντίτυπε γνώσιως ἀληθείας ἡμέρα κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν ἰωθινὴν ἀνατολὴν αἱ εὐχαί.

^z Aug. de Sermonibus Domini in Monte, lib. ii. c. v. Quum ad orationes stamus, ad

stand at our prayers, we turn to the East, whence the heavens, or the light of heaven arises; not as if God was only there, and had forsaken all other parts of the world, but to put ourselves in mind of turning to a more excellent nature; that is, to the Lord." This reason exactly falls in with that which is given for turning to the East, when they covenanted with Christ in the solemnities of baptism.

2. Another reason given for it by some is, "That the East was the place of paradise, our ancient habitation and country, which we lost in the first Adam by the fall, and whither we hope to be restored again, as to our native abode and rest, in the second Adam, Christ our Saviour." This reason is given by Gregory Nyssen,^a and St. Basil,^b and by the author of the Constitutions,^c and by the author of the Questions and Answers to Antiochus, among the works of Athanasius;^d together with Chrysostom (as he is cited by Cotelierius^e), and Gregentius,^f and many others. Now, this

orientem convertimur, unde cælum surgit: non tamquam ibi sit Deus, et quasi ceteras mundi partes deseruerit, qui ubique præsens non locorum spatiis, sed majestate potentiæ; sed ut admoneatur animus ad naturam excellentiorem se convertere, id est, ad Dominum.

^a Nyssen. Hom. v. de Orat. Dom. tom. i. p. 755. 'Επιδὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἑαυτοὺς τρέψωμεν οὐχ ὥς μόνον ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ διαρρομίνοντες ὁ γὰρ πανταχοῦ ἔν κατ' οὐδὲν μέρος ἰδιαζόντως καταλαμβάνεται· ἐπίσης γὰρ περιέχῃ τὸ πᾶν· ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν ἀνατολαῖς τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν πατρίδος οὔσης· λίγω δὲ τῆς ἐν Παραδείσῳ διαγωγῆς, ἧς ἐκπιπτόκαμεν.

^b Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. Πάντες μὲν ὁρῶμεν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν· ἰλίγοι δὲ ἴσμεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπιζητοῦμεν πατρίδα, τὸν Παράδεισον, ὃν ἰφύτυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Ἐδὲμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς.

^c Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (i. 296.) Μετὰ τοῦτο συμφώνως ἄπαντες ἔξαναστάντες, καὶ ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς κατανοήσαντες, μιτὰ τὴν τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ τὴν τῶν μετανοούντων ἔξοδον, προσευξάσθωσαν τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ ἱερίσεικότι ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, ὑπομνησκόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας νομῆς τοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς Παραδείσου, ὅθιν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἀβιτήσας τὴν ἑντολὴν, ὅφειας συμβουλία πεισθεῖς, ἀπέβληθῃ.

^d Athanas. Quæst. ad Antioch. quæst. xxxvii. Οἱ πιστοὶ ἀκούεωσαν καὶ μανθάνεωσαν, ὅτι τούτου χάριν οἱ μακαριώτατοι ἀπόστολοι κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τὰς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας προσέχουσιν ἰκοίησαν, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν Παράδεισον ἀφορῶμεν, ὅθιν καὶ ἔξισπασμεν, πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἡμῶν πατρίδα καὶ χώραν, αἰτούμενοι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ δισπότην ἀποκαταστήσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅθιν ἔξωρίσθωμεν.

^e Cotelier. Not. in Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. ex Chrysostom. ad Dan. vi. 10, p. 264, n. 44.

^f Gregent. Disput. cum Herbaso Judæo, Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. i. p. 217. Κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἰδιδάχθημεν προσεύχεσθαι, διότι ἐκτὸς ἐνέρισκομεν τὸν Θεὸν πλάσαντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὸν Παράδεισον ποιήσαντα.

is the very reason assigned by St. Cyril for turning to the East, when they covenanted with Christ, and celebrated the mysteries of baptism; so that hitherto we find a clear relation of these ceremonies one to the other, and a perfect agreement between them.

3. Another reason assigned for this custom was, "That the East was the most honourable part of the creation, as being the seat of light and brightness." The author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox gives this reason for it:^s "We set apart," says he, "the most honourable things to the honour of God; and the East, in the opinion of men, is the most honourable part of the creation; we therefore, in time of prayer, turn our faces to the East, as we sign those, in the name of Christ, that need consignation, with the right hand, because it is deemed more honourable than the left, though it differ only in position, not in nature." And Lactantius, without taking any particular notice of this custom, makes this general observation,^h "That the East was more peculiarly ascribed to God, because he was the fountain of light, and illuminator of all things, and because he makes us rise to eternal life. But the West was ascribed to that wicked and depraved spirit, the devil, because he hides the light, and induces darkness always upon men, and makes them fall and perish in their sins." Now this is a reason that equally holds for turning to the East in baptism, as well as their daily devotion.

4. There is one reason more assigned for it, which is, "That Christ made his appearance on earth in the East, and there ascended into heaven, and there will appear again

^s Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodox. quæst. cxviii. Ἐπειδὴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὰ τιμιώτερα εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀφορίζομεν κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπέληψιν τιμιώτέρα ἴσθιν ἡ ἀνατολὴ τῶν ἑλλων μέρων τῆς κτίσεως· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς προσευχῆς νύομεν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν πάντες· καθάπερ τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἐν ὄνματι Χριστοῦ κατασφραγίζομεν τοὺς τῆς σφραγίδος ταύτης διομένους· ἰπειδὴ τιμιώτερα νινόμεσται τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, καὶ τοι θίσει, καὶ οὐ φύσει διαφίρουσα ταύτης ὑπάρχει· οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνατολὴ ὡς τιμιώτερον μέρος τῆς κτίσεως, εἰς προσκύνησιν Θεοῦ ἀφώριστα.

^h Lactant. lib. ii. c. x. (p. 46.) Oriens Deo accensetur, quia ipse luminis fons, et illustrator est rerum, et quod oriri nos faciat ad vitam sempiternam. Occidens autem conturbatæ illi pravæque menti adscribitur, quod lumen abscondat, quod tenebras semper inducat, et quod homines faciat occidere ac interire peccatis.

at the last day." This is one of the three answers which the author of the Questions to Antiochus, under the name of Athanasius,ⁱ orders to be given to this question: "If a Christian asks the question, he is to be told, 'They looked toward Paradise, beseeching God to restore them to their ancient country and region, from whence they were expelled.' If a heathen put the question, the answer should be, 'Because God is the true light; for which reason, when they looked upon the created light, they did not worship it, but the Creator of it.' If the question was proposed by a Jew, he should be told, 'They did it, because the Holy Ghost had said by David, 'We will worship toward the place where thy feet stood, O Lord' (Psalm cxxxii. 7); meaning the place where Christ was born, and lived, and was crucified, and rose again, and ascended into heaven." Which seems also to be intimated by St. Hilary on those words of Psalm lxvii., according to the translation of the Septuagint, "Sing unto God, who ascended above the heaven of heavens, in the East." "The honour of God," says he,^k "who ascended above the heaven of heavens, in the East, is now reasonably required; and for that reason toward the East, because he, according to the prophet, is the 'East,' or 'Morning from on High;' that he, returning to the place whence he descended, might be known to be the Orient Light, who shall hereafter be the author of men's rising to the same ascent of a celestial habitation."

These several reasons have all a peculiar reference to

ⁱ Athanas. Quæst. ad Antioch. quæst. xxvii. Ἰουδαίους μὲν εἴπομεν, ὅτι τούτου χάριν οἱ πιστοὶ προσκυνοῦμεν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος νομοθετήσαντος ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ προφῆτου Δαβὶδ τοῦ εἰπόντος· Προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες Κυρίου. . . . Πρὸς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐκίνε φαμὲν, ὅτι οὐχ ὥς ἐν ἀνατολαῖς περιγραφομένου τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς προσκυνοῦμεν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἀληθινόν ἐστὶ τι καὶ ὀνομάζεται· τούτου χάριν πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὸ πιστὸν ἀφορῶντες, οὐκ αὐτὸ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροτέρου στοιχείου, τὸν (τῶν) πάντων στοιχείων καὶ τῶν αἰώνων ὑπέλαμπρον Θεὸν γιγαῖζοντες· οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἀκνύτωσαν, κ. τ. λ. Vid. sub litt. anteced. (d).

^k Hilar. in Psalm. lxvii. p. 242, (p. 211, c. d. edit. Paris. 1693. Competenter nunc adscendentis 'super cælum cæli ad Orientem' Dei honor poscitur. Ad Orientem vero idcirco, quia ipse, secundum prophetam, oriens ex alto sit: ut regressus eo, unde descenderat, nosceretur, ipseque sit hominibus in hunc cælestis sedis adscensum rursus auctor oriundi.

Christ; and, therefore, as Christians first used the ceremony of turning to the East, when they entered into covenant with Christ in baptism, so it is probable that from thence they derived this custom of turning to the East in all their solemn adorations. But whether this were so or not, we are sure there was such a general custom among them, and that it was founded upon some, or all the reasons that have been mentioned; which is as much as is necessary to be said here for the illustration of it.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE TIMES OF THEIR RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES, AND THE SEVERAL PARTS OF DIVINE SERVICE PERFORMED IN THEM.

SECT. I.—*No certain Rule for Meeting in Public, except upon the Lord's Day, in Times of Persecution, for the two first Ages.*

THERE remains one circumstance more of Divine worship, which I have purposely reserved for this place, because the consideration of it will lead us to the several parts of the worship itself; that is, the circumstance of time: concerning which it may be inquired, how often they met in a week, and how often they met in a day for Divine worship? Now no general answer can be given to these questions, because the times of their assemblies varied according to the different state and ages of the Church. At first learned men think they held assemblies every day in the apostles' time, and whilst the Jewish temple stood; for we read of the apostles going up to the temple at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer (Acts, iii. 1), and of their continuing daily, with one accord, in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, or in their house: meaning the church, or house of prayer, as others render it (Acts, ii. 46); though their most solemn meetings were on the first day of the week, or the Lord's day (Acts, xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2). In after ages, when the persecutions grew warm, they are thought to have confined themselves to the Lord's day; for

the confession which Pliny^a took from the mouths of some apostatizing Christians, mentions no other. They confessed to him, that the sum of their crime or error was, "That they were used to meet on a certain stated day, before it was light, and sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God; and to bind themselves by a covenant or sacrament, not unto any wickedness, but that they would not commit any theft, or robbery, or adultery, or break their faith, or deny what was committed to their trust; after which they were used to break up their assembly, and return again to a common feast." Which is a plain description of their worship, and communion, and 'love-feast,' called *agape*, on the Lord's day, but no other. And so Justin Martyr, describing the Christian worship, says,^b "That on the day called Sunday, there was a general meeting of all that lived both in city and country, when they had the Scriptures read, and a sermon preached, and prayers, and the communion." But he mentions no assembly for public worship on any other day; whence learned men^c have concluded, that in his time the Church observed no other days of solemn assemblies but only the Lord's day. His silence as to all others is a nega-

^a Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvi. Adfirmabant, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent. . . quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque cœundi ad capiendum cibum.

^b Justin. Apol. i. p. 83. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λιγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μινόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀποκηνημονύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἣ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκονται μίχρως ἰγχαρεῖ. ἵστα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προϊστάς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιῶται. ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχαὶ πῖμπωμιν παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφίρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προϊστάς εὐχαὶ ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπίμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπισημνῶν λίγων τὸ Ἀμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἰκάσθῃ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πῖμπεται· τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιοῦμεθα. ἱσιδὴ πρώτη ἔστιν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησεν· καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμῖν Ζωτὴς, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνίστη.

^c Cotel. in Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lix. Celebrabantur conventus sacri, tempore apostolorum, singulis diebus: Act. ii. 46, sed solemniore die Dominica, Act. xx. 7, et 1 Cor. xv. 2. Postea effecerunt persecutiones, quum summe sævirent hostes veritatis, ut rarius conveniretur, tantumque in Dominicis diebus: quod colligitur ex Apologetico Justin Martyris, et ex Plinii Epistola.

tive argument against them, unless, perhaps, some distinction may be made between the general assembly of both city and country on the Lord's day, and the particular assemblies of the city-Christians (who had better opportunities to meet) on other days; which distinction we often meet with in the following ages, when Christianity was come to its maturity and perfection.

SECT. II.—*The Original of the Stationary Days, or Church Assemblies, on Wednesdays and Fridays; and what Divine Service was performed on those Days.*

However it was not long after Justin Martyr's time, before we are sure, the Church observed the custom of meeting solemnly, for Divine worship, on Wednesdays and Fridays; which days are commonly called the stationary days, because they continued their assemblies on these days to a great length, till three o'clock in the afternoon; for which reason they had also the name of *semi-jejunia*, or 'half-fasts,' in opposition to the Lent fast, which always held till evening; and *jejunia quartæ* and *sextæ feriæ*, 'the fasts of the fourth and sixth days of the week,' that is, Wednesdays and Fridays. These are first mentioned by Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, and after them by most other writers, as fast-days generally observed by the Church. But I consider them not here as fasts (which will be more properly done under another head, when we come to speak of the fasts and festivals of the Church), but here only look upon them as days of religious assembly, to discover what public divine worship was performed on them. And for this we are chiefly beholden to Tertullian, who assures us, "That on these days they always celebrated the communion;" from whence we may infer, that the same service was performed on these days as on the Lord's day, unless, perhaps, the sermon was wanting. "Some there were," he says, "who objected against receiving the communion on these days, because they were scrupulously afraid they should break their fast by eating and drinking the bread and wine in the eucharist; and there-

fore they chose^d rather to absent themselves from the oblation prayers than break their fast, as they imagined, by receiving the eucharist. Whom he undeceives, by telling them, ‘That to receive the eucharist on such days would be no infringement of their fast, but bind them closer to God; their station would be so much the more solemn for their standing at the altar of God; they might receive the body of the Lord, and preserve their fast too; and so both would be safe, whilst they both participated of the sacrifice, and discharged their other obligation. Since, therefore, they received the eucharist on these days, we may conclude they had all the prayers of the communion-office, and what other offices were wont to go before them, as the psalmody, and reading of the Scriptures, and prayers for the catechumens and penitents; which, together with the sermons, were the whole service for the Lord’s day. But because even all this could not take up near so much time as must needs be spent in these stations, it seems most probable, that in two particulars they much enlarged their service on these days; that is, in their psalmody, and private prayers, and confession of their sins. The Psalms, as we shall see hereafter, were sometimes lengthened to an indefinite number, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or more, as the occasion of a vigil or a fast required; and between every psalm they had liberty to meditate and fall to their private prayers; and by these two exercises, so lengthened and repeated, it is easy to conceive how the longest station might be employed. Socrates says,* “At Alexandria, on these days, they had sermons, and all other service used at other times, except the communion.” But admitting they had the whole service entire, as on the Lord’s day, yet it was not commensurate to the time of their

^d Tertul. de Orat. c. xiv. Similiter de stationum diebus, non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini. Ergo devotum Deo obsequium eucharistia resolvit? an magis Deo obligat? Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini, et re servata (al. legunt reservato), utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii, et executio officii. (P. 135.)

* Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. p. 287, edit. Amstelod. Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ, τῇ τιτράδι καὶ τῇ λιγομένῃ Παρασκευῇ γραφαὶ τι ἀναγινώσκονται, καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ταύτας ἐρμηνεύουσιν, πάντα τε τὰ συνάξιως γίνονται, δίχα τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων τιλίσσεως. (P. 295.)

stations, unless we suppose their psalmody and private devotions in the church to be enlarged on those days, to a greater length than was usual in ordinary service.

St. Basil^f agrees with Tertullian in making these days not only fasts, but communion days; for reckoning up how many days in the week they received the communion, he makes Wednesday and Friday to be two of the number. Yet still it is hard to conceive what business they could have to detain them so long in the church, since their collects and public prayers were but few in comparison; and, therefore, it seems most probable, that a competent share of this time was spent in psalmody, and, as I find a learned person^g inclined to think, in private devotions; which always had a share in their service, and was generally intermixed with their singing of psalms, as shall be shewed in their proper places.^h

SECT. III.—*Saturday, or the Seventh Day, anciently observed with great Solemnity, as a Day of public Devotion.*

We also find in ancient writers frequent mention made of religious assemblies on the Saturday, or seventh day of the week, which was the Jewish Sabbath. It is not easy to tell either the original of this practice, or the reasons of it, because the writers of the first ages are altogether silent about it. In the Latin churches (excepting Milan), it was kept as a fast; but in all the Greek churches as a festival. I consider it here only as a day of public Divine service, on which, as the authors who mention it assure us, all the same offices were performed as were used to be on the Lord's day. For Athanasius, who is one of the first that mention it, says,ⁱ "They met on the Sabbath, not that they were infected

^f Basil. Ep. cclxxxix. p. 279. 'Ἡμεῖς μίντασι τίταρον καὶ ἰκάστον ἰδομάδα κοινωσόμεν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ἐν τῇ τιταρῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Παρασκευῇ, καὶ τῇ σαββάτῃ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ἢ ἢ μνήμη μάρτυρος τινός.

^g Stillingfleet, Orig. Britann. p. 224.

^h See book xiv. chap. i. book xv. chap. i. sect. i.

ⁱ Athanas. Hom. de Semente, tom. i. p. 1060, (tom. ii. p. 60, edit. Paris. 1698.) 'Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτου συνήχθημεν, οὐ νουήσαντες Ἰουδαϊσμόν οὐ γὰρ ἰφασσόμεθα σαββάτων ψευδῶν παραγιγνώσκοντες δι' ἐν σαββάτῃ τὸν Κύριον τοῦ σαββάτου Ἰησοῦν προσκυνήσαντες.

with Judaism, but to worship Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath." And Timotheus, one of his successors in the see of Alexandria, says,^j "The communion was administered on this day, as on the Lord's day;" which were the only days in the week that the communion was received by the Christians of his time at Alexandria. Socrates is a little more particular about the service; for he says,^k "In their assemblies on this day they celebrated the communion: only the churches of Egypt and Thebais differed in this from the rest of the world, and even from their neighbours at Alexandria, that they had the communion at evening service." In another place, speaking of the churches of Constantinople in the time of Chrysostom, he reckons Saturday^l and Lord's day, the two great weekly festivals, on which they always held church-assemblies. And Cassian takes notice of the Egyptian churches,^m "That among them the service of the Lord's day and the Sabbath was always the same; for they had the lessons then read out of the New Testament only, one out of the Gospels, and the other out of the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles; whereas, on other days, they had them partly out of the Old Testament, and partly out of the New." In another place he observes,ⁿ "That in the monasteries of Egypt and Thebais, they had no public assemblies on other days, besides morning and evening, except upon Saturday and the Lord's day, when they met at three o'clock; that is,

^j Timoth. Epist. Canon. c. xiii. ap. Bever. Pand. tom. ii. p. 168. Ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ σάββατον καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἀπείχουσαι δι᾽, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν πνευματικὴν ζωὴν ἀναφίεσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ.

^k Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. Αἱ γύπται γίνονται ὅντις Ἀλεξανδρίαν, καὶ αἱ τὴν Θηβαῖδα οἰκοῦντις, ἐν σαββάτῳ μὲν ποιοῦνται συνάξεις· οὐχ ὡς ἴθως διὰ Χριστιανοῖς, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσι· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐναχθῆναι, καὶ παντοίων ἰδιωμάτων ἰμφορεθῆναι, περὶ ἰστίαν προσφέροντις, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσιν. (P. 295.)

^l Ibid. lib. vi. c. viii. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἰκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἱερταὶ κατελάμμενοι, φημι δὴ τό τε σάββατον καὶ ἡ κυριακὴ, ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἰσθῆσαι γίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ (οἱ Ἀριμανίζοντες) ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως πολῶν περὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀβροζόμενοι, καὶ ᾧδ᾽ ἀντιφώνους πρὸς τὴν Ἀριμανὴν δόξαν συντιθέντες, ἦδον. (P. 321.)

^m Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. vi. In die vero sabbati vel Dominico utrasque lectiones de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de apostolo vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de evangeliis. (P. 18.)

ⁿ Ibid. lib. iii. c. ii. Exceptis vespertinis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem solemnitas, absque die sabbati vel Dominica, celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt. (P. 30.)

nine in the morning, to celebrate the communion." In the Council of Laodicea, there are three canons to the same purpose. One^o appoints the Gospels, with the other Scriptures, to be read upon this day. Another,^p that the oblation of the bread in the eucharist shall not be made all the time of Lent, except on the Sabbath and the Lord's day; which implies, that those were communion-days, and kept as festivals, even in Lent itself. And for the same reason a third canon orders,^q that no festivals of martyrs should be kept in Lent, but only commemorations of the martyrs be made on the Sabbath and the Lord's day. The only difference that was then made between the Sabbath and the Lord's day was, that Christians were not obliged to rest from bodily labour on the Sabbath,^r but might work on that day (so far as Divine service would permit), giving preference in this respect to the Lord's day, whereon they were to rest as Christians; and if any transgressed these rules about working on the Sabbath, they were to be deemed Judaizers, and are ordered to be anathematized by another canon of the same council; by which it appears, that Saturday was kept weekly as a day of public worship, but not as a Jewish Sabbath. Epiphanius^s mentions it likewise as a day of public assemblies in some places, but not in all. St. Basil^t says it was one of the four days in the week on which, in his time, they received the communion. By all which we may perceive, that the author of the Constitutions had a plain regard to the practice of the Eastern Church when he prescribed,

^o Conc. Laodic. c. xvi. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια μετὰ ἱστῶν γραφῶν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι.

^p Ibid. c. xlix. "Ὅτι οὐ δι' τῇ τισσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

^q Ibid. c. li. "Ὅτι οὐ δι' ἐν τισσαρακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἱππιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνήαν ποιῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς.

^r Conc. Laodic. c. xxix. "Ὅτι οὐ δι' Χριστιανούς Ἰουδαῖζουσιν, καὶ ἐν τῇ σαββάτῳ σχολάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προσημειώσαντας, εἴγε δύναιντο, σχολάζουσιν ὡς Χριστιανοί.

^s Epiphanius. Epitom. tom. i. p. 1107. "Ἐν τισὶ δὲ τόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς σάββασι συνάζουσιν ἱππιστεύουσιν.

^t Basil. Epist. cclxxxix. ad Cæsaream Patriciam, cit. sub. litt. anteced. (f), — Aug. Ep. cxviii. Alibi nullus dies omittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi sabbato tantum et Dominico.

“That on every Sabbath, save one (that is, the Saturday before Easter-day), and on every Lord’s day,” they should hold religious assemblies, and keep them as the weekly festivals; that is, not only with psalmody, and reading the Scriptures, and common prayers, which was the ordinary service of the morning and evening of every day; but with sermons also, or preaching the Gospel, and the offering of the oblation, and reception of the holy food;” as he describes the service of the Sabbath and Lord’s day in another place.*

SECT. IV. — *How they observed the Vigils of the Sabbath and Lord’s Day, and other incidental Festivals of Martyrs.*

Now, as these were the two great festivals of every week, so they were commonly ushered in by the attendance of preceding pernoctations or vigils; which, as harbingers, went before to make preparation for the solemnities of the following days. These vigils were much of the same nature as the common nocturnal, or daily morning prayer, which was early, before it was light. And they only differed from the usual *antelucan* service in this, that whereas the usual morning service never began till after midnight, towards cock-crowing in the morning, these vigils were a longer service, that kept the congregation at church the greatest part of the night. These the Greeks called *παννυχίδας*, and the Latins *pernoctationes et pervigilia*, ‘watchings all the night.’ St. Chrysostom often speaks of these:† “Go into the church,” says he, “and there see the poor continuing from midnight to break of day. Go, and see the holy pernoctations join-

* Constitut. lib. v. c. xx. Πᾶν μίντοι σάββατον ἄνιυ τοῦ Ἰνός, καὶ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν πιστιλοῦντες συνόδους εὐφραίνεσθι. — Id. lib. viii. c. cxiii. Σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν σχολαζίστωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν.

† Constitut. lib. iii. c. lix. p. 300. Τί ἀπολογήσεται τῷ Θεῷ ὁ μὴ συνερχόμενος ἐν τῇ δε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀκούει τοῦ σωτηρίου περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγου; ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῖς εὐχὰς ἱστώσιν πιστιλοῦμαι, μνήμης χάριν τοῦ διὰ τριῶν ἀναστάντος ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ προφητῶν ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρυξία, καὶ θυσίας ἀναφορὰ, καὶ τροφῆς ἱερᾶς δωρεά.

‡ Chrysostom. Hom. iv. de Verbis Esaiæ, tom. iii. p. 865, (p. 752, edit. Francof.) Εἰσελθὲ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν . . . ἴδε πάντα ἐν μισοσυκτίῳ μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας παρεμμένοντες, βλέπει παννυχίδας ἱερὰς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὶ συναφθείσας, οὗτοι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, οὗτοι ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν τυραννίδα τοῦ ὕπνου, οὗτοι τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς πινίας φοβοῦμενοις.

ing day and night together: behold the people of Christ, fearing neither by night, nor by day, the tyranny of sleep, or the necessities of poverty." In another place² he calls them πάννυχτοι καὶ διημεκεῖς στάσεις, 'the continued and perfect night stations,' in opposition to the stations by day, which were but partial and imperfect. "By these," he adds, "you imitate the station of the angelical quire, whilst you offer up ἀκατάπαυστον ὕμνολογίαν, 'psalmody and hymnody, without ceasing,' to your Creator. O, the wonderful gifts of Christ! The armies of angels sing glory to God above; and on earth, men, keeping their choral stations in the church, sing the same doxology, after their example. The cherubims above cry aloud, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' in the *trisagion* hymn; and the congregation of men on earth below send up the same; and so a common general assembly is made of the inhabitants of heaven and earth together. Their thanksgiving is one and the same; their exultation, the same; their joyful choral station, the very same." In which words he plainly gives us to understand, that the angelical hymn, "Glory be to God on high," and the 'cherubical hymn,' or the *trisagion*, as it was called from the cherubims, thrice repeating the first words, "Holy, Holy, Holy," were part of their sacred service in these night stations; which, as I observed before, were but an earlier oblation of the ordinary morning service, wherein we shall find the angelical hymn amongst other parts of Divine worship always appointed to be used.

It were easy to make a long discourse here of the several sorts of these night-stations, or completer vigils holding all the night through. For they were sometimes held upon extraordinary occasions of prayer: upon great emergencies and necessities of the Church; instances of which the curious

² Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Esaiæ, p. 834, (p. 724, edit. Francof.) Ἐν τῇς παννύχτου ταύτης καὶ διημεκεῖς στάσεις, ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν χοροστασίαν μιμουμένους, ἀκατάπαυστοι τῇ κτίσει τὴν ὕμνολογίαν προσφέρουσιν· ὡς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξημάτων ἂν στρατιὰ δοξολογοῦσιν ἀγγέλων· κάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίαις χοροστατοῦντες ἄνθρωποι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἐκμιμῶνται δοξολογίαν· ἂν τὰ Σιχαφίμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναβοῶν· κάτω τὸν αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπίμπι πληθὺς κοινὴ τῶν ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἱστανίων συγκροτεῖται πατήγερες· μία εὐχαριστία, ἢ ἀγαλλίαμα, μία εὐφρόσυτος χοροστασία.

reader may find several in Chrysostom,^a and St. Austin,^b and Ruffin,^c and Socrates,^d and Sozomen,^e and Theodoret.^f Sometimes, again, they were kept as anniversary vigils, to usher in the greater festivals of the Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost; of which sort there is mention made in Tertullian,^g Lactantius,^h Chrysostom,ⁱ Socrates,^k and many

^a Chrysostom. Hom. xx. de Statuis, tom. i. p. 252, (p. 121, edit. Francof.) Οὐκ ἔστι τῆς τυχεύσεως ψυχῆς ἐν τῇ περιστάσει ἡπαγωγῇ ἡφύην καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν βλίσπειν.—Hom. xl. ad Juventin. tom. i. p. 550, (p. 485, edit. cit.) Συντρίχονται πολλῶν ψαλμοῦδ' ἀνιχνύεισι τρεῖς, παννυχίδος ἱεραί.

^b Aug. Confess. lib. ix. c. vii. Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia, mori parata cum episcopo suo, servo tuo. Ibi mater mea, ancilla tua, sollicitudinis et vigiliarum primas partes tenens, orationibus vivebat, &c. — Ep. cxix. ad Januar.

^c Ruffin. lib. i. c. xii. Ad ultimum certam ei diem statuentes denuntiant, ut aut ipse Arium susciperet; aut si reniteretur, se ecclesia pulso et in exilium truso, ab alio eum suscipiendum sciret. Tum ille nocte, quæ ad constitutam intererat diem, sub altari jacens, atque in oratione et lacrimis totam pervigilem ducens, ecclesiæ caussam Domino commendabat. — Lib. ii. c. xvi. Ambrosius adversum reginæ furorem, non se manu defensabat, aut telo, sed jejuniis continuatisque vigiliis sub altare positus.

^d Socrat. lib. i. c. xxxvii. 'Εν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἥ ἰκάνυμιον Εἰρήνη, μόνον ἱαντὸν κατακλισθὲν ποιήσας, καὶ εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσιλθὼν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τεράστιαν ἱαντὸν ἐπὶ στέμα ἱκτινίας, εὐχεται δακρύων νύκτας τι πολλὰς ἰριζῆς καὶ ἡμέρας σωτῶν ποιῶν διελίλει, κ. τ. λ. (Cant. 75.)

^e Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxix. Τῇ δὲ πρὸς τῆς προεβασίας ἡμέρᾳ, εἰσὼς ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, παννυχίος ἱκτινίας πρηγῆς, τοῦ Θεοῦ δόμιμος, κ. τ. λ.—Lib. iii. c. vi. Τῆς νυκτὸς ἱπικαζούσης ἐκκλησίᾳζεν.

^f Theodoret. lib. i. c. xiv. 'Ο τοῖνον ἐπίσκοπος 'Αλιζάνδρης ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ πάνυ λυπηθείς, εἰσιλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἔρας πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἀπαυδύρατο καὶ βίβας ἱαντὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ ἱερουσίᾳ, κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος πύχιστο. (Cant. p. 43.)

^g Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. iv. Quis solemnibus Paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit? (P. 168.)

^h Lactant. lib. vii. c. xix. Hæc nox est, quæ a nobis, propter adventum Regis ac Dei nostri, pervigilio celebratur.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in Genes. p. 424, (tom. ii. p. 389, edit. Francof.) Διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν ἡστίαν ἱαντίζουσι, καὶ ἀγγευσίας καὶ παννυχίδας ἱερὰς, καὶ ἱληρωσύνας ἐπιδίδουνται, διακύντες δὲ ὅτι πρῶτον τὴν τιμὴν, ἣν περὶ τῆς ἐδωμάδα ἔχουσι.

^k Socrat. lib. vii. c. v. Μισ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν ἐκ προλήψεως ἱερὴν ἐπιτίλιν' καὶ συνήθειον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ πολλοί· καὶ τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ παννυχίδα ποιούντων, δόρυς τις δαμόνιος ἐνέπαισι ἐς αὐτοὺς, ὥς ἔρα Σαίνιος ὁ αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοπος ἐν πολλῇ πλῆθει ἔρχεται κατ' αὐτῶν. (P. 351.) — Conf. lib. ii. c. xi. citat. sub seq. litt. (1). — Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lvii. "Ἦδη ἡ μεγάλη τοῦ πάσχα ἱερὴ παραῖν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ Θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδίδους συνδιανεκρίζουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις.— Hieron. Comment. in Matth. xxv. Traditio Judæorum est, Christum media nocte

others. But the vigils we are here concerned to speak of, are only such as have some relation to the weekly service; of which number we may reckon those vigils of the Sabbath and Lord's day the chief, because they returned constantly in the weekly revolution. Concerning which we have not only the forementioned authority of Chrysostom, but several others. For Socrates, giving an account of Athanasius's escape out of the church of Alexandria, in the night, when the church was beset with soldiers to take him, says,^l "It was evening, and the people were keeping their nocturnal vigils, because the next day was to be a *synaxis*, or 'church assembly.' Therefore Athanasius, fearing lest the people should suffer upon his account, bid the deacon give the signal, or call to prayer, and he commanded a psalm to be sung; and whilst they were singing their psalmody, the soldiers were quiet; and they all, meanwhile, went out at one door of the church; and Athanasius, in the midst of the singers, escaped untouched, and fled to Rome." Athanasius himself has the same story in his Apology for his Flight, where he says,^m "Some of the people were keeping their night vigil, expecting an assembly the next day." And Socrates, in another place, speaking of these nocturnal vigils, kept both by the Arians and Catholics, says,ⁿ "They

venturum in similitudinem Ægyptii temporis, quando Pascha celebratum est, et exterminator venit, et Dominus super tabernacula transiit, et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecrati sunt. Unde reor et traditionem apostolicam permansisse, ut in die vigiliarum Paschæ, ante noctis dimidium, populos dimittere non liceat, exspectantes adventum Christi. (Venet. 7, 202.)

^l Socrat. lib. ii. c. xi. 'Ἐσπέρα μὲν ἦν ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἰστανύχιζι. προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως· ἡκαὶ δὲ ὁ στρατιῆς, κατὰ φάλαγγα τοὺς στρατιώτας τάξας πανταχόθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· Ἀθανάσιος δὲ ἰωρακῶς τὰ γινόμενα, φροντίδα ἔθιτο, ὥπως ἂν τῷ λαῷ μηδαμῶς βλάβη γίνηται δι' αὐτόν· καὶ προστάξας διακονῇ κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, αὐτοὶ ψαλμὸν λίγισθαι παρισκυύσας· συμφωνίας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ψαλμωδίας γινομένης, διὰ μῆκρος τῶν πυλῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντες ἐξῆσαν· τοῦτου γινομένου, οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπόμαχαι ἔμεινον· ὁ δὲ Ἀθανάσιος ἐν μίσει τοῖς ψαλμωδοῦσιν ἀβλαβῆς δισώζετο· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον διαφυγῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέδραμι. (P. 89.)

^m Athan. Apol. de Fuga, tom. i. p. 716, (p. 334, c. edit. Paris. 1698.) Νύξ μὲν γὰρ ἦδη ἦν, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τινες ἰστανύχιζον προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως.

ⁿ Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. Οἱ Ἀρειανίζοντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τὰς συναγωγὰς ἱσποῦντο· ἥνικα οὖν ἐκάστης ἰδομάδος ἵεσται κασιγμάμενοι, φημι δὲ τό τε σάββατον καὶ ἡ κυριακὴ, ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰσθαι γίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ ἐνὸς τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν περὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀθροίζονται, καὶ ὁδὸς ἀντιφώνους πρὸς τὴν

held them against the weekly festivals, the Sabbath and the Lord's day, on which days there were used to be general assemblies of the Church. And, because the Arians were allowed no churches within the walls, they sung their hymns in the streets and porticoes of the city till the morning light; and then went out to their meeting places without the gates." And the historian observes, "That Chrysostom, fearing the Arians might gain ground upon the Church by this practice, and draw away some of the more simple people, appointed some of his own people, who were used to nocturnal hymnody, to meet in the streets after the same manner; and, to make the solemnity more splendid, the empress gave them silver crosses to set their lamps in, appointing one of her own eunuchs, called Brison, to be their protector. Which so provoked the Arians, that they fell to blows upon it; and Brison and some others were slain in the engagement; which occasioned the emperor wholly to put down those Arian meetings, and leave the Catholics quietly to go on with their vigils in the churches, as they had done before." From these accounts, we may easily collect, both that there were such weekly vigils frequented by the more zealous and religious sort of people in all parts of the East; and also that psalms, and hymns, and prayers, were the exercises, wherewith they entertained themselves to the morning light. I might add many other testimonies out of Nazianzen^o and other Greek writers; but these are abundantly sufficient to shew us the practice of the Oriental Church.

For the Latin Church, we have the authority of St. Jerom,

'Αριανὴν δόξαν συντίθεντες ἦδον· καὶ τοῦτο ἰποίουσι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς νυκτός· ὑπὸ δὲ ὄρεσιν, καὶ τοιαῦτα Ἀντίφωνα λήγοντες, διὰ μίσεως τῆς πάλαιος ἐξήσαν τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἵνα συνῆγον καταλαμβάναν· . . . Τότε δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὑλασθηδὺς, μή τις τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ᾄδων ἀφελκυσθῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀντιτίθεισιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ, ὅπως ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ὑμνολογίαις σχολάζοντες, ἀμυρῶσιν μὲν τὴν ἐκίμων πρὶς τοῦτου σπουδῇ, βιβλαῖους δὲ τοὺς οἰκίους πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐργάζωνται, κ. τ. λ. (Cant. p. 321.)

^o Nazianz. Carm. Iambic. xviii. tom. ii. p. 218.

Ὁρᾷς ἀγρεύπνους πρὸς Θεὸν ψαλμῳδίας

Ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν, φύσεως λελησμένων;

—Id. Orat. xi. de Gorgonia, tom. i. p. 185. *Ἐτίθειν παννυχίζοντων ἐν ὀρθῇ σάματι.*

who interpreting the word 'watcher,' in Daniel, says, "It signifies the angels, who always watch, and are ready to obey the commands of God;" and he adds,^p "We also, by our frequent pernoctations, or night-watches, imitate the office of angels." And it appears from him, further,^q that women and virgins frequented this service, as well as men: for he advises Læta to inure her daughter to these solemn pernoctations; only cautioning her to keep a guard upon her, and not let her wander from her side: for the same reason, I presume, for which the Council of Eliberis^r thought fit wholly to forbid women the observation of these vigils; because many, under pretence of prayer, were found to commit wickedness. There are many other passages in St. Austin, and St. Hilary, and other Latin writers, which speak of vigils; but, because they may be understood either of private watchings in prayers at home, or of the common vigils of the ordinary morning-prayer before day, I omit them in this place: only alleging that of St. Ambrose, where he seems to found this practice upon the imitation of Christ's example: "The Lord Jesus," says he,^s "continued all night in prayer; not that he wanted the help of prayer, but to set thee an example to copy after. He continued all night praying for thee, that thou mightest learn after what manner to pray for thyself."

But besides these stated vigils of the two weekly festivals, there was another sort of incidental ones, which came almost every week throughout the year: or, at least, were very frequent in some parts of it; those were the vigils of the festivals, or anniversaries of the martyrs. Those anniversaries, as we shall see by and by, were always in great repute,

^p Hieron. Com. in Daniel, iv. 12. Unde et nos crebris pernoctationibus imitatur angelorum officia.

^q Ibid. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. Vigiliarum dies et solemnes pernoctationes sic virguncula nostra celebret, ut ne transverso quidem ungue a matre discedat.

^r Conc. Illiber. c. xxxv. Placuit prohiberi, ne feminae in cœmeterio pervigilent; eo quod sæpe, sub obtentu orationis latentes, scelera committant.

^s Ambros. Serm. xix. in Psalm. cxviii. v. 147, p. 740, (tom. ii. opp. p. 1056, g. edit. Paris. 1692.) Pernoctabat in oratione Dominus Jesus, non indigens precationis auxilio, sed statuens tibi imitationis exemplum. Ille pro te rogans pernoctabat, ut tu disceres, quomodo pro te rogares.

and observed with the same solemnities of Divine worship, as the Sabbath, or the Lord's day; and, therefore, their vigils were also celebrated with the same ceremony as the vigils, or night-stations, of the two great weekly festivals. St. Chrysostom is an undoubted witness of this: for in a Homily made upon one of these festivals, he takes notice of the preceding vigil, that had continued all the night: "Ye have turned," says he,^t "the night into day, by keeping your holy stations all the night: do not now turn the day into night again, by surfeiting, and drunkenness, and lascivious songs." And Sidonius Apollinaris will testify the same, at least for some part of the Western Church: for, writing about the festival of Justus, bishop of Lyons, he thus describes both the observation of the day, and the preceding vigil: "We met," says he," "at the grave of St. Justus; it was a morning procession before day; it was an anniversary solemnity. The confluence of people, of both sexes, was so great, that the church, though very capacious, and surrounded with cloisters, could not contain them. When the service of the vigil was ended, which the monks and clerical singers performed with alternate melody, we separated for some time, but went not very far away, as being to meet again at three o'clock [that is, nine in the morning]; when the priests were to perform Divine service;" that is, the service of the communion, as on a festival.

SECT. V.—*Of the Festivals of Martyrs; their Original, and what Divine Service was performed on them.*

And now that we have mentioned the festival of martyrs, as days of public religious worship, we must take notice of

^t Chrysostom. Hom. lix. in Martyres, tom. v. p. 779, (hom. lxii. p. 697, edit. Francof.) Ἐπεσήμεν τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν διὰ τῶν παννυχίδων τῇ ἱερῇ μὴ ποιήσαντι πάλιν τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα διὰ τῆς μήτης καὶ τῆς κραιπνότητος, καὶ τῶν ἀσμάτων τῶν πορνικῶν.

^a Sidon. lib. v. ep. xvii. Conveneramus ad sancti Justi sepulchrum. . . . Processio fuerat antelucana, solemnitas anniversaria, populus ingens sexu ex utroque, quem capacissima basilica non caperet, et quamlibet cincta diffusis cryptoporticibus. Cultu peracto vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique psalmicines concelebraverant, quisque in diversa secessimus, non procul tamen, utpote ad tertiam præsto futuri, quum sacerdotibus res divina facienda. (P. 361.)

their original, to find out how early they became days of solemn addresses to God, and in what offices of Divine service their observations consisted. These festivals were grown so numerous in the time of Chrysostom and Theodoret, that they tell us it was not once, or twice, or five times in a year that they celebrated their memorials, but they had oftentimes one or two in the same week,* which occasioned frequent solemnities. The original of them is, at least, to be carried as high as the time of Polycarp, who suffered about the year 168. For the Church of Smyrna (whereof he was bishop), in their Epistle to the Church of Philomelium, recorded by Eusebius,[†] tell them, “That they intended, if God would permit, to meet at his tomb, and celebrate his birth-day, that is, the day of his martyrdom, with joy and gladness, as well for the memory of the sufferer as for example to posterity.” Tertullian speaks of these anniversary festivals, as observed in his time. “We offer,” says he,[‡] “oblations for those that are dead, for their nativities on their anniversary-day.” And Cyprian[§] orders his clergy to note down the days of their decease, that a commemoration of them might be celebrated amongst the memories of the martyrs. And in another place he says,^{||} “They offered sacrifices for them as often as they celebrated their passions, or days of martyrdom, by an anniversary commemoration.” These sacrifices were the

* Chrysostom. Hom. xl. in Juventin. tom. i. p. 546, (p. 484, edit. Francof.) *Ὁ μακάριος Βαβύλας πρῶην ἡμῶς ἰσταῦθα μετὰ παιδων τριῶν συνήγαγε· σήμερον στρατιωτῶν ξυνορίς ἁγίων, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως Ἰσθησι· τότε ἄρμα μαρτύρων, νῦν ξυνορίς μαρτύρων. — Theodoret. Sermon. viii. de Martyr. tom. iv. p. 605. Εἰς δὲ τούτους (σηκοὺς μαρτύρων) οὐχ ἅπαξ ἢ δις γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους ἢ πιντάκις φεστώμεν· ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν πανηγύρις ἐπιτελοῦμεν.*

† Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. p. 109, c. “Ἐνθα ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγγαλιᾷ καὶ χαρᾷ, παρίξῃ ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γινώσκοντες, εἴς τι τῶν προηβληκότων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησιν τι καὶ ἰτοιμασίαν. (Cant. 171.)

‡ Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. (P. 102.)

§ Cyprian. Ep. xii. al. xxxvii. (p. 188, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Dies eorum quibus excedunt, adnotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus. (P. 27.)

|| Ibid. Ep. xxxix. al. xxxiv. p. 77, (p. 224, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving to God for the examples of the martyrs, and the celebration of the eucharist on these days, and the offerings of alms and oblations for the poor, which, together with a panegyric oration or sermon, and reading the acts or passion of the martyr, if they had any such recorded, were the exercises and special acts of devotion in which they spent these days. For these were always esteemed high festivals; and, therefore, the same service that was performed on the Sabbath and Lord's day, was always performed on them. They never passed without a full assembly, nor without a sermon or a communion; as appears from some of Chrysostom's Homilies upon such occasions. To dissuade the people from intemperance, he bids them consider^c "how absurd it was, after such a meeting, after a whole night's vigil, after hearing the Holy Scriptures, after participating of the Divine mysteries, after such a spiritual repast, for a man or a woman to be found spending whole days in a tavern." The foundation of his argument is built upon this supposition, that they had received the eucharist in the church before, in celebrating the memorial of a martyr. And so Sidonius Apollinaris represents the matter in the passage just now cited from him;^d that after they had kept the vigil of St. Justus the night preceding, they assembled again by day, at nine in the morning, when the priests did *rem Divinam facere*; 'offer the oblation, or consecrate the eucharist;' as Savaro^e rightly interprets it.

But, besides the usual solemnities of other festivals, there was one thing peculiar to these festivals of the martyrs; which was, that the history of their passions, as they were taken by the notaries, appointed by the Church for this purpose, were commonly read in the assembly upon such occasions. It was at least the common practice of the African

^c Chrysostom. Hom. lix. de Martyr. tom. v. p. 779, (hom. lxii. p. 697, c. edit. Francof.) 'Ἐνόησον, ἥλικος γίλως, μετὰ τριαύστην σύνοδον, μετὰ παννυχίδας, μετὰ γεφυῶν ἁγίων ἀκρόασις, μετὰ μυστηρίων θείων κοινωνίαν, καὶ μετὰ πνευματικὴν χορηγίαν, ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἐν καπηλείῳ φαίνεσθαι διημιρύνοντας.

^d Sidon. Apoll. lib. v. ep. xv. Vid. litt. (*), p. 363.

^e Savar. Commentar. in Sidon. *Res divina facienda*] id est, missarum solemnium celebranda, missa facienda, sacrificia offerenda, ut ipse loquitur, ep. xv. lib. iv.

Churches. For St. Austin¹ speaks of it as a usual thing, indulging his people with liberty to sit whilst they heard them read, because they were sometimes of a considerable length. And the third Council of Carthage² made a canon to encourage the reading of them. Mabillon³ gives several other instances out of Alcimus Avitus, Cæsarius Arelatensis, and Ferreolus, to shew that they were read also in the French Churches. Only they were forbidden in the Roman Church by the decree of Pope Gelasius⁴ in his Synod of Seventy Bishops, under pretence that they were written by anonymous authors, and sometimes by ignorant heathens, and sometimes by heretical authors, as the Passions of Cyricus, Julita, and St. George. For which reason they had, by ancient custom, prohibited the reading of them in the Roman Church. But this rule, it seems, did not then prescribe to other Churches.

SECT. VI.—*Solemn Assemblies for Preaching, and other Acts of Divine Worship held every Day during the whole Forty Days of Lent, and the Fifty Days between Easter and Whitsuntide.*

It may be further observed, that during the whole forty days of Lent, they had continual assemblies not only for prayers, but preaching also; as is evident from Chrysostom's sermons, many of which were preached by him successively, one day after another, throughout the greatest part of that season, as his Homilies upon Genesis, and those famous discourses called his *Ἀνδράγυροις*, preached at Antioch, in Lent, upon the occasion of a tumult, wherein the emperor's statues were demolished. And many other instances may be given

¹ Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex l. tom. x. p. 174, (p. 476, edit. Basil. 1559.) Quando aut passionēs proluxæ, aut certæ aliquæ lectiones longiores, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant, quæ leguntur.

² Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvii. Liceat etiam legi passionēs martyrum, quum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.

³ Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 403, &c.

⁴ Gelas. Decret. ap. Grab. tom. i. p. 992. Singulæri cautela, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, in sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripsere, nomina penitus ignorantur; et ab infidelibus idiotis superflua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur, sicut cujusdam Cyrici et Julitæ, sicut Georgii aliorumque hujusmodi passionēs, quæ ab hereticis perhibentur compositæ.

of the same practice: of which more hereafter, under the head of Preaching, in the next Book.^j It is true, indeed, they did not always consecrate the eucharist in Lent, but only upon the Sabbath and Lord's day, as we learn from the Council of Laodicea,^k which expressly forbids the oblation of the bread in Lent upon any other day besides the Sabbath and the Lord's day. The reason of which was, that these two days were observed as festivals even in Lent itself; and they did not ordinarily consecrate the eucharist upon the solemn fasts in the time of this council: but instead of the consecration-service they had probably that which, in the following ages, is called προηγιασμένων λειτουργία, *missa præsanctificationum*, 'the office of the pre-sanctified elements,' which was a shorter service for communicating on fast-days in the elements that were consecrated before on the Lord's day festival; about which there is a particular direction in the Council of Trullo; so that, one way or other, they seem to have had both a communion and a sermon every day in Lent.

Then again, the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide were a sort of perpetual festival, and observed with great solemnity as days of joy, from the time of Tertullian, who mentions it, and triumphs over the heathen upon it,^m "That besides the Sunday, which returned once in eight days, this one continued festival of Pentecost was more than all the festivals the heathen could pretend to reckon up in a whole year." He does not tell us here, indeed, with what solemnity they observed this time; but, in another place,ⁿ he assures us they had solemn worship every day, and paid the same respect to it as they did to the Lord's day, in that they neither

^j Book xiv. chap. iv.

^k Conc. Laodic. c. xlix. "Οτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τισσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

^l Conc. Trul. c. lii. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1166.) 'Εν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τισσαρακοστῆς τῶν νοστιῶν ἡμέραις, παρικτὸς σαββάτου, καὶ κυριακῆς, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ ἐξαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινίσθω ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία.

^m Tertul. de Idololatr. c. xiv. Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est: tibi octavus quisque dies. Excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum, et in ordinem exsere, Pentecosten implere non poterunt. (P. 94.)

ⁿ Ibid. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. (P. 102.)

fasted nor prayed kneeling on any day during this whole interval, which was the commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection and ascension ; whence it is no improbable conjecture that, during this season, they might have the same complete worship every day that they had upon the Lord's day.

SECT. VII.—*Public Prayer, Morning and Evening, every Day in the third Century.*

And this consideration will lead us to fix the date of the setting up morning and evening prayer daily in the Church. For if the persecutions would give leave, in Tertullian's time, to keep fifty days together as solemn festivals, there is no reason to imagine that they could not as well meet every day for their ordinary devotions ; and if Wednesdays and Fridays were then observed as stationary days, with more than ordinary attendance, as we have heard him declare before, there is little reason to question, but that every day might have an ordinary vigil, or morning assembly. It was not long after Tertullian's time, that, Cyprian assures us,^o "They received the eucharist every day ;" and he thinks that petition in the Lord's Prayer may bear this sense, when we say, "Give us this day our daily bread ;" which was also Tertullian's sense of it before him.^p Now this is demonstration, then, that they had assemblies for public worship every day, since they received the eucharist every day, which they did not use to consecrate but in public assemblies of the Church. From this time, therefore, there is no dispute about the Church's daily sacrifice of prayer in her morning-assemblies ; which, in after ages, are commonly called *cætus antelucani, et vigiliæ, et horæ nocturnæ*, because they were a sort of 'ordinary vigils, or night-assemblies,' held before it was light, though not so early as those other

^o Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 147, (p. 104, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Hunc panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, et quotidie eucharistiam ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstanti et non communicantes a cœlesti pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur.

^p Tertul. de Orat. c. vi. Corpus ejus in pane censetur : 'Hoc est corpus meum : ' itaque petendo panem quotidianum, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo, et individuitatem a corpore ejus. (P. 131.)

sort of vigils, or night-stations, before the Sabbath and Lord's day, which were of longer duration: as has been noted already of them in its proper place.

As to evening-prayer, public in the Church, Mr. Mede[†] thinks there is no mention made of it in Cyprian or Tertullian, nor in any writers before the author of the Constitutions and the Council of Laodicea. He thinks the ninth hour of prayer, mentioned by Cyprian,[‡] relates only to private prayer, which is very probable: and that Tertullian's *nocturnæ convocationes*, mean not 'evening,' but 'morning prayers, early before day;' which is undoubtedly true. But, then, he seems not to have considered, that, in Cyprian's time, there was a custom among some of communicating after supper; for he plainly mentions it,[§] though he did not like the custom. And this custom continued among the Egyptians till the time of Socrates,[¶] who speaks of it then as something peculiar to those churches. Now, if there was a custom in Cyprian's time of communicating after supper, there is no doubt to be made of evening-prayer at the same time. Rigaltius,^{||} and after him Bishop Fell,[‡] and Dr. Cave,[×]

[†] Mede, Ep. lxvi. p. 840.

[‡] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 154, (p. 108, edit. Amstelod.) In orationibus celebrandis invenimus observasse cum Daniele tres pueros in fide fortes, et in captivitate victores, horam tertiam, sextam, nonam, sacramento scilicet Trinitatis; quæ in novissimis temporibus manifestari habebat. . . . Quando a septima nona completur, per ternas horas Trinitas perfecta numeratur: quæ horarum spatia jam pridem spiritaliter determinantes adoratores Dei, statutis et legitimis ad precem temporibus serviebant; et manifesta postmodum res est sacramenta olim fuisse; quod ante sic jasti precabantur, &c.

[§] Ibid. Epist. lxi. ad Cæcilium, p. 156, (p. 227, edit. cit.) An illa sibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etsi mane aqua sola offerri videtur, tamen quum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus?

[¶] Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. Vid. supra, sect. iii. ad litt. (k), p. 355.

^{||} Rigalt. in Cyprian. Ep. lxi. Ævo jam Tertulliani mutatum aliquid circa hoc sacramentum fuisse colligitur, et non solum vespere, in tempore victus, sed etiam horis antelucanis, sacramentum corporis Christi celebratum fuisse arguunt hæc verba (lib. de Corona): 'Eucharistiæ sacramentum in tempore victus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis horis sumimus.'

[‡] Fell. in locum. Constat eucharistiam, licet horis antelucanis sumtam, vespere etiam distribui solitam; cujus rei locuples testis Tertullianus (lib. de Corona, c. iii.): 'Eucharistiæ sacramentum tempore victus de præsidium manu sumimus.' Et alibi monet, ut finitis stationibus sumatur. (P. 156.)

[×] Cave, Prim. Christ. part. i. c. xi. p. 338.

carry this custom of communicating after supper as high as Tertullian: but I think they mistake his words; for he does not say that they communicated after supper,¹ but “That Christ, at supper-time, gave the command for the sacrament of the eucharist to all, though then they communicated in their morning-assemblies, and received it from the hands of none but their governors.” I lay no stress, therefore, upon this proof, but think the proof of evening-prayer may be rationally deduced from that of Cyprian; after whom the author of the Constitutions not only speaks of it,² but gives us the order both of their morning and evening-service; with which I shall present the reader in the following chapters. The Council of Laodicea speaks of the evening-service,³ together with that of the *nones*, or ‘three in the afternoon,’ and orders the same service to be used in both. The Greeks commonly call it *λυχνάψια*, and the Latins *lucernarium*, because it commonly began at the time when the day went off, and when they lighted candles for the night. It is likewise frequently styled *sacrificium vespertinum*, ‘the evening sacrifice,’ and *missa vespertina*; as those names are used to signify, in general, ‘the service or prayers of the Church.’ And these two, evening and morning, are the most celebrated times of the ancient daily service, which are to be found almost in every ecclesiastical writer; so that it is altogether needless here to insist any further upon them.

SECT. VIII. — *The Original of the Canonical Hours of Prayer. No Notice of them for public Prayer, but only for private, in the three first Ages.*

There remains one question more concerning those times of prayer, which are commonly called the canonical hours;

¹ Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cætibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. (P. 102.)

² Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxv. Ἐσπείρας γινομένης, συναθροίσεις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὃ ἰπίσκουσι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσῃ ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν πατηχομένων, καὶ χιμαζομένων, καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κ. τ. λ. (Conc. I. 499.)

³ Conc. Laodic. c. xix. Περὶ τοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν ὑψῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλου γίνεσθαι.

that is, besides the forementioned evening and morning prayer, those that are called the first, the third, the sixth, and the ninth hours, with the *completorium*, or 'bedtime.' They who have made the most exact inquiries into the original of these as fixed hours of public prayer, can find no foot-steps of them in the three first ages, but conclude they came first into the Church with the monastic life. So Mr. Mede^b and Bishop Pearson,^c who observes that Tertullian^d mentions the third, sixth, and ninth hours of prayer; but then he is disputing as a Montanist against the Catholics, and urging the necessity of observing the rules of the Montanists in all the heights of their austerities, and pretences of mortification and devotion above the Church. And he does not intimate that either the Montanists or the Catholics observed these hours for public assemblies. Cyprian,^e indeed, recommends these hours of prayer from the example of Daniel, and other arguments, to Christians, in their private devotions: but he does not so much as once suggest, that the Church had then, by any rule, made these the stated

^b Med. Ep. lxvi.

^c Pears. Prælect. ii. in Act. Apostol. nn. iii. iv.

^d Tertul. de Jejun. c. x. (p. 549.) *Æque stationes nostras, ut indignas; quasdam vero et in serum constitutas, novitatis nomine incusant, hoc quoque munus et ex arbitrio obeundum esse dicentes, et non ultra nonam detinendum, de suo scilicet more. Sed quod pertineat ad interdictionis quæstionem, semel pro omnibus causis respondebo. Nunc ad proprium hujus speciei articulum, de modo temporis dico, de ipsis prius expostulandum, unde hanc formam novam dirimendis stationibus præseribant. Si, quia Petrus, et qui cum eo, ad horam nonam orationis templum introgressi leguntur, quis mihi probabit illos ea die statione functos, ut horam nonam ad clausulam et expunctionem stationis interpretetur? Atqui facilius invenias Petrum hora sexta capiendi cibi causa, prius in superiora ad orandum adscendisse, quo magis sexta diei finiri officio huic possit, quæ illud absolutura post orationem videbatur. Porro, quum in eodem Commentario Lucæ, et tertia hora orationis demonstretur, sub qua Spiritu Sancto initiati, pro ebriis habebantur; et sexta, qua Petrus adscendit in superiora; et nona, qua templum sunt introgressi, cur non intelligamus, salva plane indifferentia semper et ubique et omni tempore orandi, tamen tres istas horas, ut insigniores in rebus humanis, quæ diem distribuunt, quæ negotia distinguunt, quæ publicæ resonant; ita et solemniores fuisse in orationibus divinis? quod etiam suadet Danielis quoque argumentum, ter die orantis, utique per aliquarum horarum exceptionem; non aliarum autem quam insigniorum, exinde apostolicarum, tertiæ, sextæ, nonæ. &c.*

^e Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 154, (p. 108, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) cit. supra, sub. litt. (r), p. 369.

hours of public devotion. That which evidently confirms this opinion is an observation to be made out of Cassian, who particularly describes the devotions of these canonical hours, and the gradual rise of them. For they had not all their original at the same time. The first monks of Egypt, who were the founders of the monastic life, he assures us, never observed any other canonical hours for public devotion, but only evening and morning early, before day :^f all the rest of their time they spent at work privately, joining private meditation of the Scriptures, singing of psalms, and prayers, continually, with their labour. Not long after, the monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine set up the practice of meeting publicly at the third, sixth, and ninth hours for performing their psalmody and devotions.^g But as yet, there was no new morning-service, distinct from that of the old morning-service before day. This was first begun in the monastery of Bethlehem,^h and thence propagated into others, but not received in all. And the *completarium*, or 'bedtime service,' was utterly unknown to the ancients, as

^f Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. ii. p. 30. Apud illos hæc officia, quæ Domino solvere per distinctiones horarum, et temporis intervalla cum admonitione compulsoris adigimur, per totum diei spatium jugiter cum operis adjectione spontaneæ celebrantur. Ita namque ab eis incessanter operatio manuum privatim per cellulas exercetur, ut psalorum quoque, vel ceterarum Scripturarum meditatio nunquam penitus omittatur. Cui preces et orationes per singula momenta miscentes, in his officiis, quæ nos statuto tempore celebramus, totum diei tempus absument. Quamobrem, exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica solemnitas, absque die sabbati vel Dominica, celebratur.

^g Ibid. c. iii. In Palestinæ vel Mesopotamiæ monasteriis ac totius Orientis, supradictarum harum solemnitates trans psalmis quotidie finiuntur; ut et orationum assiduitas statutis temporibus Deo offeratur, et necessaria operationis officia, consummatis justo moderamine spiritalibus obsequiis, nullatenus valeant impediri. His enim tribus temporibus etiam Daniele prophetam quotidie fenestris apertis in cenaculo preces Domino fuisse cognoscimus. Nec immerito hæc specialius tempora religiosis sunt officiis deputata, &c. (P. 32.)

^h Ibid. c. iv. Sciendum, hanc Matutinam (solemnitatem) quæ nunc observatur in Occiduis vel maxime regionibus, canonicam functionem nostro tempore in nostro quoque monasterio primitus institutam, ubi Dominus noster Jesus Christus natus ex virgine, humanæ infantie suscipere incrementa dignatus, nostram quoque adhuc in religione teneram et lactentem infantiam sua gratia confirmavit. Usque ad illud enim tempus hac solemnitate Matutina, (quæ expletis nocturnis psalmis et orationibus post modicum temporis intervallum solet in Galliæ monasteriis celebrari,) cum quotidianis vigiliis pariter consummata, reliquas horas refectio corporum deputatas a majoribus nostris invenimus. (P. 36.)

distinct from the *lucernaris*, or 'evening-service,' as Bona himself proves against Bellarmin.¹ So that these canonical hours came gradually into the Church, and are all of them owing to the rules of the Eastern monasteries for their original. Therefore what a learned man among ourselves says, must be taken with a little qualification, else it will not be true:² "That the universal Church anciently observed set hours of prayer; that all Christians throughout the world might, at the same time, join together to glorify God." And some of them were of opinion,³ that the angelical host, being acquainted with those hours, took that time to join their prayers and praises with those of the Church. If this be understood of any rule or custom of the universal Church for hours of public prayer, besides those of morning and evening, in the three first ages, it will not be true: but if it only mean that there were directions given for the encouragement of private prayer at those set times; and that Christians generally observed them in private, it may be allowed: since not only Origen, but Cyprian, as we have heard before, writes in favour of them; and Clemens Alexandrinus says,^m "Some allotted set hours for prayer,—the third, sixth, and ninth." So necessary is it to distinguish between public and private devotions, and between the first and the following ages, when we speak of canonical hours of prayer, as appointed by the Church universal. For even after they were set up in the monasteries, they were not immediately observed in all the Churches. For Epiphanius,ⁿ speaking of the customs of the Catholic Church, mentions the morning-hymns and prayers, and the evening-psalms and prayers, but no other. So Chrysostom often mentions

¹ Bona de Psalm. c. xi. sect. i. n. ii. p. 463, a. b. 464, a. in opp. edit. Antwerp. 1723.

² Patrick, of Prayer, part ii. chap. xi. p. 109.

³ Origen. *περὶ ἐκχλῆς*, nn. xxxiii. xxxiv.

^m Clement. Alex. Stromat. vii. p. 854, edit. Oxon. *Εἰ δὲ τινες καὶ ἄρα πάντες ἀποσέμνουν ἐκχλῆ, ὡς τρίτην φέρε, καὶ ἑκτην, καὶ ὅγδοη, ἀλλ' οὐρα ἡ γινωσκουσὶ παρὰ ὅλων ἐκχλῆται τὸν βίον, δι' ἐκχλῆς συνίσταται μὴ σταῦμα ὁ Θεός.*

ⁿ Epiphanius. Exposit. Fid. n. xxiii. tom. i. p. 1106. *Ἐσθλοί τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ λειτουργίᾳ διηγουμένης γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἑσθιναὶ, λυχνισμοὶ δὲ ἄρα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαί.*

the daily service in the church,^o morning and evening : and, at the most, never speaks of above three times a-day for public assemblies. For thus he brings in a secular man complaining, and saying,^p “How is it possible for me, who am a secular man, and pinned down to the courts of law, to run to church, and pray at the three hours of the day?” In answer to which Chrysostom does not say the Church had these three hours of prayer for laymen, and more for others ; but he tells the man of business, “That if he could not come to church, because he was so fettered to the court, yet he might pray even as he stood there : since it was the mind, and the voice, and the elevation of the soul, rather than the lifting up of the hands, that was to be regarded in prayer. For Hannah’s prayer was not heard for her loud voice ; but because she cried aloud inwardly in her soul.” This seems to intimate, that the Church then only observed three hours of prayer ; that is, the evening and morning ; and (as I conceive) the *nones*, or ‘three in the afternoon :’ for, by this time, in some places, the Church had received that hour as a stated hour of prayer : of which more by and by. Yet it was some time after this, before these hours were admitted in the Gallican and Spanish Churches. For Mabillon shews,^q out of Gregory Turonensis, that the sixth and ninth

^o Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in Act. p. 583, (ibid. in edit. Francof.) *Ὡς ἐστιν ἀπειθεῖν καὶ ἰσχυθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἰδῖναι ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται, καὶ ῥίψαι ἑαυτὸν ὕπτιον, καὶ μετὰ τὴν αἰώραν τὴν σωματικὴν, καὶ λυχνικοῖς, καὶ ἰωθνοῖς ὕμνοις παραγινώσθαι, ὁμοτράπεζον ἔχειν τὸν ἱερεῖα, συνομιλοῦντα ὑλογοῖας ἀπολαύειν, ἰτέρους ἱερῶν ἐρχομένους ἐκῆ·* — Hom. vi. in 1 Tim. p. 1550, (p. 440, edit. cit.) *Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι οἱ μύσται, πῶς καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνονται καὶ ἐν ἱσπέρῃ καὶ ἐν πρωΐᾳ πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλείαν, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν.*

^p Ibid. Hom. iv. de Anna, tom. i. p. 995, B. (p. 828, edit. cit.) *Καὶ πῶς δυνατόν ; φησιν, ἄνθρωποι βιωτικοὶ, δικαστηρίῳ προσηλωμένοι, κατὰ τρεῖς ὥρας εὐχισθαι τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκτερίχειν ; δυνατόν καὶ σφόδρα εὐκολόν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν δεσμεῖν μὴ ῥέδιον, ἰσθῶτα ἐκῆ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, καὶ τῇ δικαστηρίῳ προσηλωμένοι εὐχασθαι δυνατόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτω φωνῆς χεῖρα, ὥς διανοίας, οὐδὲ ἐκτάσιως χειρῶν, ὥς συντισταμένης ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ φρονήματος. ἰσπὶ καὶ ἡ Ἄννα αὕτη, οὐκ ἰσχυρὰ λαμπρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ἀφῆκε φωνήν, διὰ τοῦτο ἡκούετο, ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρὰ μεγάλην ἔδωκε κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν ἱδῶα.*

^q Mabil. de Curs. Gall. p. 409. De ecclesia Turonensi, id memoriæ prodidit Gregorius sub finem Historiæ suæ, Injuriosum episcopum ibidem instituisse Tertiam et Sextam in illa ecclesia.

hours of prayer were not introduced into the Church of Tours till the time of Bishop Injuriosus, which was not till the year 530. And it appears from one of the Canons of Martin Bracarenis,^r that they were not, in his time, admitted into the Spanish Churches. For he calls only the morning and evening service the daily sacrifice of psalmody, at which all clerks were obliged to be present, under pain of deposition, without amendment. This argues, that, as yet, the other hours were not established in the churches (but only in the monasteries), as canonical parts of the daily service. And it is observable, further, that most of the writers of the fourth age, who speak of six or seven hours of prayer, speak of the observations of the monks only, and not of the whole body of the Church. As St. Jerom, where he describes the institutions of the monasteries erected by the famous Lady Paula, says,^s "They sung the psalter in order; in the morning, at the third, and sixth, and ninth hours; and at evening and at midnight." And, giving directions, in another place, to Læta,^t how to educate her daughter in the monastic life, he prescribes the same hours to be observed in devotion. And the like may be seen in St. Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Cassian, Cassiodore, and most other writers, nay, even St. Chrysostom himself; who speaks but of three solemn hours of prayer in the Church; when yet he has occasion to speak of the monks and their institutions, he gives in much the same number of canonical hours as others do. He tells us,^u

^r Martin. Bracar. Capit. Synod. c. lxiv. (ap. Justell. in Append. tom. i. Biblioth. Juris Can. fol. xxvii.) Si quis presbyter, aut diaconus, vel quilibet clericus ecclesiæ deputatus, si intra civitatem fuerit, aut in quolibet loco, in quo ecclesia est, et ad quotidianum psallendi sacrificium, matutinis vel vespertinis horis, ad ecclesias non convenerit; deponatur a clero: si tamen castigatus, veniam ab episcopo per satisfactionem noluerit promereri.

^s Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, ep. xxvii. c. x. Mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis medio, per ordinem psalterium cantabant.

^t Ibid. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. Adsuescat exemplo ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona hora stare in acie, quasi bellatricem Christi; accensaque lucerna reddere sacrificium vespertinum.

^u Chrysostom. Hom. xiv. in 1 Tim. p. 1599, (p. 501, edit. Francof.) . . . ἀλεικτρῶν ἰφάνησι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἰλθὼν ὁ προϊστάς, καὶ τῇ ποδὶ τὸν κύμιναν ἀπλῶς ὑποῦξας, πάντας ἀνίστησιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ γυμνοὺς ἐκὶ καθιδύνει Σίμης. εἴτα δαικασάντες εὐθὺς ἱστῆκασιν, ὕμνους ᾄδοντες προφητικoὺς μετὰ πολλῆς συμφωνίας, μετ' ἐνέθμῳ μιλῶν. . . . Εὐχὰς ἰωανῆς ἰστούσαντες καὶ ὕμνους, πρὸς τὴν τῶν

"They had their midnight-hymns, their morning-prayers, their third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and, last of all, their evening-prayers." But I will not deny, that, by this time, these hours of prayer might, in some places of the East be admitted into the churches. For the author of the Constitutions has different directions upon this point. In some places,* he speaks only of morning and evening-prayer in the Church; but, in another, he prescribes this rule to be observed by the bishops in the Church:† "Ye shall make prayers in the morning, and at the third hour, and the sixth, and the ninth, and at evening, and at cock-crowing. In the morning, giving thanks to the Lord, for that he hath enlightened you, removing the night, and bringing in the day: at the third hour, because, at that time, the Lord received sentence of condemnation from Pilate: at the sixth hour, because, at that time, after the Lord was crucified, all things were shaken and moved with horror and astonishment at the audacious fact of the impious Jews, detesting the affront that was put upon their Lord; at evening, giving thanks to God, who hath given the night to be a rest from our daily labours: at cock-crowing, because that hour brings the welcome news of the day, to work the works of light. If you cannot go to church, because of the infidels, you shall

γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσιν τρίπονται . . . ἵτα τρίτην, ἑκτην, ἑνάτην, καὶ τὰς ἱσπερινὰς εὐχὰς ἱστιλοῦσι. (P. 1600.)

* Constitut. lib. ii. c. lix. (i. 297.) Διδάσκων, ὃ ἐπίσκοπος, κλίμα καὶ παραίσις τῇ λαῷ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνδελιχίζιν ὄρθρου καὶ ἱσπείρας ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, κ. τ. λ.— Lib. viii. c. xxv. 'Ἐσπείρας γενομένης συναθροίσεις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ μιστὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσῃ ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ κατηχυμένων, καὶ χιμαζομένων, καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.

† Ibid. lib. viii. c. xxxiv. (i. 500.) Εὐχὰς ἱστιλοῦσι ὄρθρου, καὶ τρίτῃ ὄρῃ, καὶ ἑκτῇ καὶ ἑνάτῃ, καὶ ἱσπείρα, καὶ ἀλικτερευφονία ὄρθρου μὲν, εὐχριστοῦντες, ὅτι ἐφώτισιν ὑμῖν ὁ Κύριος, παραγαγὼν τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ἱπαγαγὼν τὴν ἡμέραν· τρίτῃ δὲ, ὅτι ἀπέφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου Ἰλαβὶν ὁ Κύριος· ἑκτῇ δὲ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ ἰσταυρώθη· ἑνάτῃ δὲ, ὅτι πάντα κινήθη τοῦ διαπύτου ἰσταυρωμένου, φρίττοισα τὴν σόλμην τῶν δυσσεβῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ φέροντα τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ὄρεν· ἱσπείρα δὲ, εὐχριστοῦντες ὅτι ὑμῖν ἀνάπαυσιν ἰδὼς τῶν μισθμειρῶν κόπων, τὴν νύκτα ἀλικτερυνόντων δι' ἐραυγῇ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὥραν εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰς ἐργασίαν τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς ἔργων· εἰ μὴ δυνατόν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προΐναι διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους, κατ' οἶκον συναΐξας, ὃ ἐπίσκοπος· . . . εἰ μήτι ἐν οἴκῳ, μήτι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροισθῆναι δυνατόν, ἱκαστος παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ψαλλίτω, ἀναγινωσκίτω, προσευχίσθω· ἢ κατ' ἄμα δύο, ἢ τρεῖς· ὅπου γὰρ εἴσι δύο, ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι ἐν τῇ ἐνομασίᾳ μου, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐν μίῳ αὐτῶν.

assemble in a house: or if you can neither assemble in a house, nor in the church, then let every one sing, read, and pray by himself; or two or three together: 'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' " One may conjecture, from this passage, that this author, living in the time when these canonical hours began to be in request, in the beginning of the fourth century, found them to be admitted into the usage of some churches; and therefore drew his scheme of directions in conformity to their practice.

SECT. IX. — *What Service was allotted to these Canonical Hours by the Church.*

And it being allowed, that about this time they began gradually to take place in the Church, it will not be amiss to take a short view of them in particular, and examine what parts of Divine service were performed in each of them. Cassian, speaking of the first institution of them in the monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine, where they had their first birth, says,² "They were appointed to be celebrated with the singing of three psalms at every meeting." And these, intermixed with some prayers, were the whole service. So that these were but short offices, in comparison of the ancient morning and evening-service. And there is reason to believe, that the Church did not precisely follow these monastic rules; but made proper offices for herself to be used upon these occasions; partly, because the monastic offices were very different from one another, and not always chosen with the greatest discretion. Of which I need but give one proof here, out of the Council of Braga, which made a canon to this purpose,³ "That, by common consent, one and the same order of singing should be observed in the morning and evening offices; and that the private, and

² Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. Itaque in Palestinæ vel Mesopotamiæ monasteriis ac totius Orientis, supradictarum horarum solemnitates trinis psalmis quotidie finiuntur. (P. 23.)

³ Cone. Bracar. I. c. xix. Placuit omnibus communi consensu, ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur, et non diversæ ac privatæ monasteriorum consuetudines contra ecclesiasticas regulas sint permixtæ, vel cum ecclesiasticis regulis sint permixtæ.

different customs of the monasteries should not be mingled with the rules of the Church."

The Gallican Church, in the time of the second Council of Tours, it is certain, had a very different rule from that of the Eastern monasteries about the number of psalms, hymns, and antiphonas, to be said at the several hours and times of prayer. For in one of the canons of that Council, about the year 567, a very peculiar order was made,^b "That the method of psalmody and number of hymnus should be in proportion to the number of the hours or months in which they were used: the new morning-service was to be performed with six antiphonas, and two psalms, in the height of summer. In September, there were to be seven antiphonas and two psalms; in October, eight antiphonas and three psalms; in November, nine and three psalms; in December, ten and three psalms; and the same in January and February until Easter. So, again, at the sixth hour, there were to be six psalms and the Alleluia; and at the twelfth hour, twelve psalms and the Alleluia. And, in the whole month of August, there should be manications; that is, as Mabillon^c explains it out of Aimoinus,^d early *matins*, or 'morning-service,' without any psalms, because it was harvest-time, and men were in haste to be gone to their labour, when they had performed the solemnity of the festivals, which, in that month, were frequent above others. This shews, that no certain rule was, at first, observed about these canonical hours; but that they varied, both as to their number and service, in their first original.

^b Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. Iste ordo psallendi servetur: ut in diebus festis ad matutinum sex antiphonæ binis psalmis explicentur. Toto Augusto manicationes fiant, quia festivitates sunt et missæ Sanctorum. Septembri septem antiphonæ explicentur binis psalmis; Octobri octo ternis psalmis: Novembri novem ternis psalmis: Decembri decem, ternis psalmis: Januario et Febuario, itidem usque ad Pascha. . . . Superest, ut vel duodecim psalmi expediantur ad matutinum; quia patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum Alleluia; et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia. (5, 858.)

^c Mabil. de Curs. Gallic. p. 422. Quid consequentiæ est, ut quia toto Augusto mane surgebatur ob frequentes festivitates, nulli psalmi ad hunc mensem præscribantur? Fortasse quod missæ Sanctorum tunc summo mane dicerentur ob messis necessitatem.

^d Aimoin. Hist. Francor. lib. iii. c. lxxxi. Porro toto Augusto, propter crebras festivitates, manicationes fiebant. Manicare autem 'mane surgere' dicitur.

SECT. X.—*Of the Matutina, or Prima, called the ‘New Morning-Service.’*

The first of these offices was the *matutina* or *prima*, ‘the new morning-service;’ so called in contradistinction to the old morning-service, which was always early before day, whereas this was after the day was begun. Cassian^e tells us this was first set up in the monastery of Bethlehem; for till that time, the morning-service used to end with the old nocturnal psalms, and prayers, and the daily vigils; after which, they used to betake themselves to rest till the third hour, which was the first hour of diurnal prayer, till this new office of morning-prayer was set up within Cassian’s memory, to prevent some inconveniencies which he there mentions. He often gives it the name therefore of *novella solennitas*, ‘the new solemnity,’ as being so lately invented. And this is the true reason why in most of the writers before Cassian, such as St. Jerom, the author of the Constitutions, St. Basil, and others who speak particularly of the canonical hours, there is no mention of this first hour, but they always reckon them up after this manner:—the morning, meaning the morning vigil before day; the third, the sixth, the ninth, without mentioning the first, because it was not, in their time, as yet become an accustomed hour of prayer. But when it was once made a canonical hour to complete the number of seven times a-day, then there were psalms particularly appointed for this service, which Cassian^f says were these three; the fiftieth, sixty-second, and eighty-ninth; which, according to our computation, are the fifty-first, sixty-third, and ninetieth. The first of which is that which the ancients called, properly, ‘the psalm of confession,’ or ‘penitential psalm,’ which begins,

^e Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iv. Sciendum tamen hanc Matutinam, quæ nunc observatur in occiduâ vel maxime regionibus, canonicam functionem, nostro tempore, in nostro quoque monasterio primitus institutam, ubi Dominus noster Jesus Christus natus ex virgine. . . . Usque ad illud enim tempus, hac solennitate matutina, (quæ expletis nocturnis psalmis et orationibus post modicum temporis intervallum solet in Galliæ monasteriis celebrari,) cum quotidianis vigiliis pariter consummata, reliquas horas refectioni corporum deputatas, a majoribus nostris invenimus. (P. 36.)

^f Ibid. c. vi. Quinquagesimum vero psalmum, et sexagesimum secundum, et octogesimum nonum, huic novellæ sollemnitati novimus fuisse deputatos. (P. 40.)

"Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness : according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences." This, Cassian^s says in the same place, was used by all the Churches of Italy in his time, as the close of this morning-service. The second of these psalms is that which the ancients called by a peculiar name, 'the morning-psalm,' as we shall see hereafter, because it begins with these words, "O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee," or, "Early will I seek thee;" and was always used in the old antelucan service, before this new service was set up. The third of these psalms, which is the ninetieth, seems to be taken into this service upon the account of those words in it, suiting the state of human life, "In the morning, it is green, and groweth up; but in the evening, it is cut down, dried up and withered;" and "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

SECT. XI.—*Of the Tertia, or 'Third Hour of Prayer.'*

Next after this, in all such Churches as admitted the first, was the *tertia* or 'third hour,' that is, nine in the morning. This is mentioned by all the writers that say any thing of hours of prayer; some saying it was to be observed in regard to our Saviour's being condemned by Pilate at that time;^b and others, in memory of the Holy Ghost's coming upon the apostles at that hour;ⁱ that men might, with one mind, worship the Holy Spirit, and beg of him the same sanctification,

^s Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. vi. Denique per Italianam hodieque consuetudinis matutinalibus hymnis quinquagesimus psalmus in universis ecclesiis canitur. (P. 41.)

^b Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiv. Τρίτῃ δὲ, ὅτι ἀπέφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ἦλθεν ὁ Κύριος.

ⁱ Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xxxvii. Πάλιν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ὥραν εἰς προσευχὴν ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ἐπισυνάγειν τὴν ἀδελφότητα, καὶ σύγχωσιν ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄλλα ἔργα μεμερισμένοι· καὶ ὑπομνησθίνας τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος δωρεᾶς, τῆς κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ὥραν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διδομένης, προσκυνῆσαι πάντας ἑμοθυμαδὸν, εἰς τὸ ἀξίους γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ αἰτοῦντας τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ὁδηγίαν καὶ διδασκαλίαν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Καρδίαν καθαρὸν πτόσον ἐν ἡμῶι, ὁ Θεός, κ. τ. λ. Καὶ ἄλλαχού· τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, μὴ ἀντανίλης ἀπ' ἡμοῦ. — Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. Hora namque tertia repromissus olim per prophetas Spiritus Sanctus super apostolos, in orationum officio constitutos, descendisse primitus comprobatur. (P. 32.)

direction, and protection; imitating David's prayer, in saying, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me" (Psalm li.); in another place, "Let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness." (Psalm cxliii.) This is the reason assigned by Cassian and St. Basil for this solemnity. But whether any particular psalms were appropriated to this service, we are not told; but only in general, Cassian says, "Three psalms together with prayers were appointed for every hour." But, on all festivals, this service was omitted; because on Sundays, the communion-service was used, which always began at this hour.

SECT. XII.—*Sixth Hour, or Noon-day Service.*

The next hour was the sixth, or noon-day service; at which time, St. Basil says,¹ they used the ninetyeth or ninety-first psalm, praying for protection against the incursions of 'the noon-day devil,' δαιμονίου μεσημερινοῦ, for so the Septuagint and other translations render the words of that psalm, "Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the sickness, nor *the devil destroying at noon-day.*" What other psalms they used, he tells us not; but probably there might be some that had relation to the death of Christ; because it is agreed by all, that this service was appointed in commemoration of our Saviour's immaculate sacrifice to the Father at this hour.

SECT. XIII.—*Of the Ninth Hour, or Three in the Afternoon.*

The last hour of prayer in the day-time was the ninth hour, that is, three in the afternoon; at which time our Saviour expired upon the cross, and by his death triumphed over death and hell. At this hour Cornelius was praying, when he was visited by an angel; as Peter was at the sixth

¹ Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xxxvii. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑκτῇ ὥρῃ, κατὰ μέμνησιν τῶν ἁγίων, ἀναγκάειν εἶναι τὴν προσευχὴν ἐκρίναμι, τῶν λεγόντων "ἰσπίσαι, καὶ φρεσὶ, καὶ μεσημερίας διηγήσασθαι, καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, καὶ εἰσακούσεται τῆς φωνῆς μου" καὶ ὅσοι βυσθῆναι ἀπὸ συμπτώματα καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημερινοῦ, ἕμα καὶ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ τοῦ ἐννηηκостоῦ λεγόμενου.

hour, when he had the vision of the sheet let down from heaven. This was the hour when Peter and John went up into the temple, “at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer;” and the usual time of the Jewish evening-sacrifice. In regard to all which, the Church seems to have taken this hour for a solemn time of public prayer before the two last-mentioned. For the Council of Laodicea^k expressly mentions the ninth hour of prayer; and orders that the same service should be used in that, as was appointed for evening-prayer. And St. Chrysostom,^l speaking of three hours of public prayer in the day, may most reasonably be understood to intend this ninth hour as the third of them; because, in another place,^m he seems to recommend it as such: for, speaking of the apostles going into the temple at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer, he says, “They observed this hour not without very good reason; for I have often told you concerning this hour, that it was the time when Paradise was opened, and the thief entered into it: this the time when the curse was taken away, when the sacrifice of the world was offered, when the darkness was dissolved, and the light, as well sensible as spiritual, shone forth. It was at the ninth hour, when others, after dinner and drunkenness, sleep a deep sleep, that they, then being sober, and vigilant, and fervent in love, made haste to prayer. And if they needed to be so exact and assiduous in prayer who had such boldness, and were conscious of no evil, what shall we do, who are overrun with wounds and sores, and neglect to use the medicine of prayer?” This

^k Conc. Laodic. c. xviii. Περὶ τοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑνῶνταις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλου γίνεσθαι.

^l Chrysostom. Hom. xi. in 1 Tim. p. 1599, (p. 501, edit. Francof.) cit. supra sect. viii. sub. litt. (”), p. 375.

^m Ibid. Hom. xii. de Inscriptiōe Act. Apostol. tom. v. p. 176, C. (p. 160, edit. Francof.) Εἰς τὸ ἱερόν προσεῦξασθαι περὶ τὴν ἄραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἑνῶνταιν· οὐδὲ ἡ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἀπλῶς παρατιθέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἴππον ὅμιν παλλάκας περὶ τῆς ἄρας ταύτης, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ παραδύσας ἀνιῶγη, καὶ ὁ λεωστὴς εἰσῆλθιν, ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ κατάρμα ἀνιῶθη, ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ θυρία τῆς οἰκουμένης προσηνίχθη, ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ σκότος ἰλύθη, ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φῶς ἔλαμψε, καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ τὸ νοητόν· περὶ ἄραν ἑνῶνταιν· ὅτι ἵτιροι ἀπὸ ἀρίστου καὶ μίθης καθύδουσιν ὕπνον βαθύν, τότε ἐκίνοιον ἠφροῖτες, καὶ διυγηγεμένοι, καὶ πολλὰ τῷ πάθῳ ζῖοντες, ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν ἵσταντο. εἰ δὲ ἐκίνοιον εὐχῆς ἰδίοντο, εὐχῆς οὕτω ἐκτενοῦς, εὐχῆς οὕτω διηκριβωμένης, εἰ τσαυτὴν ἔχοντες παρήναιον, οἱ μὴδὲν ἑαυτοῖς συνιδόντες σπονηρόν, τί ποιῶμεν ἡμῖς, μυρίων γίμοντες τραυμάτων, οὐκ ἰπτιθίντες δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς φάρμακον;

character here given of the ninth hour, makes it probable to me, that this was one of those three famous hours of prayer which, in the former place, he exhorts all men to frequent in public. We have no particular account, in any writer, of the psalms or prayers to be used at this hour, but only what we have heard before out of the Council of Laodicea, that it was to be the same with the evening-service; and, therefore, we must draw our accounts of it from thence. Now, because we have a more ample and distinct account of the morning and evening daily service, than of any other stated hours of prayer in the ancient Church (as being both more ancient and more celebrated than the rest), I shall give a more particular and exact description of the several parts and method of performing those offices, from such records as may be depended on for their truth and fidelity; and have therefore reserved the consideration of these for the two following chapters.

CHAPTER X.

THE ORDER OF THEIR DAILY MORNING-SERVICE.

SECT. I.—*The Order of Morning-Service, as described in the Constitutions. This began with the Sixty-third Psalm.*

The most noted and usual times of meeting, besides those of the Lord's day, were the morning and evening of every day; which, in times of peace, were constantly and regularly observed. I will describe the order of these services, as they are laid down in the Constitutions, and compare the several parts of them with the memorials and accounts, that are left us by other ancient writers. The order for the morning-service begins with the appointment of the ὁρθρινὸς ψαλμὸς, 'the morning-psalm,' as the author of the Constitutions^a

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvii. 'Πρωτῶς ὁρθρου, μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ὁρθρινὸν π. τ. λ. — Id. lib. ii. c. lix. 'Ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συναθροίζεσθαι ὁρθρου καὶ ἑσπέραις, ψάλλοντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς' ὁρθρου μὲν λίγοντες ψαλμὸν τὸν ξϛ' ἑσπέραις δὲ τὸν εῂ'. (i. 300.)

terms it. He names not what psalm it was, in this place ; but, in another place, he calls it the sixty-second ; that is, in our division, the sixty-third ; which (to shew how proper it was to begin their morning-service with, both in relation to the night past, and the day approaching), I think it not improper to recite in this place, according to our old version, which comes nearest to the translation of the Septuagint used in the ancient Church.

PSALM LXIII.

1. O God, thou art my God ; early will I seek thee.
2. My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh also longeth after thee, in a barren and dry land, where no water is.
3. Thus have I looked for thee in holiness ; that I might behold thy power and glory.
4. For thy loving-kindness is better than the life itself ; my lips shall praise thee.
5. As long as I live, will I magnify thee on this manner, and lift up my hands in thy name.
6. My soul shall be satisfied even as it were with marrow and fatness, when my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips.
7. Have I not remembered thee in my bed, and thought upon thee when I was waking ?
8. Because thou hast been my helper, therefore under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.
9. My soul hangeth upon thee : thy right hand hath upholden me.
10. These also that seek the hurt of my soul, they shall go under the earth.
11. Let them fall (*Septuagint, They shall fall*) upon the edge of the sword, that they may be a portion for foxes.
12. But the king shall rejoice in God ; all they also that swear by him, shall be commended : but the mouth of them that speak lies, shall be stopped.

SECT. II. — *What Notice we have of this Morning-Psalm in other Writers.*

St. Chrysostom shews, that the author of the Constitutions does not impose upon us in this morning-psalm ; for

he says,^b “The fathers of the Church appointed it to be said every morning, as a spiritual song and medicine to blot out our sins; to kindle in us a desire of God; to raise our souls, and inflame them with a mighty fire of devotion; to make us overflow with goodness and love, and send us with such preparation to approach and appear before God.” He names not the psalm, but he repeats the first words, “O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee: my soul thirsteth for thee:” and, “Thus have I appeared before thee in holiness, that I might behold thy power and glory;” by which we may know that it is the same psalm. He says, he had before made an exposition upon this psalm; and refers his reader thither for a larger account of it: but that, by injury of time, is now lost: and we are beholden to this passage, by the by, for all the notice we have of this morning-psalm out of him, upon the occasion of his commenting upon the evening-psalm: of which more hereafter in its proper place. Besides Chrysostom, we have the testimony of Cassian for the use of this psalm; for, speaking of the several hours of prayer, and assigning reasons out of Scripture for them, he makes this to be one reason for morning-prayer, that the psalm, which was daily sung^c in that office, did properly instruct men about their obligations to this duty, saying, “O God, my God, early will I seek thee.” And Athanasius, also, once or twice recommends this psalm to virgins and others, as proper to be said privately in their morning-devotions. “Rising early in the morning,” says he to Marcellinus,^d “sing the sixty-second psalm.” And again, to the virgins,^e

^b Chrysostom. Comment. in Psalm. cxl. tom. iii. p. 545, (pp. 472, 473, edit. Francof.) *Τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἰωαννὶνὸς ψαλμός· . . . τὸν πόθον ἀνάπτει τὸν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ διαγείρει τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σφόδρα πυρῶσας, καὶ πολλὰς ἐμπλήσας ἀγαθότητος, καὶ ἀγάπης, οὕτως ἀφίησι προσιλθεῖν· ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται, καὶ τί διδάσκει ἡμᾶς· Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σὲ ὀρβρίζω, ἰδίψησέ σὲ ἡ ψυχὴ μου . . . οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀγίῃ ᾤφθη σοι, τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν δυνάμειν σου, καὶ τὰν δόξαν σου.*

^c Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. De matutina vero solemnitate etiam illud nos instruit, quod in ipsa quotidie decantari solet, ‘Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo.’ (P. 33.)

^d Athan. Epist. ad Marcellin. tom. i. p. 975, (p. 995, e. edit. Paris. 1698.) *Ὁρβρίζων, ψάλλεις τὸν ἱεριστὸν διούτερον.*

^e Ibid. de Virginit. tom. i. p. 1057, (tom. ii. p. 122, a. edit. Paris. 1698.) *Πρὸς ὄρθρον τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λίγισι, Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σὲ ὀρβρίζω ἰδίψησέ σὲ ἡ ψυχὴ μου.*

“ In the morning, sing this psalm, ‘ O God, my God, early will I seek thee.’ ” These were but private directions indeed, but probably might be suited to the orders and measures of public worship, it being evident, from the forecited authors, that this psalm was the usual introduction to their morning-devotions.

SECT. III. — *Next to the Psalm followed the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes, and Penitents.*

Immediately after this morning-psalm, without mention of any other psalmody, or reading any lessons out of the Old or New Testament, follow the prayers for the several orders of catechumens, energumens, candidates of baptism, and penitents, as in the general service of the Lord's Day: which, because I shall recite them at large in that service, I omit to mention any further in this place. Only observing, that these prayers were performed partly by the deacon's *προφώνησις*, ‘ bidding ’ the people pray; and repeating the several petitions they were to make for those several orders of men; and, partly, by the bishop's invocation or benediction said over them, as they bowed down to receive the blessing before their dismissal.

SECT. IV. — *Then the Prayers for the Faithful, the Peace of the World, and the whole State of Christ's Church.*

When these several orders were sent away, there followed the prayers, which, on the Lord's day, began the communion-service; and which, upon that account, were usually styled *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, ‘ the prayers of the faithful,’ or communicants; because none but they who had a right to communicate in the eucharist, might be present at them. These were the prayers for the peace of the world, and all orders of men in the Church, which always went before the consecration of the eucharist. And, though there were no consecration of the eucharist on these ordinary days, yet these general prayers were always used in the daily morning service. I omit the reciting of them here for the same reason as I do

‘ Book xiv. chap. v.

the former: because the reader may find them rehearsed at large hereafter,^g in the entrance on the communion-service.

SECT. V. — *What notice we have of these Prayers in other Writers.*

I only observe here, that there is mention made, in other writers, as well as the Constitutions, of these prayers for the whole state of the world, and all orders of men in the Church. For Chrysostom, writing upon those words of St. Paul, “I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings and all that are in authority;” says,^h “This word, ‘first of all,’ relates to the daily worship; wherein they that were initiated, knew what was done every day, morning, and evening; how we make supplications to God for the whole world, for kings and all that are in authority.” This clearly shews that such prayers were not only made on communion-days, at the celebration of the eucharist, but every day, both morning and evening also, when it is certain there could be no sacrifice, but only that of their prayers. For the consecration of the eucharist, in that age, was never made at evening-prayer. In this sense we may understand many of the ancient apologists, when they speak of making prayers continually for the Roman government. Thus Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, tells Æmilian the prefect,ⁱ “We worship the one God, Maker of all things, who gave the empire to Valerian and Gallienus, our divine governors: to him we pray continually for their kingdom, that it may be preserved free from disturbance and commotion.” And

^g Book xv. chap. i.

^h Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in 1 Tim. p. 1550, (p. 440, edit. Francof.) *Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ, πρῶτον πάντων; τουτίστιν, ἐν τῇ λατρείᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύηται, πῶς καὶ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γίνονται, καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πρωΐᾳ· πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλείων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπερῶχῃ ὄντων ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν.*

ⁱ Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. *Ἡμεῖς τὸν ἑνα Θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων, τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγκυρήσαντα τοῖς Θεοφιλοτάτοις σέβαστοις· τοῦτον καὶ σέβουμεν καὶ προσκυνούμεν· καὶ τούτῳ διηλεκτῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμείνῃ, προσευχόμεθα.* (Cant. p. 335, 13.)

so Tertullian acquaints Scapula :¹ “ We offer sacrifice for the emperor’s safety, but to no other God but our God and his ; and in that manner as God has appointed, that is to say, by prayer alone, without blood.” In like manner, Cyprian tells Demetrian :² “ We continually pour forth supplications and prayers for driving away your enemies, and procuring rain, and either for removing or moderating your calamities : and we pray instantly and incessantly, day and night, for your peace and safety, appeasing God, and rendering him propitious unto you.” Origen also, answering the objection of Celsus,¹ “ That the Christians were wanting in their duty to the emperor, in that they gave him no aid in his wars, and refused to fight for him,” among other things, tells him,^m “ That they gave him the most seasonable assistance, procuring him the Divine aid, and defending him with the whole armour of God. And this they did in obedience to the apostle’s admonition, ‘ I exhort, therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men, for kings, and all that are in authority.’ ” He adds, “ That, keeping their hands pure,

¹ Tertul. ad Scapul. c. ii. *Sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece.* — Id. *Apologet. c. xxx.* Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum. — Id. c. xxxix. *Oramus pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis.*

² Cyprian. ad Demetrian. p. 139, (p. 134, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) *Pro arcendis hostibus, et imbris impetrandis, et vel auferendis vel temperandis adversis, rogamus semper, et preces fundimus ; et pro pace ac salute vestra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, diebus ac noctibus, jugiter atque instanter oramus.*

¹ Origen. cont. Cels. p. 426. *Εἴθ' ἔξῃς προτρέπεται ἡμῶς ὁ Κέλσος, “ ἀρῆγιν τῇ βασιλεῖ παντὶ σθένει, καὶ συμπονεῖν αὐτῇ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συστρατεύειν αὐτῇ, ἂν ἐπιγῇ καὶ συστρατηγῇ ”* Διεκτίον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀρῆγοιμι κατὰ καιρὸν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι θείαν (ἢ οὕτως ἔστω) ἀρετὴν καὶ πανσπλίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντες Θεοῦ καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦμι, πειθόμενοι ἀποστολικῇ φωνῇ, λιγούσῃ, Παρεκαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς πρῶτον πάντων ποιῆσθαι διήσεις, προσευχάς, ἐντιυξίαις, εὐχαριστίας, ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων καὶ ὅσα γὰρ τις ἐκτίσκειν δύναται, τοσούτῃ ἀνυπερβότατος ἐν τῇ ἀρῇ τῶν βασιλεύουσιν παρὰ τοὺς εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἐξόντας στρατιώτας, καὶ ἀναιροῦντας οὓς ἂν δύνανται τῶν πολιμίων . . . καὶ οὗτοι στρατεύονται ὡς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ θριακυνοῦνται καθαρὰς μὲν τηρούντες τὰς διέξας, ἀγωνιζόμενοι δὲ διὰ τῶν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίως στρατευομένων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίως βασιλεύοντος, ἵνα τὰ ἐναντία πάντα, καὶ ἰχθρὰ τοῖς δικαίως πρᾶττονται, καθαιρεθῇ. ἡμῖς δὲ καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς πάντας δαίμονας, τοὺς ἰγίοντας τὰ πολυμικά, καὶ ὄρκους συγχίοντας, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ταρασσόντας, καθαιρεῖν, μᾶλλον βοηθεῖν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν, ἥπερ οἱ δοκούντες στρατεύεσθαι.

they fought, in their prayers to God, for their lawful sovereign, and those that fought lawfully under him, that all opposition and enemies might fall before them, whilst they were lawfully employed. They, by their prayers, enervated the power of devils, the authors of war, and confounders of leagues, and disturbers of peace; and, in doing this, they did the emperor more effectual service, than they that bare arms for him." Athenagoras tells the emperors themselves, in his address to them,^m "That the Christians prayed for their government, and the royal progeny, that the son might succeed the father in his kingdom, according to right; and that their empire might be extended and enlarged; all things succeeding according to their desire: and this they did, both that they might lead a quiet and peaceable life, and cheerfully observe all that was commanded them." Now, though, in all these passages, there is no express mention made of morning and evening-prayer in the Church; yet their continual prayer, and their praying day and night, may reasonably be presumed to include these, without any prejudice to other times of public or private devotion. I now go on again with the order of morning-prayer, in the Constitutions.

SECT. VI. — *After the general Prayer for the whole State of the Church, followed a short Bidding Prayer for Preservation in the ensuing Day.*

After the prayer for the whole state of the Church was ended, and the deacon had said,ⁿ "Keep us, O God, and preserve us by thy grace;" which concludes the former prayer; he exhorted the people to pray for peace and prosperity the day ensuing, and all their lives, in this manner:°

^m Athenagor. Legat. pro Christianis, p. 39. Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα καὶ μὴν παρὰ Πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ δικαίωμα διὰ δόξης τὴν βασιλείαν, αὐξήσιν δὲ καὶ ἐκδόσιν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν, πάντων ὑποκρίων γιγνομένων, λαμβάνῃ; τοῦτο ὅτι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἔβριμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκλιυσμένα προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦμεν. (Paris. 1742, p. 313.)

ⁿ Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvii. Σῶσον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἀνάστησον ἐν τῇ χάριτί σου. (i. 501.)

° Ibid. Λίστησώμεθα παρὰ Κυρίου τὰ ἰλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκτιρομένους· τὸν ἄρθεον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἱερηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς παρι-

“ Let us beg of God his mercies and compassions, that, this morning and this day, and all the time of our pilgrimage, may be passed by us in peace, and without sin : let us beg of God, that he would send us the angel of peace, and give us a Christian end, and be gracious and merciful unto us. Let us commend ourselves, and one another, to the living God, by his only-begotten Son.”

What is here said concerning the angel of peace, is a petition that came often in the devotions of the ancient Church, both when they prayed for themselves and others. For we shall meet with it again ^p in the evening-service, and in the prayer for the catechumens mentioned by St. Chrysostom in several places of his writings, where he often speaks of the deacons bidding men pray for the angel of peace ; and that all their purposes may be directed to a peaceable end. Which agree very well with this prayer of the deacon, in the Constitutions.

SECT. VII. — *Then the Bishop's Commendation, or Thanksgiving.*

Immediately after this common prayer of the deacon and people together (the deacon having bid the people commend themselves to God) the bishop makes this commendatory prayer, which is there called, εὐχαριστία ὁρθρινή, ‘ the morning-thanksgiving ;’ and is in the following words :^q

“ O God, the God of spirits, and of all flesh, with whom no one can compare, whom no one can approach, that givest the sun to govern the day, and the moon and the stars to

παραδωκίας ἡμῶν τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης· Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη· Ἰλιον καὶ ἑμμενῇ τὸν Θεόν· ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παραδώμεθα.

^p Vid. hæc loca Chrysost. cit. lib. xiv. c. v. sect. iv.

^q Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxviii. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ὁ ἀσύγκριτος καὶ ἀπροσδιτός, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον εἰς ἑξουσίαν τῆς ἡμέρας, τὴν δὲ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄστρα εἰς ἑξουσίαν τῆς νυκτός· αὐτὸς δὲ νῦν ἵπιδι ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐμμενίσιν ἐφθαλμοῖς, καὶ πρόσδεξαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίας, καὶ ἐλίσσον ἡμᾶς· οὐ γὰρ διψιντᾶσμεν τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀλλότριον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν Θεὸς πρόσφατος, ἀλλὰ σὺ ὁ αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελιύτητος· ὁ τὸ εἶναι ἡμῖν διὰ Χριστοῦ παρασχόμενος, καὶ τὸ εἶναι δι’ αὐτοῦ δωρησάμενος· αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς δι’ αὐτοῦ καταξιώνον καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς· μὴ οὐ σοὶ δόξα, καὶ τιμὴ, καὶ δόξαι, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν. (Cono. i. 502.)

govern the night ; look down now upon us with the eyes of thy favour, and receive our morning-thanksgivings, and have mercy on us. For we have not spread forth our hands to any strange God. For there is not any new God among us, but thou our eternal and immortal God ; who hast given us our being through Christ, and our well-being through him also. Vouchsafe, by him, to bring us to everlasting life, with whom, unto thee, be glory, honour, and adoration, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

SECT. VIII.—*And his Imposition of Hands, or Benediction.*

After this, the deacon bids them bow their heads, and receive the imposition of hands, or the bishop's benediction, which follows under the title of χειροθεσία ὁρθρινή, 'the imposition of hands in morning-prayer,' in the form of words here annexed :^r

"O God, faithful and true, that shewest mercy to thousands and ten thousands of them that love thee ; who art the friend of the humble, and defender of the poor, whose aid all things stand in need of, because all things serve thee ; look down upon this thy people, who bow their heads unto thee, and bless them with thy spiritual benediction : keep them as the apple of the eye ; preserve them in piety and righteousness, and vouchsafe to bring them to eternal life, in Christ Jesus, thy beloved Son, with whom, unto thee, be glory, honour, and adoration, in the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end. Amen."

This said, the deacon dismisses the congregation with the usual form, Προέλθετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, 'Depart in peace.' Which Chrysostom takes notice of, as the solemn word for dismissing every church assembly. For, speaking of the frequent use of the salutation, *Pax vobis*, 'Peace be unto you,' he

^r Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxix. 'Ο Θεός, ὁ πιστός καὶ ἀληθινός, ὁ παῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ μυριάδας τοὺς ἀγαπήσῃ σι, ὁ φίλος ταπεινῶν, καὶ πνιγνῶν προστάτης, ὁ πάντα ἐν χρείᾳ καθίστηκει, ὅτι τὰ σύμπαντα δοῦλά σου ἵπτα ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου τοῦτον, τοὺς κεκλιμένους σοι τὰς ἰαυτῶν κεφαλὰς, καὶ ἐλόγησον αὐτοὺς ἐλογίαν πνευματικὴν φύλαξον αὐτοὺς ὡς κόρη ἐφθαλμοῦ διατήρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ ἁγαπημένῳ σου παιδί· μετ' οὗ σου δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ εὐχὰς, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. (i. 504.)

observes, that as it was used in the beginning of every sacred action, prayer, preaching, blessing, &c., and sometimes in the middle of prayers too, so particularly at the bishop's entrance into the church, and the deacon's final dismissal of the assembly ; . "The deacon," says he,^s "when he sends you away from this meeting, does it with this prayer, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, 'Go in peace.'"

SECT. IX. — *Whether the Morning-Hymn was Part of the Public Service every day.*

But besides this order of morning-prayer laid down in this place, by the author of the Constitutions, there is, in another place, a prayer or hymn appointed for the morning ; but whether for public or private use, is not said : I suppose he intended it only for private devotion, because it is placed among many other private prayers. He gives it the name of προσευχή ἑωθινή, 'the morning-prayer.' Other writers call it 'the hymn,' and 'the angelical hymn,' and 'the great doxology,' from the first words of it, "Glory be to God on high," which was the angels' hymn at our Saviour's birth. The form of it, in this author, runs in these words :^t

"Glory be to God on high, in earth peace, good-will towards men. We praise thee, we laud thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee, we worship thee, by the great High-Priest, thee the true God, the only Unbegotten, whom no one can approach for thy great glory, O Lord, heavenly king, God the Father Almighty : Lord God, the Father of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, thou that sittest upon the cherubims. For thou only art holy, thou only Lord Jesus, the Christ of

^s Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in eos, qui Pascha Jejunant, tom. v. p. 713, (hom. lv. p. 637, edit. Francof.) Ὁ διάκονος . . . τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἀπολύων ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐπιούχεται λίγων Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

^t Constitut. lib. vii. c. xlvii. Δόξα ἰν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἰν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως· εἰ τὸν ὄντα Θεόν, ἀγίνητον ἴνα, ἀπρόσιτον μόνον διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν· κύριε βασιλεῦ ἰπουράνιε, Θεὶ Πάτρι παντοκράτορ· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ, ὃς αἶρε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου· πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν· ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ· ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος· σὺ μόνος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης γεινητῆς φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλείας ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ δόξας. (i. 452.)

God, the God of every created being, and our king. By whom, unto thee, be glory, honour, and adoration."

This same hymn is mentioned also by Athanasius, in his book of *Virginity*,^u but he gives it only as a direction to virgins, in their private devotions: "Early in the morning," says he, "sing this psalm, 'O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee. My soul thirsteth for thee.' [That is Psalm lxxiii.] When it is light, say, 'Bless ye the Lord, all ye works of the Lord.' [That is the song of the Three Children.] And, 'Glory be to God on high; on earth peace, good-will towards men. We laud thee, we bless thee, we worship thee;'" and what follows. It is great pity this author did not give us the whole hymn, that we might have compared it with that in the Constitutions. It was always used in the communion-service, though not exactly in the same form, as we shall see hereafter. But St. Chrysostom speaks of it as used also daily at morning-prayer. For, describing the devotions of those who led an ascetic life, he says, "As soon as they rose out of bed, they met together, and made a quire; and as it were with one mouth, sang hymns to God, praising him, and giving him thanks for all his blessings, both general and particular: and, among other things, like angels on earth, singing, 'Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good-will towards men.'" And Mabillon observes out of the rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian,^w in the beginning of the sixth century, that it

^u Athanas. de Virgin. tom. i. p. 1057, (tom. ii. p. 122, a. b. edit. 1698.) *Πρὸς ἄρθρον δὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν ταῦτον λέγεται· Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σὲ ὁρρίζω· ἰδίψήσῃ σὲ ἡ ψυχὴ μου διάφρασμα δέ· ἐὺλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον· Δόξα ἰν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἰν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· ὑμνοῦμέν σι, ἐὺλογοῦμέν σι, προσκυνοῦμέν σι, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.*

^v Chrysostom. Hom. lxix. in Matth. p. 600, (p. 740, edit. Francof. 1697.) *Ἀναστάντες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς κλῆς παῖδες καὶ νενηθότες, καὶ χορὸν ἵνα σσησάμωσι, ἰν φαίδρῳ [τῷ προσώπῳ τῇ καὶ] συνιδέσθῃ συμφώνως ἄπαντες, ἄσπερ ἐξ ἰνὸς στόματος ὕμνους, εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἔδουσι Θεὸν, γιγνόμενοι αὐτὸν, καὶ χάριν ἰδόντες ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων αὐτῶν, τῶν τῇ ἰδίῳ, τῶν τῇ κοινῇ ἐνεργημάτων· . . . σὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων οὗτος δίστηκιν ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἁδόντων καὶ λιγόντων, Δόξα ἰν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἰν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*

^w Mabillon. de Curs. Gallic. p. 407. Ad hæc Cæsarius et Aurelianus in matutinis laudibus canticum Magnificat, et hymnum 'gloria in excelsis' pro diebus Paschalibus præcipiunt, itemque pro singulis Dominicis et maioribus festi-
tatibus.

is there appointed to be sung as *matins*, or ‘morning-prayer,’ every Lord’s day, and on Easter-day, and such other noted festivals. Which shews, that at least, in some churches, it was in other offices besides the communion-service; and, among the monks, as an ordinary hymn, in their daily morning-service. And so it is now used among the modern Greeks, as a learned searcher* of their rituals informs us, in his account of the Greek Church.

SECT. X.—*Whether the Psalms and Lessons were read at the Daily Morning-Service.*

But it seems a little more difficult to account for another thing; which is omitted in the Constitutions. For there is no order there either for psalms or lessons to be read in the morning-service, besides that one psalm, which was particularly styled the ‘morning-psalm.’ Whereas other authors, and particularly Cassian, speak of three psalms, read at every assembly, through all the canonical hours of the day;† and he remarks precisely for the morning-service the very psalms that were used,‡ namely, the fiftieth, that is our fifty-first, which they commonly call the ‘penitential psalm:’ “Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away my offences:” and, together with that, Psalm lxii., that is the sixty-third in our division, which was commonly called ‘the morning-psalm:’ as we have noted before; and the eighty-ninth, that is, our ninetieth Psalm, which is appropriated to the funeral office: but it is as proper for the service of every day, and fit to be used by all men whenever they begin a new day, because of those excellent petitions in it for God’s protection and favour, and for wisdom to consider our latter

* Smith, of the Greek Church, p. 224. That excellent hymn, the great doxology, makes up a necessary part of their morning-devotion, upon Sundays, and the other more solemn festivals, and, indeed, on all other days, &c.

† Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. In Palæstinæ et Mesopotamiæ monasteriis ac totius Orientis, supradictarum horarum solemnitates trinis psalmis quotidie finiuntur. (P. 32.)

‡ Ibid. c. vi. Quinquagesimum vero psalmum, et sexagesimum secundum, et octogesimum nonum, huic novellæ solemnitati novimus fuisse deputatos. (P. 40.)

end: "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." And for that it so familiarly puts us in mind of our mortality, comparing our life to a sleep, which fades away suddenly like the grass: "In the morning, it is green and groweth up; but in the evening, it is cut down, dried up, and withered." By which we may judge both of the wisdom and piety of the ancients in appointing this psalm to be used constantly in the daily course of morning-service. Cassian observes, further, in the same place,^a that, in his time, throughout all the churches of Italy, their morning-hymns were concluded with 'the penitential psalm,' that is, the fiftieth, according to his account, but with us the fifty-first. And St. Basil^b remarks the same thing for many of the churches of the East, that their vigils, or nocturnal psalmody, was concluded, when the morning appeared, with the 'psalm of confession,' by which he means no other but this same fifty-first, or 'penitential psalm,' as I have evidently shewed in another place.^c What shall we say, then, to the author of the Constitutions, who speaks but of one psalm in the morning-service? I answer, 1. No doubt there were different customs in different Churches; and in nothing, did the practice vary more than in the rules and measures about psalmody, as we shall see more clearly hereafter. So that both accounts may be very true, only applying them to the state and practice of different Churches. 2. I have observed before,^d that the primitive morning-service, in times of persecution especially, was no other but the conclusion of the vigils, or *antelucan*, or 'nocturnal service,' which concluded towards the break of day, with some proper morning-psalm, such as the fifty-first, or sixty-third, or ninetieth, and certain prayers, or collects, proper to the occasion; the preceding part of the morning

^a Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. vi. Denique per Italiam hodieque consummatis matutinalibus hymnis quinquagesimus psalmus in universis ecclesiis canitur. (P. 41.)

^b Basil. Epist. lxiii. ad Neocæsar. tom. iii. p. 97. 'Ἡμέρας ἥδη ὀπολαμπύσης, πάντες ποιῶν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, τὸν τῆς ἰξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφίρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ.

^c See below, sect. xiii. of this chapter.

^d Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. iv. and x.

having been spent in psalms and hymns to a greater measure and number, sometimes ten, twelve, eighteen, or twenty, and these intermingled with lessons of Scripture, and public or private prayers between them. But when the morning-service was made a distinct office from the vigils, as it began to be in the fourth or fifth century; then some other psalms were added to the morning-psalm, and three psalms at least were read in this as well as in all other offices; and that is the reason why we meet with but one psalm in the order for morning-service in the Constitutions, and three in others, which were of later appointment. Cassian himself, who gives the best account of these things of any other writer, plainly favours this observation: for he tells us, in one place,^e “That the Egyptians never admitted of any morning-office distinct from their nocturnal vigils, nor of any other times of public worship besides the evening hours and nocturnal assemblies, except on the Sabbath and the Lord’s day, when they met also at the third hour, that is, at nine in the morning, to celebrate the communion on those days.” All other times they spent in labouring privately in their cells, joining continual meditation of the psalms, and other Scriptures, with their labour; and mingling short prayers and ejaculations with them; so making the whole day but one continued office of devotion, which others performed by intervals of time, and distinction of stated hours of prayer. In another place, he tells us,^f “That they who first brought

^e Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. ii. Apud illos hæc officia, quæ Domino solvere per distinctiones horarum et temporis intervalla cum admonitione compulsoris adigimur, per totum diei spatium jugiter cum operis adjectione spontanea celebrantur. . . . Quamobrem exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica solemnitas, absque die sabbati vel Dominica, celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt. (P. 30.)

^f Ibid. c. vi. Illud quoque nosse debemus, nihil a senioribus nostris, qui hanc eandem matutinam solemnitatem addi debere censuerunt, de antiqua psalmodum consuetudine immutatum; sed eodem ordine missam, quo prius, in nocturnis conventibus perpetuo celebratam. Etenim hymnos, quos in hac regione ad matutinam excepere solemnitatem, in fine nocturnarum vigiliarum, quas post gallorum cantum ante auroram finire solent, similiter hodieque decantant, id est, psalmum cxlviii. et reliquos, qui sequuntur: quinquagesimum vero psalmum, et sexagesimum secundum, et octogesimum nonum huic novellæ solemnitati novimus fuisse deputatos. (P. 40.)

in this new morning-office, distinct from the nocturnal, did not diminish ought of the ancient psalmody from the nocturnal service; for they continued still to conclude their vigils before break of day, with the same psalms as they were used to do before; that is, with Psalms cxlviii. cxlix. cl.; only they set apart Psalms li. lxiii. and xc. for this new office of morning-service." From all which it seems very probable, that, according to the difference of times and places, the number of psalms for the morning-service might vary, since there were such different methods in the observation of this solemnity, and an old and a new office, that both went by the name of morning-service.

SECT. XI. — *The Original of Antelucan, and Night Assemblies, in Times of Persecution.*

Having thus far described the order of the old morning-service, as it lies in the Constitutions; and hinted, that the morning-assemblies were originally the very same with the 'nocturnal,' or *antelucan* meetings for Divine service, which we so often read of in ancient writers; for the further illustration of this part of the Christian worship, it will be proper to inquire, a little more narrowly, into the nature and management of them from their first original; which is known to have had its rise from the severity of the heathen persecutions. For the Christians, being afraid to meet publicly on the Lord's day for Divine worship, were forced to hold their assemblies in the night, meeting early in the morning before day, to avoid the observation of their enemies. This appears from that early account of Pliny, which he had from the mouths of some apostatizing Christians, who confessed to him, that the sum of their crime or error was,^s "That they were used to meet together on a certain day, before it was light, and sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God." Hence it is that the heathen, in Minucius,^h

^s Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvi. Essent soliti, stato die, ante lucem convenire: carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.

^h Minuc. Fel. de Idol. Vanitate, p. 25, (p. 26, edit. Hall. 8vo.) Nocturnis congregationibus . . . fœderantur. Latebrosa et lucifuga natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula. — It. p. 27, (p. 28,) occultis ac nocturnis sacris apposita suspicio.

more than once objects to them their night-assemblies, and calls them a skulking generation, that fled from the light; being mute in public, but free in discourse with one another, when they were got into their private corners. Celsus seems to mean the same thing,ⁱ when he objects to them their holding of 'clancular meetings,' συνθήκας κρύβδην. And Tertullian, to shew Christian women the inconvenience of marrying heathens, puts them in mind of these night assemblies: "What husband," says he,^j "will be willing to suffer his wife to rise from his side, and go to the night-assemblies?" And Prudentius, describing the martyrdom of St. Laurence, introduces the heathen judge, telling him,^k "That he had heard how they sacrificed in silver, and had their wax-lights set in gold, for the use of their night-assemblies." And this was the true original of lamps, and oil, and tapers, for the use of such meetings in time of persecution.

SECT. XII.—*These continued when the Persecutions were over.*

Now, though it was necessity which first gave rise to these assemblies, yet the Church, in after ages, thought fit to continue them (transferring them from the Lord's day to all other days), partly to keep up the spirit of devotion in the ascetics, or such as had betaken themselves to a stricter life; partly to give leisure and opportunity to men of a secular life to observe a seasonable time of devotion, which they might do, early in the morning, without any distraction; and partly to guard her children against the temptations and seduction of the Arian sect, who, with great zeal, endeavoured to promote their heresy by their psalmody in

ⁱ Origen. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 4. Πρῶτον τῇ Κίλσῳ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν, διαβολῇ Χριστιανισμὸν, ὡς συνθήκας κρύβδην πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένων Χριστιανῶν, παρὰ τὰ νομομύνηα.

^j Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. iv. — Id. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. (P. 102.)

^k Prudent. Hymn. ii. de Laurentio :

Argenteis scyphis ferunt
Fumare sacrum sanguinem;
Auroque, nocturnis sacris,
Adstare fixos cereos.

such meetings, as appears from what Socrates¹ and Sozomen^m say of them, and what Sidonius Apollinaris particularly notes of Theodoric, king of the Goths,ⁿ “That he was so eager a promoter of the Arian cause, that, in his zeal for them, he frequented their morning-assemblies before day, with a small guard attending him.” Now, the Catholics having so many reasons to keep up these assemblies, not only continued them, but with great zeal encouraged them in their discourses. St. Chrysostom^o commends the widows and virgins for frequenting the church, night and day, and singing psalms in these assemblies. He says,^p “Men ought to come to the sanctuary in the night, and pour out their prayers there.” In another place, speaking of the excellency of the city of Antioch, he says,^q “It consisted not in its fine buildings or pillars, but in the morals of the men. Go into the church, and there see the excellency of the city. Go into the church, and see the poor continuing there from midnight to the morning light.” And it is remarkable what Socrates says of him, when he was bishop of Constan-

¹ Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. Vid. supra, c. ix. sect. iv. litt. (n).

^m Sozom. lib. viii. c. viii. Ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρείου αἰρέσεως, ἀφαιρέθιντες τῶν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Θεοδοσίου βασιλείας, πρὸ τῶν τυχῶν ἐκκλησίαζον, νύκτωρ πρόσκειον ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις στααῖς συνιλιγόντο· καὶ εἰς συστήματα μεριζόμενοι, κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἑψάλλον, ἀπροτιλιύττια συντιθέντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πιστοποιήματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἰσὺ ταῦτα δημοσίᾳ ψάλλοντες, εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἀπήσαν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκκλησίαζον· . . . Δίνας δὲ Ἰωάννης, μή τις τούτοις ὑπαχθῶσι τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκκλησιαζόντων, ἐπὶ τὸν ἴσον τρόπον τῆς ψαλμωδίας τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν προτρέπει, (Cant. 336.)

ⁿ Sidon. lib. i. ep. ii. Antelucanos sacerdotum suorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit: grandi sedulitate veneratur.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in 1 Cor. p. 591, (p. 329, edit. Francof.) Αὐται δὲ (παρεθῆναι καὶ χῆραι) καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, ψάλλουσι καὶ πάρεσι.

^p Ibid. Comment. in Psalm. cxxxiii. tom. iii. p. 488, (p. 424, edit. cit.) Διὰ τί φησιν, ἐν νυκτί· παιδεύων ἡμᾶς, μὴ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν εἰς ὕπνον δαπανῇ, καὶ διὰ τὸν τότε καθαρωτήρας εἶναι τὰς εὐχάς, ὅτε καὶ κουφότερος ὁ νοῦς, καὶ πλείων ἡ σχολή· εἰ δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ παραγίνεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἅγια δεῖ, ἰνόνησον, ποίας συνίσταται συγγνώμης ὁ μηδὲ οἶμαι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον εὐχὰς ἐπιτιλῶν.

^q Ibid. Hom. iv. de Verbis Esaie, tom. iii. p. 865, (p. 752, edit. cit.) Τί μοι λίγυς οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κίονας· ταῦτα τῷ παρόντι συγκαταλύσονται βίῳ· ἔισθι εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ βλίπει τῆς πόλεως τὴν εὐγένειαν· ἔισθι, ἴδε πόνητας ἐκ μισονεκρίων μίχρι τῆς ἡμέρας παραμίνοντας· βλίπει παννυχίδας ἱερεῖς ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ συναφθίσας.

tinople,^r that “He made additional prayers for the nocturnal hymns, on purpose to countermince the practice of the Arians.” But I must not stand to repeat all that is said of these famous morning-assemblies, for there is scarce an ecclesiastical writer^s that has not given some hint of them; which I need not recite, but rather go on to shew what were the chief exercises of these meetings, which usually began soon after midnight, and continued to the morning light.

SECT. XIII.—*The Order of Divine Service which was performed in them, as described by St. Basil.*

St. Basil, in one of his epistles, gives us a pretty clear description of them, though but in general terms, whilst he makes an apology for the practices of his own church, against some who charged them with innovation. His words are these: ^t “The customs,” says he, “which now prevail among us, are consonant and agreeable to all the churches of God; for, with us, the people rising early, whilst it is night, come to the house of prayer; and there, with much labour and affliction, and contrition and tears, make confession of their sins to God. When this is done, they rise from prayers, and dispose themselves to psalmody: some-

^r Socrat. lib. vi. c. vii. Ἡἔξῃσι πρῶτος καὶ τὰς περὶ τοὺς νυκτερινούς ὕμνους εὐχάς.

^s Vid. Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxiii. (tom. i. p. 1106.) ‘Ἐσθινὸι τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηγουμένως γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἰωθῆναι, λυχνυκαὶ τε ἄλλα ψαλμοὶ, καὶ προσευχαί.— Hieron. Epist. vii. ad Lætam, cit. chap. ix. sect. viii. sub litt. (*), (†). — Hilar. in Psalm. lxiv. p. 231, (p. 169, edit. Paris. 1693.) Progressus ecclesiæ in matutinorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectationes maximum misericordiæ Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies in hymnis Dei clauditur.

^t Basil. Epist. lxi. ad Neocæsar. tom. iii. p. 96. “Ὅτι τὰ νῦν κυριαρχήσασα ἔθη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις συναδᾷ ἵσται καὶ σύμφωνα· ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὀρθρίζει παρ’ ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν ψόνῳ, καὶ ἐν θλίψει, καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ δακρύων ἑξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ· τιλιυταῖον ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται· καὶ νῦν μὲν διχρῆ διανοηθέντες, ἀντιφέλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μιλήτην τῶν λογίων ἐντιθεῖν κρατύνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν προσοχὴν καὶ τὸ ἀμισγόμενον τῶν καρδιῶν ἑαυτοῖς διακονοῦμενοι· ἔπειτα πάλιν ἱπτιρίζοντες ἐπὶ πατάρχουν τοῦ μίλους, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηρετοῦσι, καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ κοινίᾳ τῆς ψαλμωδίας τὴν νύκτα διηγόμενοι μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι· ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπύσσης, πάντες κοιτῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος, καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ, τὴν τῆς ἑξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφίρουν· τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι.

times dividing themselves into two parts, they answer one another in singing, or ‘sing alternately,’ ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις: after this, again, they permit one alone to begin the psalm, and the rest join in the close of every verse, ὑπηχοῦσι; and thus, with this variety of psalmody, they carry on the night, praying betwixt whiles, or intermingling prayers with their psalms, μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι. At last, when the day begins to break forth, they all, in common, as with one mouth and one heart, ‘offer up to God the psalm of confession,’ τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀναφέρουσι, every one making the words of this psalm to be the expression of his own repentance.” — Here we have the plain order of these nocturnal or morning-devotions: 1. Confession of sins. 2. Psalms sung alternately. 3. Psalms sung by one alone. 4. Prayers between the psalms. 5. Lastly, the common psalm of confession, or the penitential psalm, in the close of all. Whether the first confession of sins was a public or private one, is not very certain. Some learned persons^u take it for a public confession, like that in the beginning of our liturgy; but I rather think it was a private confession, with which we are sure their offices generally began; as appears from a canon of the Council of Laodicea,^v where it is called ‘the silent prayer,’ εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς; of which I have given a fuller account in the communion-service.^w The later confession was plainly a public one, made by a certain form, being no other but Psalm li. “Have mercy on me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences;” for this psalm was particularly noted among the ancients by the name of ‘the psalm of confession.’ Athanasius gives it this title,^x telling us, that Psalm l. which is the fifty-first in our division, is ψαλμὸς ἐξομολογήσεως, ‘the psalm of confession.’ And what further

^u L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offic. chap. iii. p. 75.

^v Conc. Laodic. c. xix. Τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάτων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς μὴν μὴν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, π. τ. λ.

^w See Book xv. chap. i. sect. i.

^x Athanas. Epist. ad Marcellin. de Interpret. Psalm. tom. i. p. 974, (p. 995, edit. Paris. 1698.) Ἄλλ' ἡμαρτίαι, καὶ ἰντραπίαι μεταγινώσκεις, καὶ ἰληθῆναι ἄξιός ἐστις τοὺς τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως καὶ μετανοίας λόγους ἐν τῷ πιστημοστῷ [πρώτῳ].

confirms this interpretation is, that this very psalm, by name, is appointed to be used in the close of the *matins*, or 'morning-service,' which the Western Churches introduced, as distinct from the nocturnal service, as Cassian⁷ relates, who was an eye-witness of it.

SECT. XIV. — *The Account of them, out of Cassian.*

What number of psalms or prayers was used in this service, is not particularly noted by St. Basil; nor, perhaps, was it stinted to any certain number, but according as the length of the psalms or time required: but, in the Egyptian Churches, they reduced it to the precise number of twelve psalms; from whence some other Churches afterwards took their model, as Cassian informs us, who says,² "That in other regions there were different rules and appointments: for some recited no less than twenty psalms, and these by way of antiphonal or alternate melody; others exceeded this number; others had eighteen; so that there were almost as many ways and rules, as there were monasteries and cells." Nay, in Egypt, before the rule was settled, some were for having fifty,^a some sixty psalms. But, at last, upon mature advice, they fixed upon the certain number of twelve psalms,^b

⁷ Cassian. lib. iii. c. vi. Vid. sect. x. sub. litt. (*).

² Ibid. lib. ii. c. ii. Quidam vicanos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis et adjunctione quarundam modulationum debere dici singulis noctibus censuerunt: alii hunc modum etiam excedere tentaverunt: nonnulli xviii. atque in hunc modum diversis in locis diversum canonem agnovimus institutum, totque propemodum typos ac regulas vidimus usurpatas, quot etiam monasteria cellasque conspeximus.

^a Ibid. c. v. Cum alii quinquagenos, alii sexagenos psalmos, nonnulli vero ne hoc quidem numero contenti excedi eum debere censerent, essetque inter eos pro religionis regula piæ contentionis sancta diversitas, ita ut tempus solemnitatis vespertinæ sacratissimæ succederet quæstioni, quotidianos orationum ritus volentibus celebrare, unus in medium psalmos Domino cantaturus exurgit, &c. Vid. sub. litt. seq.

^b Ibid. Cumque sedentibus cunctis . . . et in psallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixis, undecim psalmos orationum interjectione distinctos contin(g)uis versibus parili pronuntiatione cantasset, duodecimum sub Alleluia responsione consummans, ab universorum oculis repente subtractus, quæstioni pariter et cærimonii finem imposuit.—Cap. vi. Ex hinc venerabilis patrum senatus intelligens, angeli magisterio congregationibus fratrum generalem canonem, non sine dispensatione Domini constitutum, decrevit hunc numerum tam in vespertinis, quam in nocturnis conventiculis custodiri, quibus lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est,

both for their evening and morning-service; interposing a prayer between each psalm; and adding two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New: which was their custom on all days, except Saturdays and Sundays, when they repeated them both out of the New Testament, the one out of St. Paul's Epistles, or the Acts of the Apostles, and the other out of the Gospels; as they did also for the whole term of fifty days, between Easter and Whitsuntide." He adds further, "That they did not use the alternate way of singing in Egypt, but only one amongst them sung with a plain and even voice, the rest sitting by, and attending to what was said." Neither did they answer,^c "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," at the end of every psalm; but interposed a prayer (which was the custom of all the East), and then at the end of the last psalm, which they called the Allelujah, they subjoined the Glorification of the Trinity, which they never used but at the end of that *antiphona*, as they called the Allelujah in the Eastern Church. When the psalms were very long, they sometimes divided them into two or three parts; and, at the end of every part, made a stop to interpose a prayer,^d thinking it better to use frequent and short prayers to keep up the fervour of devotion. It does not appear that these were public prayers, but rather private; at the end of which the chief minister officiating is said *colligere precem*, 'to make a collect or

unam Veteris, et aliam Novi Testamenti, tamquam a se eas traditas et velut extraordinarias, volentibus tantum, ac Divinarum Scripturarum memoriam possidere, assidua meditatione studentibus addiderunt. In die vero sabbati vel Dominico utrasque de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliiis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt hi, quibus lectio curæ est seu memoria Scripturarum.

^c Cassian. lib. ii. c. viii. Illud etiam, quod in hac provincia (Gallia) vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi, omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus; sed cum omnium silentio, ab eo qui cantat, finito psalmo, orationem succedere: hac vero glorificatione Trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphonam terminari, (leg. antiphonam terminare, vel, ut legit Mabillonius, glorificatione, &c. antiphonam terminari.) (P. 20.)

^d Ibid. c. xi. Ne psalmos quidem ipsos, quos in congregatione decantant, continuata student pronuntiatione concludere: sed eos pro numero versuum duabus vel tribus intercessionibus cum orationum interjectione divisos distinctim particulatimque consummant. (P. 23.)

prayer,' recapitulating the prayers that were made before by the assembly in private; of which I shall have occasion to give a fuller account in another place.^e It is noted further by Cassian,^f concerning the last of their psalms, called the *antiphona*, or Allelujah, that no psalm was ever used in this place but only one of those which had the inscription of Allelujah prefixed in the title of it; such as the hundred and forty-fifth, and those that follow, one of which was commonly the concluding psalm, repeated by way of *antiphona*, or responses. It was something particular in the manner of performing this psalmody in those Egyptian monasteries, that he that sung the psalms, only stood up, but the rest heard them sitting: which Cassian^g observes to be matter of indulgence in regard to their continual watchings and hard labour. And it was no less peculiar, that never above four persons were allowed to repeat the twelve psalms in one assembly, and that by course,^h every one singing three, in order, after one another. Or, if there were but three, then each sung four psalms; and, if but two, each of them sung six.

SECT. XV. — *This Morning-Service much frequented by the Laity of all Sorts.*

And thus far of the nocturnal psalmody, which was the old morning-service of the Church. I only add, that though this service was very early in the morning, yet it was

^e Book xv. chap. i. sect. i.

^f Cassian. lib. ii. c. xi. Illud quoque apud eos omni observantia custoditur, ut in responsione Alleluia nullus dicatur psalmus, nisi is, qui in titulo suo Alleluia inscriptione prænotatur. (P. 24.)

^g Ibid. c. xii. Hunc canonicum, quem prædiximus, duodenarium psal-morum numerum tali corporis quiete relevant, ut has easdem congregationum solemnitates ex more celebrantes, absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentia (leg. insidentes) ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. Ita namque jejuniis et operatione totius diei noctisque lassescunt, ut nisi hujusmodi refectio adjuventur, ne hunc quidem numerum stantes implere prævaleant. (P. 24.)

^h Ibid. c. xi. in fin. Prædictum duodenarium psal-morum numerum ita divi-dunt, ut si duo fuerint fratres, senos psallant; si tres, quaternos; si quatuor, ternos. Quo numero numquam minus in congregatione decantant; ac proinde quan-talibet multitudo convenierit, numquam amplius psallunt in synaxi, quam quatuor fratres. (P. 24.)

frequented, not by the clergy and monks only, but by the people also. For, as we have seen before, St. Basil takes notice, that the people came to church to celebrate these morning-devotions; and Sidonius has told us also, that Theodoric, king of the Goths, was a constant observer of them. So here it is also remarked by Cassian,ⁱ “That this part of the Church’s devotion was, with great exactness, observed by many secular men, who, rising early, before day, would not engage themselves in any of their most necessary and ordinary worldly business, before they had consecrated the first-fruits of all their actions and labours to God, by going to church, and presenting themselves in the Divine presence.” A worthy example, fit to be recorded in letters of gold, to excite the emulation of the present age, where in the daily worship of God at religious assemblies is so little frequented, and by many so much despised; though the same service with that of the ancients, for substance, is still retained, with some improvements, and none of the corruptions which the superstition of darker ages brought into the devotions of the Church; as any one may satisfy himself, that will compare what has been delivered in this chapter, with the daily service of our Church.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ORDER OF THEIR DAILY EVENING SERVICE.

SECT. I. — *The Evening-Service, in most things, conformed to that of the Morning.*

THE evening-service, which was called the *hora lucernaris*, because it began at the time of lighting candles, towards the close of the day, was in most parts the same with that of the

ⁱ Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xxvi. Quod devotionis genus multi etiam sæcularium summa cautione custodiunt, qui ante lucem vel diluculo consurgentes, nequaquam familiaribus ac necessariis mundi hujus actibus implicantur, priusquam cunctorum actuum suorum operationumque primitias, ad ecclesiam concurrentes, divino studeant consecrare conspectui. (P. 570.)

morning, only with such variation of psalms, and hymns, and prayers, as were proper to the occasion. The prayers for the catechumens, energumens, candidates of baptism, and penitents, were all the same; so were the prayers for the faithful, or communicants, called the 'Prayers for the peace of the world, and the whole state of the Catholic Church;' which are described at large in the following books, to which the reader may have recourse.

SECT. II.—*But they differed, first, in that a proper Psalm was appointed for the Evening, called 'the Evening Psalm,' by the Author of the Constitutions.*

The first thing wherein they differed, was 'the initial psalm:' for as the morning-service began with Psalm lxiii., so the evening-service is appointed to begin with Psalm cxl. which we reckon the hundred and forty-first: "Lord, I call upon thee, haste thee unto me; and consider my voice when I cry unto thee. Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight, as the incense; and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," &c. This psalm the author of the Constitutions calls emphatically,^a τὸν ἐπιλύχμιον ψαλμὸν, 'the evening-psalm;' in the place where he describes the order of this service. And though he does not, in that place, either name the psalm, or mention any words in it; yet he infallibly means the psalm now spoken of, because, in another place,^b he expressly calls it Psalm cxl. requiring it to be used in public assemblies, at the daily evening-service.

SECT. III.—*The Psalm mentioned under the same Denomination by Chrysostom, and other Writers.*

And that which puts the matter beyond all dispute is, that Chrysostom, in his comment upon this psalm, takes notice of the use of it in the Church upon this particular

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxv. 'Ἑσπέραις γινόμενης συναθροίσεως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχμιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσῃ ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, κ. τ. λ. (i. 499.)

^b Ibid. lib. ii. c. lix. 'Ἐκδόσθης ἡμέρας συναθροίσεσσι ἑβδερῶ καὶ ἑσπέραις, ψάλλοντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κυριακαῖς ἑβδερῶ μὲν λόγουσι ψαλμὸν τὸν ξδ', ἑσπέραις δὲ τὸν ρμ'. (i. 299.)

occasion. "Hearken diligently," says he,^c "for it was not without reason that our fathers appointed this psalm to be said every evening; not barely for the sake of that single expression, 'Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening-sacrifice:' for other psalms have expressions of the same nature, as that which says, 'At evening, and morning, and noon-day, will I shew forth thy praise:' and, again, 'The day is thine, and the night is thine:' And, again, 'Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning:' and many other such like psalms may one find, that are proper for the evening season. Therefore our fathers did not order this psalm to be said upon the account of this expression; but they appointed the reading of it as a sort of salutary medicine to cleanse us from sin; that whatever defilement we may have contracted throughout the whole day, either abroad, in the market, or at home, or in whatsoever place,—when the evening comes, we might put it all off by this spiritual charm, or song, which is a medicine to purge away all such corruption.

SECT. IV.—*Secondly, Proper Prayers for Evening-Service.*

After this psalm was ended, there followed the same prayers for the catechumens, energumens, penitents; and common prayers for the world and the Church, that were used in the morning-service: but after them the deacon bid the people pray in a certain form proper for the evening, which the author of the Constitutions styles προσφώνησις ἐπι-

^c Chrysostom. Hom. in Psalm. cxl. tom. iii. p. 544, (p. 472, edit. Francof.) 'Ἀλλὰ προσέχεται μὴτὰ ἀκριβείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς εἶμαι τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον τιτάρχεσθαι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων καθ' ἰδέσθην ἱστίαν λίγισθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν μίαν λέξιν τὴν λίγισσαν, 'Ἐπαιεῖς τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἱστικὴν ἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλαι ψαλμοὶ ταύτης ἔχουσιν τὴν λέξιν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ὁ λίγων, 'Ἐστίεας καὶ πρωτὶ καὶ μισσημερίας διηγήσομαι, καὶ ἰσαγγιλιῶ· καὶ πάλιν, Σὴ ἵσθιν ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ σὴ ἵσθιν ἡ νύξ· καὶ πάλιν, τὸ, 'Ἐστίεας αὐλισθήσονται κλαυθμοὶ, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρωτὶ ἀγαλλίασις· καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν εὐρεσι ψαλμοὺς ἱπικηδίοις τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἱστίεας. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο γοῶν τοῦτον τὸν ψαλμὸν ἱστώσαν οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ' ὥς τι φάρμακον σωτήριον, καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων καθάρσιον ἐνομοθέτησαν λίγισθαι ἵ' ὅσασις ἐν προστριβώμεθα δι' ὅλου τοῦ μήκου τῆς ἡμέρας, ἢ ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἢ ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἢ ὅπου δήποτε διατρέχοντες, ταῦτα ἰδόντες εἰς τὴν ἱστίαν διὰ τῆς ἐσθλῆς ταύτης ἀποδυσώμεθα τῆς πνευματικῆς· φάρμακον γὰρ ἵσθιν ἀπάντων τούτων ἀναιρετικόν.

λύχνιος, 'the evening bidding prayer,' and it runs in these words:^d "Let us pray to the Lord for his mercies and compassions; and entreat him to send us the angel of peace, and all good things convenient for us; and that he would grant us to make a Christian end. Let us pray that this evening and night may pass in peace, and without sin; and all the time of our life unblamable, and without rebuke. Let us commend ourselves, and one another to the living God, through his Christ."

This said, the bishop, if present, made this commendatory collect, which is there styled ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία, 'the evening thanksgiving,' and is conceived in the following words:^e "O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker and Governor of all things, through Christ, the God and Father of him before all things, the Lord of the Spirit, and King of all things, both intellectual and sensible; that hast made the day for works of light, and the night to give rest to our weakness; for the day is thine, and the night is thine; thou hast prepared the light and the sun; do thou now, most kind and gracious Lord, receive this, our evening thanksgiving. Thou that hast led us through the length of the day, and brought us to the beginning of the night, keep and preserve us by thy Christ; grant that we may pass this evening in peace, and this night without sin; and vouchsafe to bring us to eternal life through thy Christ; by whom be glory, honour, and adoration unto thee, in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen."

^d Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvi. Ἀναστάντις αἰτησώμεθα τὰ ἐλπίς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοὺς εὐκταίους αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα, Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη· τὴν ἰσπίραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα εἰρηρικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἀκατάγνωστον αἰτησώμεθα· ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῇ ζῶντι Θεῷ, διὰ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραβῶμεν. (i. 500.)

^e Ibid. c. xxxvii. Ὁ ἀρχὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμὼν, πρὸς δὲ πάντων αὐτοῦ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ, ὁ τοῦ Πνεύματος Κύριος, καὶ τῶν νοσηῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ ποιήσας ἡμῶν πρὸς ἔργα φωτὸς, καὶ νύκτα εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν· σὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμέρα, καὶ σὴ ἔστιν ἡ νύξ· σὺ κατηρτίσω φαῦσιν καὶ ἥλιον· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, δίσποτα, φιλένθεος καὶ πανάγαθος, ἐμὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰσπικὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἡμῶν ταύτην· ὃ διαγαγὼν ἡμᾶς τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἀγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτὸς, φύλαξον ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, εἰρηρικὴν παρέσχεον τὴν ἰσπίραν, καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ εἰς, ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

After this, the deacon bids the people, *κλίνετε τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ*, 'bow down to receive the benediction with imposition of hands;' and then the bishop makes this following prayer: 'O God of our Father, and Lord of mercy, that hast created man, by thy wisdom, a rational being, and of all thy creatures upon earth dearest unto thee, that hast given him dominion over the earth, and hast made us, by thy pleasure, to be kings and priests, the one to secure our lives, and the other to preserve thy lawful worship; be pleased now, O Lord Almighty, to bow down and shew the light of thy countenance upon thy people, who bow the neck of their heart before thee; and bless them by Christ, by whom thou hast enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and revealed thyself unto us: with whom is due, unto thee, and the Holy Ghost the Comforter, all worthy adoration from every rational and holy nature, world without end. Amen.'

There are two expressions in these prayers which may seem a little unusual to a modern reader; one, where prayer is made for the angel of peace; and the other, which styles God the Father, Lord of the Spirit: but both these occur in the morning-prayers for the catechumens hereafter, where I shew out of Chrysostom,^s that prayer for the angel of peace, was a common petition in many of the known forms of the Church: and for that other expression, which styles the Father 'Lord of the Spirit,' which is a harsh way of speaking, and 'looks like Macedonianism,' as Cotelerius remarks upon it; I have shewed out of Bishop Bull, that it may fairly be interpreted to a sound and catholic sense, from parallel expressions in Justin Martyr. So that we need not

^f Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvii. *Θεὸ Πατέρα, καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἑλίου, ὁ τῇ σοφίᾳ σου κατασκευάσας ἄνθρωπον τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον, τὸ Διοφιλὲς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ δούς αὐτῷ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χθονὸς ἄρχιν, καὶ καταστήσας γνώμη σὴ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἱερεῖς, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ζωῆς, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς λατρίαν ἔνομον αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἐπιπάμβηθαι, Κύριε παντοκράτορ' καὶ ἐπίφαναι τὸ πρόσωπον σου ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου, τοὺς κάμψαντας αὐχίνα καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτοὺς διὰ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἰφώτισας ἡμᾶς ὥς γνώσις, καὶ ἀπικάλυψας ἡμῖν σαυτόν' μὴ' οὐ σοὶ καὶ ἡ ἐπάξις ὀφείλειται προσκυνήσεις παρὰ πάσης λογικῆς καὶ ἁγίας φύσεως, καὶ Πνεύματι τῷ Παρακλήτῳ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. (i. p. 502.)*

^s Book xiv. chap. v. sect. iii.

condemn this author as an Arian or Macedonian heretic, only allowing him the favour of a candid interpretation.

To return, therefore, to the prayers themselves : the deacons, after these collects made by the bishop, dismisses the people with the usual form, as in the morning-service, *Προέλθετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, ‘Depart in peace.’ And this is the conclusion of the evening-service, according to our author in this place.

SECT. V.—*Of the Evening-Hymn.*

But, in another place,^h he speaks also of an evening-hymn, which he styles, *εὐχὴ ἑσπερινὸς*, an ‘evening-prayer,’ or ‘thanksgiving,’ which is a sort of doxology to God, like that used before in the morning prayer. The form is in these words : “Praise the Lord, ye servants, O praise the name of the Lord. We praise thee, we laud thee, we bless thee, for thy great glory, O Lord and King, the Father of Christ, the unspotted Lamb, that taketh away the sin of the world. All praises, and hymns, and glory are justly rendered unto thee, our God and Father, by thy Son, in the most Holy Spirit, for all ages, world without end. Amen. Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word : for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel.”

It is not here said whether this hymn was for public or private use. However, that there were such sorts of hymns in use among the ancients, at the first bringing in of candles in the evening, is evident from St. Basil, who mentions one part of such a hymn, which he styles *ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία*, ‘the thanksgiving at setting up lights.’ “It seemed good,”

^h Constitut. lib. vii. c. xlix. Αἰνῶντε, παῖδες, Κύριον αἰνῶντε τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου αἰνοῦμέν σι, ὑμνοῦμέν σι, εὐλογοῦμέν σι, διὰ τὴν μεγαλήν σου δόξαν· Κύριε βασιλεῦ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀμώμου [ἀμνοῦ,] ὃς αἶψα τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου σοὶ πρίσω αἶνος· σοὶ πρίσω ὕμνος· σοὶ δόξα πρίσω τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιοῦ, ἐν Πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· Ἀμήν. Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δούλόν σου, διόσποντα, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου, ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου ὃ ἐποίησας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν, ὥς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἰδῶν, καὶ δόξαν λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ. (i. 452.)

says he,ⁱ “to our forefathers not to receive the gift of the evening-light altogether with silence, but to give thanks immediately upon its appearance. We cannot certainly tell who was the first author of that thanksgiving at setting up lights: but this we are sure of, that the people have of old used this form of words (and no one ever charged them with impiety for so doing) Δινοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, ‘We praise the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God.’”

Bishop Usher^j and Dr. Smith^k have given us an ancient form of this kind more at large, out of the Alexandrian manuscript of the Septuagint, and some other ancient copies of the Psalter in Greek, which it may not be improper to insert in this place. It goes in some books under the title of ὕμνος ἑσπερινός, ‘the evening-hymn;’ and in others it is called ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνηκοῦ, ‘the hymn said at setting up lights.’ We cannot certainly say this is the same that St. Basil refers to; but all that St. Basil mentions out of that ancient hymn, is now found in this; which makes it probable that they are the very same: it is as follows:^l “O Jesus Christ, thou joyful Light of the sacred glory of the immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed Father; we, now being come to the setting of the sun, and seeing the evening light, do laud and praise the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit of God (or, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that is God): thou art worthy to have hymns at all times sung unto thee with holy voices, O Son of God, that givest life; therefore the world glorifies thee.” Bishop Usher,^m by mistake, says this hymn was the same as

ⁱ Basil, de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxi. “Ἐδοξε τοῖς πατέρεσιν ἡμῶν, μὴ σιωπῇ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ φωτός δέχασθαι ἀλλ’ ἐὼς φανίνοσιν εὐχαριστοῦν καὶ ὅστις μὲν ὁ πατήρ τῶν βημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας, ἐκείνους οὐκ ἔχομεν ὁ μὲν τοι λαὸς ἐρχομένην ἀφίκοι τὴν φωνήν, καὶ οὐδὲν πάποτε ἀσιεῖν ἠνομήσθησαν οἱ λίγοντες, Δινοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ.

^j Usserii Diatriba de Symbolis, p. 35. Vid. sub (l’).

^k Smith’s Account of the Greek Church, p. 302. Vid. sub (l’).

^l Basil. Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης ἀθανάτου Πατρὸς, οὐρανοῦ, ἁγίου, μέγαρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δύσειν, ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν, ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. Ἀξίος εἶναι πάνσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς ἁγίαις, Τῷ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ δίδους· Διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.

^m Usser. l. c. Etai Nicephoro Callisto, (lib. xviii. Hist. Eccles. c. li.) non facile concesserim, hymnum hunc jam inde ab apostolis per manus ecclesiæ Christi

the ψαλμὸς ἐπιλύχνιος, 'the evening-psalm,' mentioned in the Constitutions, lib. viii. c. xxxv. Whereas, indeed, that evening psalm was quite another thing from this evening hymn; that being one of David's psalms, as I shewed before out of Chrysostom and the Constitutions themselves, and this a hymn of human composition. Neither is it the same form with the evening-hymn related before out of the Constitutions, but seems more likely to be that mentioned by St. Basil; which I conceive was not a form for public, but only private devotion, to be used at home by all Christians, as a pious ejaculation or hymn to Christ, "the true Light that enlightens every man that comes into the world." But I only offer this as a conjecture, because I find not this hymn, mentioned as inserted into the public offices, either by the author of the Constitutions, or St. Basil, or any other.

SECT. VI. — *Whether there were any Hymns, or Psalms, or Lessons read in the Evening-Service besides Psalm cxli.*

But then it may be asked, Were there no hymns used in the evening-service? Were there no lessons read, nor psalms, besides that called 'the evening psalm,' sung in the church? I answer, No doubt there were in many Churches; for the customs of Churches varied in this matter: and, though the author of the Constitutions mentions them not in the rituals of the Churches he describes, yet other accounts do; for Cassian, describing the customary service of the Egyptian monasteries, says,ⁿ "They sung twelve psalms every morning and evening in their solemn meetings, and had two lessons read, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New, and had prayers also between the

fuisse traditum; esse tamen ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν illum, cujus in Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxv. (al. xli.) facta est mentio, non multum repugnaverim. Ut quemadmodum Græci (apud Varronem de Lingua Latina, lib. v.) quum lumen adferretur, dicere fuerunt soliti φῶς ἀγαθόν, ita et Christiani suum φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης, in laudem illius, qui est ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης Dei et Patris, canere consueverint.

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. vi. Ex hinc venerabilis patrum senatus . . . decrevit hunc numerum (xii. psalmoreum) tam in vespertinis quam in nocturnis conventiculis custodiri, quibus lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris, et aliam Novi Testamenti, &c. (P. 18.)

psalms, and sung the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the last psalm." St. Jerom confirms this account, and adds, "That they had a sermon made by the abbot (who was always a presbyter), every day after evening-prayer." For thus he describes their evening-devotions:° "At nine o'clock they meet together, then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read; and prayers being ended they all sit down: and one among them, whom they call their father, begins to discourse to them, whom they hear with the profoundest silence and veneration." But it may be said, This, perhaps, was only the custom of the monasteries, and not of the churches. In answer to which Epiphanius^p assures us it was the custom of the Church to have psalms and hymns continually both at morning and evening-prayer. St. Austin also mentions hymns^q as well as prayers at evening-service; which implies, that they had more psalms than one sung upon that occasion. St. Hilary, upon those words of the psalmist, "The outgoings of the morning and evening shall praise thee," shews the same when he says,^r "The progression of the Church to her morning and evening-hymns with delight, is a great sign of God's mercy. The day is begun with prayers, and the day is closed with hymns to God." St. Hilary himself is said to be the author of some of those hymns, and St. Ambrose of others, which were of public use in the Church: and though some would have rejected them, because they were only of human composure, and not to be

° Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustochium, c. xv. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur: psalmi resonant: Scripturæ recitantur ex more: et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare: quo loquente tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat exscreare, &c. (P. 119.)

^p Epiphan. Exposit. Fidei, n. xxiii. p. 1106. Ἐσθλοί τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηγουμένως γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἰσθιναι, λυχνικοὶ τε ἄμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαί.

^q Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. sect. vii. Ad vespertinos illuc hymnos et orationes cum ancillis suis et quibusdam sanctimonialibus ex more domina possessionis intravit, atque hymnos cantare cæperunt. (P. 503.)

^r Hilar. in Psalm. lxiv. p. 231, (p. 169, edit. Paris. 1693.) Progressus ecclesiæ in matutinatorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectationes maximum misericordiæ Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies in hymnis Dei clauditur.

found in Scripture, yet the fourth Council of Toledo* ordered them to be retained in the public service of the Church, together with the hymns, "Glory be to the Father," and "Glory be to God on high," which were likewise of human composition. For the Eastern Churches, the like is said by Chrysostom,† "That they had hymns at night in their evening-prayer, as well as morning." In the Gallican churches they had, besides their collects and prayers, both hymns and *antiphonas*, or 'chapters,' as they called them, collected out of the Psalms, to be said by way of responses, as appears from the Council of Agde.‡ And the second Council of Tours orders,§ "That at evening-prayer, which they call 'the twelfth hour of prayer,' twelve psalms should be sung, answerable to the order of morning-service, which had twelve psalms, as the sixth hour of prayer had six psalms, with the additional psalm called the 'Allelujah.'" From all which it is apparent, that a considerable number of psalms and hymns were used together with the prayers, to make up the daily course of evening as well as morning-service in many Churches.

* Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1709.) Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo, quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existant: respuant ergo et illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum, Amen. Nam et ille hymnus, quem nato in carne Christo angeli cecinerunt, Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis; reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur, ecclesiastici doctores composuerunt. . . . Sicut igitur orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos, nullus vestrum ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Gallicia Hispaniaque celebret: excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.

† Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in Acta, p. 174, (p. 173, d. edit. Francof.) Οἷον ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ εἰσιληθῶν εἰς τὸν δῖον τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . καὶ λυχνιαῖς καὶ ἑσθῆσις ἡμῶν παραγίνεσθαι;

‡ Conc. Agath. c. xxx. In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos, capitella de psalmis diei, et plebem, collecta oratione, ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimitti.

§ Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 857.) Patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum Alleluia; et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia. — Id. can. xxiii. Licet hymnos Ambrosianos habemus in canone, &c.

SECT. VII. — *The Lord's Prayer used in some Churches as the Conclusion of the Daily, both Morning and Evening-Service.*

And in some Churches, the Lord's Prayer was always made a part of the daily worship both morning and evening. For the Council of Gironde made a general decree for the Spanish Churches,* "That the Lord's Prayer should constantly be used by every priest at the close of the matins and vespers in the daily service." It had always been used before on Sundays in the communion-office; but it being in the very title and tenour of it, *quotidiana oratio*, a *quotidian* or 'daily prayer,' they thought it proper to make it a standing part of their daily offices. And when some priests neglected to obey this order, and still confined the use of it to the Lord's day, the fourth Council of Toledo made a decree,[†] "That all such of the clergy as contumaciously refused to use it daily, both in their public and private offices, should be degraded.

In the French Churches, the practice was the same. For by a canon of the third Council of Orleans,[‡] the people are obliged to stay at Divine service till the Lord's Prayer was said; and if the bishop was present, to wait for him to pronounce the benediction: which shews that it was the conclusion of the prayers, since nothing came after but the benediction. It is true, the word used for Divine service in this canon is *missa*; which might seem to mean the communion-service, where the Lord's Prayer was always used. But it has been shewed before, in the first chapter in this

* Conc. Gerund. c. x. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1569.) Nobis placuit, ut omnibus diebus, post matutinas et vespas, Oratio Dominica a sacerdote proferatur.

† Conc. Tolet. IV. c. x. (tom. v. p. 1708.) Nonnulli sacerdotum per Hispanias reperiuntur, qui Dominicam Orationem, quam Salvator noster docuit et præcepit, non quotidie, sed tantum die Dominica dicunt. . . . Quisquis ergo sacerdotum vel subiacentium clericorum, hanc Orationem Dominicam quotidie, aut in publico aut in privato officio, præterierit, propter superbiam judicatus, ordinis sui honore privetur.

‡ Conc. Aurel. III. c. xxix. (tom. v. conc. p. 302.) De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quam Dominica dicatur Oratio. Et si episcopus præsens fuerit, ejus benedictio expectetur. Sacrificia vero matutina (lege matutinarum) missarum vel vespertinarum, ne quis cum armis pertinentibus ad bellorum usum [spectet] expetat.

Book, that *missa* is a general name for any part of Divine service; and in this canon, is particularly taken for the morning and evening-sacrifice of prayers. For it immediately follows, that no one should come to the sacrifice of morning or evening-mass, that is, morning or evening prayers, with his arms or weapons, which only appertained to the use of war. Besides, that in the communion-service, as we shall see hereafter, the Lord's Prayer came always in the middle, and not, as here, in the conclusion of the service.

This is the substance of what I have observed concerning the several parts and order of the daily morning and evening-service in the writings of the fathers and the canons of the councils, which are at present the chief rituals of the ancient Church: and I have been the more careful to separate these offices from the great service of the Lord's day, because they are too often confounded in the accounts of modern authors. I now proceed to the offices and service of the Lord's day, which must be the subject of the two following Books.

BOOK XIV.

OF THAT PART OF DIVINE SERVICE WHICH THE ANCIENTS COMPRISED UNDER THE GENERAL NAME OF *MISSA CATECHUMENORUM*, 'THE SERVICE OF THE CATECHUMENS, OR ANTE-COMMUNION-SERVICE.'

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PSALMODY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I. — *That the Service of the Ancient Church usually began with Psalmody.*

It has been observed before, that the ancients comprised their whole service under two general heads, to which they gave the distinguishing names of *missa catechumenorum* and *missa fidelium*, 'the service of the catechumens,' and 'the service of communicants or believers;' that is, as we would now term them, 'the ante-communion-service,' and 'the communion-service.' The service of the catechumens was that part of Divine worship, at which the catechumens, and all others who were not perfect and full communicants, were allowed to be present: and it consisted of psalmody, reading the Scriptures, preaching, and prayers for such particular orders of men, as were not admitted to participate of the holy mysteries: and under these several heads we must now consider it.

The service usually began with reading or singing of psalms, as appears from that of St. Jerom, describing the service of the Egyptian monks: * "They meet at nine o'clock, and then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read ;

* Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. Post horam nonam, in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more: et completis orationibus cunctisque residentibus, medius quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare.

and after prayers they all sit down, and the father preaches a sermon to them." And so Cassian represents it,^b "That first the psalms were sung, and then followed two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New. Only on the Lord's day and the fifty days of Pentecost, and the Sabbath or Saturday, they read one lesson out of the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles; and the other, out of the Gospels." But probably there might be a difference in the order of reading, in different Churches: and that may reconcile the different opinions of learned men concerning the order of their service. For some think they began with reading the Scriptures; and others, with a prayer of confession. The author of the Constitutions,^c it is certain, prescribes first, the reading of the Old Testament, and then the Psalms, and after that, the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, and last of all, the Gospels; so that the psalms were intermingled with the lessons according to the rules and prescriptions which that author had observed in some Churches. St. Basil^d speaks "of a confession made to God upon their knees; after which they rose up, and betook themselves to sing psalms to God." But that was in their vigils, or morning-prayers, before day, and most probably only a private confession, which

^b Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. vi. Quibus (psalmis) lectiones geminas adjunctes, id est, unam Veteris et aliam Novi Testamenti, &c. In die vero sabbati vel Dominico, utrasque de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de apostolo, vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliiis. Quod etiam totis quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt. (P. 18.)

^c Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (i. 295.) Μίσος δὲ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐφ' ὃ ψαλμῶ τινες ἱστῶς, ἀναγινωσκίτω τὰ Μωσίου, καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν κριτῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν παραλισπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς ἱκανοῦς πρὸς τοῦτοῦ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωβ καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν προφητῶν· ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γινόμενοι ἀναγινωσκόμενοι, ἱερεῖς τις τοὺς Δαβὶδ ψαλλίτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀποστολικά ὑποψαλλίτω μετὰ τοῦτο αἱ πρῶται αἱ ἡμέτεραι ἀναγινωσκίσθωσαν, καὶ ἰστοτελαὶ Παύλου, ἃς ἰστοτελαὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθ' ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκίτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια, κ. τ. λ. — Lib. v. c. xviii. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροίζονται γεννηοῦντι, προσευχόμενοι καὶ διόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ διανοητικῇ ὁμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, τοὺς προφῆτας, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, μέχρις ἀλικτερόντων κραυγῆς, καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὁμῶν τοὺς κατηχευομένους, καὶ ἀναγνόντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^d Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. tom. iii. p. 96. Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρερίζετο παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ, καὶ ἐν θλίψει, καὶ ἐν συνεχῇ δακρύων ἔξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τιλυταῖον ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται.

every man made silently by himself, before they began the public service. But if we take it for a public confession, as the learned Hamon L'Estrange^e does, then it will argue, that the Eastern Churches began their morning *antelucan* service with a prayer of confession, and so went on to their psalmody, which was the great exercise and entertainment of their nocturnal vigils. And, indeed, it was their exercise at all times in the church, as St. Austin^f notes, to fill up all vacancies, when neither the reading of the Scriptures, nor preaching, nor prayers, interposed to hinder them from it. All other spaces were spent in singing of psalms, than which there could not be any exercise more useful and edifying, or more holy and pious, in his opinion. And upon this account (if the observation of L'Estrange^g be rightly made out of Chrysostom), the people were used to entertain the time with singing of psalms, before the congregation was complete and fully assembled. I take no notice here of their psalmody at other times, at their meals, at their labours, and in their private devotions; because, though this is frequently mentioned by the ancients with great and large encomiums, yet it differed in many respects from the common psalmody; and we can draw little light or argument from that to explain the public service.

SECT. II.—*The Psalms intermixed with Lessons and Prayers in some Churches.*

As to the public psalmody of the Church, though we take it for the first and leading part of the service, yet we are not so to understand it, as if it was all performed at once, in one continued course of repeating many psalms together without intermission, but rather with some respite, and a mixture of other parts of Divine service, to make the whole more agreeable and delightful; at least, it was apparently so in the practice of some Churches. For the Council of

^e L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. iii. p. 75.

^f Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xviii. Quando non est tempus, quum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi quum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

^g L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. iii. p. 77.

Laodicea made a decree,^b that the psalms should not be sung one immediately after another, but that a lesson should come between every psalm. And St. Austin plainly intimates, that this was the practice of his own Church; for, in one of his homilies,ⁱ he takes notice, first, of the reading of the Epistle, then of singing Psalm xcv. “O come let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord, our Maker;” and after that, of a lesson read out of the Gospel. And in another homily, he speaks of them in the same order. “In the lessson out of the Epistle,” says he,^k “thanks are given to God for the faith of the Gentiles. In the Psalm we said, ‘Turn us again, thou Lord God of hosts, shew the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole.’ In the Gospel, we were called to the Lord’s Supper.” By comparing these two places of St. Austin together, we may observe, that it was not any particular psalm that was appropriated to come between the Epistle and Gospel, but the psalm that was in the ordinary course of reading; for the ninety-fifth is mentioned in one place, and Psalm lxxx. in the other. Mabillon has observed the same practice in the French churches, out of the collation between the Catholics and Arians in the reign of Gundobadus, king of Burgundy (an. 499); for, in the relation of that conference, it is said,^l “That on the vigil

^b Conc. Laodic. c. xvii. Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ διὺν ἐπισυνάπτειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μίσου καὶ ἑκάστου ψαλμοῦ γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν.

ⁱ Aug. Sermon. x. de Verbis Apostoli, tom. x. opp. p. 112, (p. 296, ed. Basil. 1569.) Hoc de apostolica lectione percepimus. Deinde cantavimus psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem una voce, uno corde dicentes, ‘Venite, adoremus et prosternamur ei, et fleamus coram Domino, qui fecit nos.’ Posthæc evangelica lectio decem leprosos mundatos nobis ostendit, et unum ex iis alienigenam, gratias agentem mundatori suo.

^k Ibid. Hom. xxxiii. de Verbis Domini, p. 49, (p. 126, edit. cit.) In lectione apostolica, gratiæ aguntur Domino de fide gentium. In psalmo, diximus ‘Deus virtutum converte nos, et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus.’ In evangelio, ad cœnam vocati sumus, &c. (v. 393.)

^l Collat. &c. ap. Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 399. Evenit, ut ea nocte, quum lector secundum morem inciperet lectionem a Moyse, incidit in illa verba Domini, ‘Sed ego indurabo cor ejus, &c.’ Deinde quum post psalmos decantatos recitaret ex prophetis, occurrerunt verba Domini ad Esaïam, dicentis, ‘Vade et dices populo huic: Audite audientes,’ &c. Quumque adhuc psalmi fuissent decantati, et legeret ex evangelio; incidit in verba, quibus Salvator exprobrat Judæis incredulitatem, ‘Væ tibi Corazaim,’ &c. Denique quum lectio

before the day of disputation, in celebrating the Divine offices, it happened that the first lesson, that was out of the Pentateuch, had those words, 'I will harden Pharaoh's heart,' &c. After which the Psalms were sung; and then another lesson was read out of Isaiah, in which were these words, 'Go and tell this people, hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand.' After the Psalms were sung again, another lesson was read out of the Gospel, wherein were those words of our Saviour upbraiding the Jews with their infidelity, 'Wo unto thee, Chorazin,' &c. And, last of all, the Epistle was read, containing those words, 'Despisest thou the riches of his goodness?' &c.: where it is easy to observe, that as there were four lessons read out of the Old and New Testament, so there were psalms sung between each lesson, except the last, which is not mentioned.

SECT. III.—*Which Psalms were called by a peculiar Name, Psalmi Responsorii.*

These psalms were styled by a peculiar name, *responsoria*, and *psalmi responsorii*, 'the responsories;' which was not a name affixed to any particular psalms, but was given to all such as happened to fall in here, in the common course of reading. The fourth Council of Toledo is to be understood of such psalms, when it speaks of responsories,^m blaming some for neglecting to use the *Gloria Patri*, after them. And Gregory Turonensis often mentions them under the name of *psalmi responsorii*,ⁿ making it a part of the deacon's office to repeat them. The ancient ritualists are not agreed about the reason of the name, why they were called *responsoria*; some saying they were so called,^o because one singing, the

fieret ex apostolo, pronuntiata sunt verba illa, 'An divitias bonitatis ejus et patientiæ et longanimitatis contemnitis?'

^m Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xv. Sunt quidam, qui in fine responsoriorum, 'Gloria' non dicunt, &c.

ⁿ Gregor. Turon. de Vitis Patrum, c. viii. Diaconus responsorium psalmum canere cæpit.—Id. Histor. Francor. lib. viii. c. iii. Jubet rex, ut diaconum nostrum, qui ante diem ad missas psalmum responsorium dixerat, canere juberem.

^o Isidor. de Offic. lib. i. c. ix. Responsoria ab Italis longo ante tempore sunt reperta: et vocata hoc nomine, quod, uno canente, chorus consonando respondeat.

whole quire did answer them: whilst others say,^p they had their name because they *answered* to the lessons, being sung immediately after them. Which seems to be the more likely reason.

SECT. IV. — *Some Psalms appropriated to particular Services.*

But we are not to imagine that these were the only psalms, which the ancients used in their psalmody. For some psalms were of constant use in the Church, as being appropriated to particular services. We have seen before,^q that Psalm lxiii., “O God, my God, early will I seek thee,” was peculiarly styled ‘the morning-psalm,’ because it was always sung at morning-service, as Psalm xcv. is now in our liturgy. And Psalm cxli. “Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice,” was always sung at evening-service.^r They had also some proper psalms adapted to the nature of their communion-service, and their funeral offices, as we shall see hereafter. And in the French Church, from the time that Musæus, presbyter of Marseilles, composed his *Lectionarium*, or ‘order of reading the psalms and lessons,’ at the instance of Venerius, his bishop; the responsory psalms were all adapted to their proper times and lessons, as Gennadius

Antea autem id solus quisque agebat: nunc unus interdum, interdum duo vel tres, communiter canunt, choro in plurimis respondente.

^p Rupert. de Offic. lib. i. c. xv. Responsoria, quæ post lectiones animus, nobis innunt, sanctis monitis Dei factis nos respondere debere, ne simus similes pueris sedentibus in foro, audientibus ac dicentibus, ‘Cantavimus vobis, et non saltastis; lamentavimus vobis, et non plorastis.’ Dicuntur enim a respondendo. Tristia namque tristibus et læta lætis debemus succinere lectionibus: siquidem neque moris est, neque decoris, ut quum lector tristis dixerit, verbi gratia, quæ sunt pœnitentiæ, sive lamentum aliquod Dominicæ passionis, chorus in responsorio saltet de gaudio regni et gloria resurrectionis. Sed dum lector, velut Joannes non manducans neque bibens, prædicat pœnitentiam, nos itidem in responsorio ploramus: dum ille, velut Filius Hominis, manducans et bibens, cantat nobis de gaudio regni, succinentes eidem, apte saltamus. Quodque uno præcimente, tam in his, quam in ceteris hujusmodi, chorus concorditer sequitur, illud adstruit, quod apostolus obsecrat, ut id ipsum dicamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata.

^q Book xiii. chap. x. sect. i.

^r Book xiii. chap. xi. sect. ii.

informs us.^s And this, some learned men think,^t was at first peculiar to the Gallican office, and a singular usage of the French Church. Which may be true as to the appropriating the several psalms to their proper lessons in the general course of the year; but it cannot be true, if it be meant only of particular and solemn occasions. For the Church had not only proper lessons, but proper psalms read upon greater festivals, suitable to the occasion; and that long before the time of Musæus's composing his kalendar for the Gallican Church. For St. Austin plainly informs us, that Psalm xxii.^u "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," &c. was always read upon the day of our Saviour's passion, in the African Church; and he seems to intimate, that the Donatists did the same, though they were so stony-hearted as not to make a just application of it. And there is little question to be made, but that as they had proper psalms for this occasion, so they had for all the other solemn festivals.

SECT. V.—*Others Sung in the ordinary Course as they lay, without being appropriated to any Time or Day.*

The other psalms were sung in the ordinary course of reading, from end to end, in the same order as they lay in the book, without being appropriated to any times, or lessons, or days, except those particular psalms which were appointed as proper for each canonical hour. Cassian observes,^v "That

^s Gennad. de Scriptur. c. lxxix. Responsoria etiam psalmorum capitula temporis et lectionibus congruentia excerpit.

^t Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 218. Besides the lessons and hymns, he (Musæus) methodized the psalms, so as to be read agreeably to the times and the lessons, and not in the order wherein they stand, which seems to have been peculiar to the Gallican Church.

^u Aug. in Psalm. xxi. Præfat. Sermon. ii. p. 43, (tom. viii. opp. p. 106, edit. Basil. 1569.) Miror, fratres, si hodie psalmus iste legitur et in parte Donati. Rogo vos, fratres mei, confiteor vobis, novit Christi misericordia, quia sic miror, quasi lapidei ibi sint, et non audiant. . . . Legimus illum, quantum angustia temporis patitur, &c. (Antw. 1700, iv. 71.)

^v Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. ii. Multos comperimus per alias regiones pro mentis suæ captu, habentes quidem, ut ait apostolus, zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam, super hac re diversos typos ac regulas sibi met constituisse.

in Egypt, at the first beginning of the monastic life, there were almost as many types, rules, or orders about this matter, as there were monasteries, some singing eighteen psalms, immediately one after another, others twenty, and some more. But at last, by common consent, the number for morning and evening-service was reduced to twelve, which were read in one continued course,^w without any lessons coming between them: for they had only two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New, and those read only when the psalms were ended." He tells us, also,^x "That in some places they sung six psalms every canonical hour; and some proportioned the number of psalms to the number of the hour at which they met at their devotions: so that at the third hour they had only three psalms, but six at the sixth, and nine at the ninth hour; till, upon more mature deliberation, they came at last to this resolution, to have only three psalms at every diurnal hour of prayer,^y reserving the greater number of twelve for the more solemn assemblies at morning and evening prayer." Though the custom of conforming the number of psalms to the number of hours continued in use in some parts of France, or else was taken up in the time of the second Council of Tours (an. 567), as appears from a singular

Quidam enim vicanos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis, et adjunctione quarundam modulationum debere dici singulis noctibus censuerunt: alii hunc modum etiam excedere tentaverunt: nonnulli xviii.; atque in hunc modum diversis in locis diversum canonem agnovimus institutum, totque propemodum typos ac regulas vidimus usurpatas, quot etiam monasteria cellasque conspeximus. (P. 13.)

^w Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. iv. Per universam Ægyptum et Thebaidem duodenarius psalmorum numerus tam in vespertinis quam nocturnis solemnitatibus custoditur, ita duntaxat, ut post hunc [numerum] duæ lectiones, Veteris scilicet et Novi Testamenti singulæ, subsequantur.

^x Ibid. c. ii. Sunt, quibus in ipsis quoque diurnis orationum officiis, id est, tertia, sexta, nonaque id visum est, ut secundum horarum modum, in quibus hæc Domino redduntur obsequia, psalmorum etiam et orationum putarent numerum coequandum: nonnullis placuit, senarium numerum singulis diei conventibus deputari. (P. 13.)

^y Ibid. lib. iii. c. iii. Itaque in Palæstinæ vel Mesopotamiæ monasteriis ac totius Orientis, supradictarum horarum (tertiæ, sextæ, nonæque, secundum c. i.), solemnitates trinis psalmis quotidie finiuntur; ut et orationum adsiduitas statutis temporibus Deo offeratur, et necessaria operationis officia consummatis justo moderamine spiritalibus obsequiis nullatenus valeant impediri. (P. 32.)

canon of that Council,^a which I have recited at large before in the last Book.^a

SECT. VI.—*And some appointed occasionally at the Discretion of the Bishop or Precentor.*

Besides these, it was usual for the bishop or precentor to appoint any psalm to be sung occasionally in any part of the service, at discretion. As now our anthems, in cathedrals, are left to the choice of the precentor, and the psalms in metre to the discretion of the minister, to choose and appoint what psalms he pleases, and what time he thinks most proper in Divine service. Thus Athanasius^b tells us he appointed his deacon to sing an occasional psalm, when his church was beset with the Arian soldiers. And St. Austin^c sometimes speaks of a particular psalm, which he ordered the reader to repeat, intending himself to preach upon it: and it once happened, that the reader, mistaking one of these psalms, read another in its stead; which put St. Austin upon an extempore discourse upon the psalm that was read by mistake to the people. And when we consider that they sometimes spent whole days and nights almost in psalmody; as when St. Ambrose's church was beset with the Arian soldiers, the people within continued the whole night and day in singing of psalms;^d it will easily be imagined, that at such times they did not sing appropriated psalms, but entertained themselves with such as the bishop then occasionally appointed, or left them at large to their own choice, to sing at liberty and discretion. Sometimes

^a Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (c. xix. edit. Labb. tom. v. p. 857.)

^b Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. ix. (b).

^c Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 717, (p. 334, d. edit. Paris. 1698.) *Καθίσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προίτσισεν τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.*

^d Aug. in Psalm. cxxxviii. p. 650, (tom. viii. opp. p. 1586, edit. Basil. 1569.) Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a Lectore: sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Maluimus nos in errore Lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito. — Vid. Aug. Præfat. in Psalm. xxxi. (p. 186, c. edit. cit.) Hunc psalmum ad eam gratiam pertinere, qua Christiani sumus, testatus est apostolus Paulus: unde ipsam lectionem vobis legi volumus. (iv. p. 128.)

^e Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. ad Marcellinam Sororem.

the reader himself pitched upon a psalm as the necessity of affairs would allow him, or his own discretion direct him. Thus St. Austin tells us, in one of his homilies,^e "That he had preached upon a psalm, not which he appointed the reader to sing, but what God put into his heart to read, which determined his sermon to the subject of repentance;" being the fifty-first, or penitential psalm, which the reader sung of his own accord; or, rather, as St. Austin words it, "by God's direction." Sulpicius Severus tells a remarkable story, to the same purpose, in the Life of St. Martin: he says,^f "When St. Martin was to be elected bishop, one whose name was Defensor, among the bishops, was a great stickler against him. Now it happened, that in the tumult, the reader, whose course it was to sing the psalm that day, could not come at his place in due time; and therefore another read the first psalm that he lighted upon when he opened the book, which happened to be Psalm viii. wherein were those words: 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and *defensor*,' as the Gallican version then read it, *Ut destruas inimicum et defensorem*. And this, though it seemingly were but a chance thing, was looked upon as providential by the people, to overthrow the machinations of Defensor."

^e Aug. Hom. xxvii. ex l. tom. x. p. 175, (p. 477, edit. Basil. 1569.) Proinde aliquid de pœnitentia dicere divinitus jubemur. Neque enim nos istum psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus: sed quod ille censuit vobis utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam puerili imperavit. (v. 950.)

^f Sulpic. Sever. Vit. Martin. c. vii. p. 225, (c. ix. p. 313, edit. Lips. 1703, 8.) Inter episcopos, qui affuerant, præcipue Defensor quidam nomine dicitur restitisse: unde animadversum est, graviter illum lectione prophetica tunc notatum. Nam quum fortuito lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, interclusus a populo defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum exspectatur, qui non aderat, unus e circumstantibus sumpto psalterio, quem primum versum invenit, arripuit. Psalmus autem erat, 'Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et defensorem: quo lecto clamor populi tollitur, pars diversa confunditur.' Atque ita habitum est, divino nutu psalmum hunc lectum fuisse, ut testimonium operis Defensor audiret, quia ex ore infantium atque lactentium in Martino Domini laude perfecta, ostensus pariter et destructus est inimicus.

SECT. VII.— *Prayers, in some Places, between every Psalm, instead of a Lesson.*

In some places, instead of lessons between every psalm, they allowed a short space for private prayer to be made in silence, and a short collect by the minister, which Cassian says,^g was the ordinary custom of the Egyptian fathers. For they reckoned, that frequent short prayers were more useful than long-continued ones,^h “both to solicit God more earnestly by frequent addresses, and to avoid the temptations of Satan, drawing them into lassitude and weariness, which was prevented by their succinct brevity.” And, therefore, they divided the longer psalms into two or three parts,ⁱ interposing prayers between every distinction.

SECT. VIII.— *The Gloria Patri added at the end of every Psalm, in the Western, but not in the Eastern Churches.*

In all the Western Churches, except the Roman, it was customary also, at the end of every psalm, for the congregation to stand, and say, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.” But in the Eastern Churches it was otherwise: for, as I have noted before,^j out of Cassian,^k in all the East they never used this glorification,

^g Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. v. Cum sedentibus cunctis . . . undecim psalmos orationum interiectione distinctos contiguus versibus parili pronuntiatione cantasset, &c. (P. 16.)

^h Ibid. c. x. Utilius censent, breves quidem orationes, sed creberrimas fieri; illud quidem ut frequentius Dominum deprecantes jugiter eidem cohærere possimus. Hoc vero, ut insidiantis diaboli jacula, quæ infligere nobis tunc præcipue, quum oramus, insistit, succincta brevitate tentemus. (P. 23.)

ⁱ Ibid. c. xi. Et ideo ne psalmos quidem ipsos, quos in congregatione decantant, continuata student pronuntiatione concludere: sed eos pro numero versuum duabus vel tribus interiectionibus, cum orationum interiectione divisos, distinctim particulatimque consummant, &c.

^j Book xiii. chap. x. sect. xiv.

^k Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. viii. Illud etiam, quod in hac provincia vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi, omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus, sed cum omnium silentio ab eo, qui cantat, finito psalmo orationem succedere: hac vero glorificatione Trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphona terminari. — Strabo, de Reb. Eccles. c. xxv. Dicendum de hymno, qui ob honorem sanctæ et unicæ Trinitatis officiis omnibus interseritur, eum a Sanctis

but only at the end of the last psalm, which they called their *antiphona*, or Allelujah, which was one of those psalms which had Allelujah prefixed to it, and which they repeated by way of *antiphona*, or responsal, and then added, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." But in the Western Churches, he says, it was used at the end of every psalm. And so we are to understand those canons of the Council of Toledo,¹ which order, "Glory and honour be to the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost," to be said at the end of the psalms and responsories: but the decretal of Vigilius,^m which orders the same at the end of the psalms, must be taken according to the custom of the Roman Church, to be used only at the conclusion of all. Other differences relating to the use of this doxology, and its original, shall be considered in the next chapter, in their proper place.

SECT. IX. — *The Psalms sometimes sung by one person only.*

As to the persons concerned in this service of singing the psalms publicly in the church, we may consider them in four different respects, according to the different ways of psalmody. 1. Sometimes the psalms were sung by one person alone, the rest hearing only with attention. 2. Sometimes they were sung by the whole assembly joining all together. 3. Sometimes alternately by the congregation divided into distinct quires, the one part repeating one verse, and the other another. 4. Sometimes one person repeated the first part of the verse, and the rest joined all together in the close of it. The first of these ways Cassian notes as the common custom of the Egyptian monasteries. For he says,ⁿ "Except

Patribus aliter atque aliter ordinatum. . . . Hunc hymnum nonnulli omnibus pene psalmis, et interdum incisionibus psalmodum coaptant: responsorii vero paucioribus, &c.

¹ Conc. Tolet. c. xiv. (al. xv.) In fine psalmodum, non sicut a quibusdam huc usque, 'Gloria Patris,' sed 'gloria et honor Patri' dicatur, &c. — Can. xv. (al. xvi.) Sunt qui in fine responsoriorum 'gloria' non dicunt, &c.

^m Vigil. Epist. ii. ad Eutherium, c. ii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 312.) In fine psalmodum, ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dicatur, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.'

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xii. Absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmodum

him who rose up to sing, all the rest sat by on low seats in silence, giving attention to him that sang." And though sometimes four sung the twelve psalms in one assembly, yet they did it not all together, but in course one after another,^o each singing three psalms, and the rest keeping silence till the last psalm, which they all sung by way of *antiphona*, or alternate song, adding the *Gloria Patri* in the close.

SECT. X. — *Sometimes by the whole Assembly joining all together.*

Sometimes, again, the whole assembly joined together; men, women, and children, united with one mouth and one mind in singing psalms and praises to God. This was the most ancient and general practice, till the way of alternate psalmody was brought into the Church. Thus Christ and his apostles sung the hymn at the last supper; and thus Paul and Silas at midnight sung praises unto God. Bellarmin,^p indeed, and some other writers of the Romish Church, say this custom was not in use till the time of St. Ambrose: but they plainly mistake the introduction of the alternate way of singing psalms for this more ancient way, which derives its original from the foundation of the Church. Thus St. Hilary,^q

surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant.

^o Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. v. Unus in medium, psalmos Domino cantaturus, exsurgit.—Cap. viii. Vid. sub anteced. litt. (h).

^p Bellarmin. de Bonis Operibus, lib. i. c. xvi. tom. iv. p. 1077, (p. 441, edit. Colon. 1615.) — Aug. lib. ix. Confess. c. viii. scribit, ab Ambrosio primum institutum fuisse, ut, juxta morem Orientalium, quatuor psalmi atque hymni in Mediolanensi ecclesia canerentur, atque hunc usum inde ad alias Occidentis ecclesias dimanasse, eundem usum idem Augustinus probat, tum etiam, lib. x. c. xxxiii. Sed quod ait, 'ab Ambrosio id primum institutum,' non ita videtur accipiendum, quasi cantus ecclesiasticus in Occidente ante Ambrosii tempora plane ignotus fuerit. Contrarium enim testantur, quæ paullo ante citavimus ex Hilario et Tertulliano. Sed fortasse loquitur Augustinus non de cantu absolute, sed de cantu totius populi. Antea siquidem psalmum cantabat unus, tantum audientibus ceteris. Unde est illud Hieronymi, 'Dicas psalmum in ordine tuo.' Fortasse etiam soli clerici, ut nunc fieri videmus, canebant. Ambrosius autem ad leniendum mœrorem populi in persecutione Justinæ instituit, ut totus populus caneret.

^q Hilar. in Psalm. lxx. p. 332, (p. 174, edit. Paris. 1693.) Audiatur orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem, spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus, &c.

who lived before St. Ambrose, takes notice that the people all prayed, and all sang hymns together. And Chrysostom, comparing the apostolical times with his own, says,^r “Anciently they all met together, and all sang in common: and so do we at this day.” And again,^s “Women and men, old men and children, differ in sex and age, but they differ not in the harmony of singing hymns; for the Spirit tempers all their voices together, making one melody of them all.” After the same manner St. Austin^t sometimes speaks of singing the psalms between the lessons with united voices; though before his time the way of alternate psalmody was become very common in all parts of the Church.

SECT. XI.—*Sometimes alternately, by the Congregation divided into two Parts.*

This way of singing the psalms alternately was, when the congregation, dividing themselves into two parts, repeated the psalms by courses, verse for verse one after another, and not, as formerly, all together. As the other, for its common conjunction of voices, was properly called ‘symphony;’ so this, for its division into two parts, and alternate answers, was commonly called ‘antiphony,’ and sometimes *responsoria*, ‘the singing by responsals.’ This is plain from that noted iambic^u of Gregory Nazianzen, *σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων στάσει*, where the symphony denotes their singing alternately verse for verse by turns. Socrates^v calls it *ἀντίφωνον ὑμνωδίαν*, ‘the antiphonal hymnody;’ and St. Ambrose,^w

^r Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 653, (p. 405, edit. Francof.) *Συήσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ἰσὺ πολλὸν καινῇ τοῦτο ποιῶμεν καὶ νῦν.*

^s Ibid. Hom. in Psalm. cxlv. p. 824, (tom. iii. p. 716, edit. cit.) *Καὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ πρεσβύτες, καὶ νέοι διήρηνται μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑμνωδίας λόγον. τὴν γὰρ ἑκάστου φωνὴν τὸ Πνεῦμα κεράσαν, μίαν ἐν ἅπασιν ἐργάζεται τὴν μελωδίαν.*

^t Aug. de Verb. Apost. Serm. x. p. 112. *Cantavimus psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem, una voce, uno corde, dicentes, ‘Venite, adoremus,’ &c. (v. 584.)*

^u Nazianz. Carm. xviii. de Virtute, inter Iambica, tom. ii. p. 218. *Σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων στάσει.* (Line 921.)

^v Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. *Αἱετίον δὲ καὶ θῆν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἱλαζίν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια.*

^w Ambros. Hexaemer. lib. iii. c. v. *Responsoriis psalmorum, cantus virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonus undarum fragor resultat. (i. 29.)*

responsoria, 'singing by way of responsals.' For, comparing the Church to the sea, he says, "From the responsories of the psalms, and singing of men, women, virgins, and children, there results a harmonious noise like the waves of the sea." He expressly mentions women in other places,^a as allowed to sing in public, though, otherwise, the apostle had commanded them to keep silence in the church. St. Austin also frequently mentions⁷ this way of singing by parts, or alternately by responses: and he carries the original of it in the Western Church no higher than the time of St. Ambrose, when he was under the persecution of the Arian Empress Justina, mother of the younger Valentinian; at which time both he^a and Paulinus,^a who writes the Life of St. Ambrose, tell us the way of antiphonal singing was first brought into the Church of Milan, in imitation of the custom of the Eastern Churches; and that from this example it presently spread all over the Western Churches. What was the first original of it in the Eastern Church, is not so certainly agreed upon by writers either ancient or modern. Theodoret says,^b "That Flavian and Diodorus first brought in the way of singing David's Psalms alternately, into the Church of Antioch in the reign of Constantine." But Socrates^c carries the original of this way of singing hymns to the Holy Trinity as high as Ignatius. Valesius^d thinks Socrates was mis-

^a Ambros. Exposit. Psalm. i. *Mulieres apostolus in ecclesia tacere jubet: 'Psalmum etiam bene clamant,' &c.* (Paris. 1836, ii. 43.)

⁷ Aug. Serm. in Psalm. xxvi. in Præfat. *Voces istæ psalmi, quas audivimus, et ex parte cantavimus, &c.* (89.)—Id. in Psalm. xlv. *In hoc psalmo, quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus, ea sumus dicturi quæ nostis.* (iv. 305.)

^a Ibid. Confess. lib. ix. c. vii. *Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœoris tædio contabesceret, institutum est: et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, et per cetera orbis imitantibus.* (i. 118.)

^a Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 4. *Hoc in tempore primo antiphonæ, hymni, et vigiliæ, in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari cœperunt, &c.*

^b Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxiv. *Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῇ διλόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς.*

^c Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. *Ἰγνάτιος . . . ὑμνασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνοῦντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἱεράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρίδων· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὕτη ἡ παράδοσις διδύνη.*

^d Vales. ad loc. *Nescio, unde hæc hauserit Socrates. Constat enim primos*

taken; but Cardinal Bona^e and Pagi^f think both accounts may be true, taking the one to speak of David's Psalms only, and the other of hymns composed for the service of the Church. Some say the custom was first begun by Ignatius, but destroyed by Paulus Samosatensis, and revived again by Flavian. But Pagi's conjecture seems most reasonable, that Flavian only introduced this way of singing the psalms in the Greek tongue at Antioch, whereas it had been used in the Syrian language long before, as he shews out of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Valesius himself confirms this out of the same author, whose testimony is preserved by Nicetas.^g However this matter be as to the first original of this way of antiphonal psalmody, it is certain that from the time that Flavian either instituted or revived it at Antioch, it prevailed in a short time to become the general practice of the whole Church. St. Chrysostom^h encouraged it in the vigils at

omnium Flavianum ac Diodorum, regnante Constantio, psallentium choros Antiochiæ bifariam divisisse, et psalmos Davidicos alternis canendos eis tradidisse: eamque rem primum Antiochiæ institutam, postea ad reliquas totius orbis ecclesias dimanasse. (Cant. 322.)

^e Bona de Psalm. c. xvi. sect. x. n. i. (p. 513, edit. Antuerp. 1713.) Scio, Theodoretum, Suidam, quos nonnulli recentiores sequuti sunt, ad Flavianum et Diodorum, Antiochenos monachos, qui tempore Constantii Imperatoris floruerunt, hanc institutionem referre. Verumtamen vel errasse istos dicendum est; vel non de quocumque alterno cantu, sed de solis Davidicis intelligi debent. 'Hi enim primi,' ait Theodoretus, 'psallentium choro, in duas partes diviso, hymnos Davidicos alternis canendos instituerunt.'

^f Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 400, n. x. (n. xii. p. 34, edit. Antuerp. 1705.) Ea psalmodiæ species jam ante Flavianum atque Diodorum a Syris videtur usurpata. Scribit enim Theodorus (Mopsuestenus), Flavianum ac Diodorum primos omnium eam psalmodiæ speciem, quas antiphonas vocant, ex Syrorum lingua in Græcam transtulisse, et omnium prope solos hujus rei auctores cunctis orbis partibus apparuisse. Quod igitur Syri diu ante Flavianum præstiterant, psalmos Davidicos lingua Syriaca antiphonatim canentes, id Flavianus ac Diodorus a Græcis Antiochensibus, psalmos Græce canentibus, fieri instituerunt.

^g Nicet. Thesaur. Orthodox. Fid. lib. v. c. xxx. (Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. xxv. p. 161, b. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Ceterum per id tempus Antiochiæ florebant, et virtute scientiaque celebres habebantur Flavianus et Diodorus, quorum ille Antiocheno episcopatu, hic Tarsensi postea præfectus est. Atque ut Theodorus Mopsuestiensis scribit, illam psalmodiæ speciem, quas 'antiphonas' dicimus, illi ex Syrorum lingua in Græcam transtulerunt, ut omnium prope soli admirandi hujus operis omnibus Christiani hominibus apparuerunt.

^h Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. 'Ἰωάννης ἐὺλαζήσεις, μή τις τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ὑπὸ τῶν σοιούτων ᾧδῶν ἀφιλευσθῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀντιτίθηναι αὐτοῖς τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ,

Constantinople, in opposition to the Arians. St. Basil¹ speaks of it in his time, as the received custom of all the East. And we have seen before, how, from the time of St. Ambrose, it prevailed over all the West. And it was a method of singing so taking and delightful, that they sometimes used it, where two or three were met together for private devotion. As Socrates² particularly remarks of the Emperor Theodosius Junior and his sisters, that they were used to sing alternate hymns together, every morning, in the royal palace.

SECT. XII.—*Sometimes by a single Precentor repeating the first part of the Verse, and the People all joining with him in the Close. Where also of Diapsalms, and Acroteleutics, and Acrostics, in Psalmody.*

Besides all these there was yet a fourth way of singing, of pretty common use in the fourth age of the Church; which was, when a single person (whom that age called a *phonascus*, *υποβολεύς*, or *præcentor*,)^k began the verse, and the people joined with him in the close. This the Greeks called *ὑπηγεῖν* and *ὑπακούειν*; and the Latins, *succinere*. And it was often used for a variety in the same service with alternate psalmody. Thus St. Basil, describing the different manners of their morning-psalmody, tells us,¹ “They one while divided themselves into two parts, and sung alternately, answering to one another; and then again let one begin the psalm, and the rest joined with him in the close of the verse.” This was certainly in use at Alexandria in the time of Atha-

ἕως δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ὑμολογιαῖς σχολάζοντες, ἀμυνόμενοι μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων σιγῇ τούτου σπουδῇ, βιβλαῖους δὲ τοὺς εἰκίους πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐργάζονταν. (322.)

¹ Basil Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. Vid. integrum locum, lib. xiii. c. x. sect. xiii. litt. (γ).

² Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxii. (369.) Οὐκ ἁλλοτέρως δὲ ἀσκητηρίου κατέστησε τὰ βασίλεια αὐτὸς τοιγάρων ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς ὁρμίζων, ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους εἰς τὸ θῶον ἔλιγι.

^k See Book iii. chap. vii. sect. iii. — Sidon. Apollin. lib. iv. c. xi. Psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus.

¹ Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. p. 96. Νῦν μὲν διχῇ διακηθόντες, ἀντιφάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, . . . ἴπματα πάλιν ἐκτερέψαντες ἐν καταέχῃ τοῦ μέλους, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηγῶσι.

nasius, as I have observed in the last Book.^m For both he himself,ⁿ and all the historians,^o who relate the story after him, in speaking of his escape out of the church when it was beset with the Arian soldiers, tell us he avoided the assault by setting the people to psalmody, which psalmody was of this kind; for he commanded the deacon to read the psalm, and the people ὑπακούειν, 'to repeat' this clause after him, "For his mercy endureth for ever." The common translations of Athanasius make this ὑπακούειν to signify no more than the people's attending to what the deacon read. But Epiphanius Scholasticus, the ancient author of the *Historia Tripartita*, having occasion to relate this very passage^p of Athanasius, rightly renders ὑπακούειν by *respondere*. The deacon read, and the people answered in these words, "For his mercy endureth for ever." Valesius^q thinks it should be read ὑπηχέειν instead of ὑπακούειν, in all those places of Athanasius and the historians after him: but there is no need of that critical correction; for both the words, among the Greeks, are of the same import, and signify 'to make answer or responses,' as Cotelierius, a judicious critic, has observed.^r And so the word ὑπακούειν is used both by Theocritus and Homer;^s so that there is no reason to dispute the use of it in this sense, in ecclesiastical writers. St. Chrysostom uses the word ὑπηχέειν,

^m Book xiii. chap. v. sect. vii.

ⁿ Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 717, (p. 334, d. edit. Paris. 1698.) Καθίσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προέστειπεν τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

^o Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xiii. cit. lib. xiii. c. v. sect. vii. sub. litt. (e). — Socrat. lib. ii. c. xi. ibid. p. 156. — Sozomen. lib. iii. c. vi. ibid.

^p Histor. Tripartit. lib. v. c. ii. Residens in sede præcepi, ut diaconus psalmum legeret, populi responderent, Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.

^q Vales. Not. in Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xiii. Τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν] Scribendum puto ὑπηχέειν, id est, ut populus succineret clausulam psalmi. Ita certe legiisse videtur Epiphanius Scholasticus, qui hunc locum ita vertit: 'Præcepi, ut diaconus psalmum legeret, et populi responderent, 'Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.' Id Græci proprie dicebant ὑπηχέειν: sic Basilii in Epist. lxxiii. ad Clericos Neocæsarienses. (Cant. 87.)

^r Cotel. Not. in Constitut. Apostol. lib. ii. c. lvii. p. 262. Male, qui Athanasium et Historiam Ecclesiasticam Theodoriti interpretati sunt, verba ὑπακούειν putaverunt esse 'auscultare, audire;' quum heic, et alibi, sæpe significet respondere.

^s Theocrit. Idyl. xiii. de Hyla, 59. Τρεῖς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσιν. — Vid. Homer. Odys. iv. 283. — Steph. Thesaur. tom. i. p. 1486. Ὑπηχίω . . . item succino. Philo de Vita M. Ἐμοῦτε λεκτρία ὑπηχούντος ἄντι τῆς σῆς διατάξας.

when he speaks of this practice:† “The singer sings alone; and all the rest answer him in the close, as it were with one mouth and one voice.” And elsewhere he says, “The priests began the psalm, and the people followed after in their responses.” Sometimes this way of psalmody was called ‘singing acrostics.’ For, though an acrostic commonly signifies ‘the beginning of a verse,’ yet sometimes it is taken for the ‘end or close’ of it: as by the author* of the Constitutions, when he orders one to sing the hymns of David, and the people to sing after him the acrostics, or ‘ends of the verses.’ This was otherwise called *hypopsalma* and *diapsalma*, and ἀκροτελεῦσιον and ἐφύμνιον, which are all words of the same signification. Only we must observe, that they do not always denote precisely ‘the end of a verse,’ but sometimes ‘that which was added to the end of a psalm,’ or ‘something that was repeated frequently in the middle of it,’ as the close of the several parts of it. Thus St. Austin composed a psalm for the common people to learn against the Donatists; and, in imitation of Psalm cxix., he divided it into so many parts according to the order of the letters in the alphabet (whence such psalms were called *abecedarii*, each part having its proper letter at the head of it; and the *hypopsalma*, as he calls it,† or ‘answer,’ to be repeated at the end of every part of it, in these words, *Omnes qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate*: as the *Gloria Patri* is now repeated not only at the end of every psalm, but at the end of every part of Psalm cxix. And, in this respect, the *Gloria Patri* itself is by some ancient writers called the *hypopsalma*, or ‘epode,’ and ‘acroteleutic,’ to the Psalms; because it was always used at the end of the Psalms. Thus Sozomen, giving an account of the Arians’ management of their psalmody at Constantinople, in

† Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 655, (pp. 408, 409, edit. Francof. 1697.) Ὁ ψάλλων ψάλλει μόνος· καὶ πάντες ὑπ᾿ ἡχοῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται. — Hom. xi. in Matth. p. 198, (p. 134, edit. cit.) Ἄν' δύο ψαλμοὺς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπαρχήσαντες, κ. τ. λ. See Book xiii. chap. vi. sect. vii. litt. (†).

* Chrysostom. in Psalm. cxxxvii. p. 518, (tom. iii. opp. p. 449, edit. Francof.) Μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καταρχομένων, προσηγουμένων ἵψομαι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσω, καὶ ἔσω σοι.

† Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γινομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἑταίρος τις τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλίτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστιχία ὑποψαλλίτω.

‡ Vid. Augustini Psalmum contra Partem Donati, tom. vii. p. 5. seqq. — Retractat. lib. i. c. xx. Omnes, qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate.

their morning-processions, says,* “They divided themselves into parts, and sung after the manner of *antiphona*, or ‘alternate song;’ adding in the close their acroteleutics, framed and modelled after their own way of glorification.” Where, as Valesius rightly observes,† “It is plain ‘acroteleutic’ is but another name for the *Gloria Patri*, which they added at the end of the Psalms, but perversely modelled to favour their own heresy; not saying, ‘Glory be to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;’ but ‘Glory be to the Father, *by* the Son, and *in* the Holy Ghost.’” Again, Sozomen, speaking of the psalmody with which the Christians brought the body of the martyr Babylas from Daphne to Antioch, in the time of Julian, says,‡ “They who were best skilled, began the psalms; and the multitude answered them with one harmonious consent, making these words the ‘epode’ of their psalmody, ‘Confounded be all they that worship graven images, and boast themselves in images or idol-gods;’” meaning that this sentence was frequently repeated in the several pauses of their psalmody; which the ancients, we see, sometimes called an ‘epode’ or ‘diapsalm;’ like that of Psalm cvii., “O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that he doth for the children of men;” which, in the distinct parts of that one psalm, is four times repeated.

SECT. XIII.—*An Answer to an Objection made against the People's bearing a Part in the Psalmody.*

From all this, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the people generally had a share in the psalmody of the ancient Church; and that this was not an exercise strictly

* Sozom. lib. viii. c. viii. Κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἑψάλλον, ἀκροτελιούτια συνεικίζοντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πεισιμαρμένω. (Cant. 336.)

† Vales. in loc. Suffridus Petrus, qui tres postremos Sozomeni libros Latine interpretatus est, ἀκροτελιούτια vertit ‘corollaria.’ Ego ‘clausulas’ vertere malui. Intelligit autem Sozomenus doxologias Arianorum, quas ad calcem hymnorum canere solebant hoc modo, ‘Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto,’ uti docet Philostorgius, in lib. iii. Historiæ.

‡ Sozom. lib. v. c. xix. (pp. 210, 34.) Ἐξῆρχον δὲ τῶν ψαλμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ ταύτους ἀκριβοῦντες, καὶ ζυμπαύχμι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ· καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπῆδον· ἡρχύνθησαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνῶντες τοῖς ἡγουμένω, οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τοῖς ὑπόλοιποις.

confined to the canonical singers, or any particular order in the Church, but that men, women, and children, were all allowed to bear a part in it, under the direction and conduct of precentors, or those who presided in this, and all other offices of the Church; therefore the reflection which I have formerly made upon Cabassutius*—I cannot choose but here again repeat—who charges this way of singing as a mere novelty and Protestant whim, because it differs from the present practice of his own Church, though it be exactly agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church in all its several methods, and in all ages since the apostles. Neither is there any one thing can be objected against it, save a single canon of the Council of Laodicea,^b which forbids all others to sing in the church, except only the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, or ‘reading-desk,’ and sung out of a book. This I have explained to be only a temporary provision of a provincial council, designed to restore or revive the ancient psalmody, when it might be, in some measure, corrupted or neglected, and not intended to abridge or destroy the primitive liberty of the people: or, if any thing more was intended by it, it was an order that never took place in the practice of the Church: it being evident, beyond all contradiction, from what has now been said, that the people always enjoyed their ancient privilege of joining in this Divine harmony, and were encouraged in it by the greatest luminaries of the Church.

SECT. XIV.—*Psalmody always performed in the Standing Posture.*

To proceed then: we are to consider further, that psalmody was always esteemed a considerable part of devotion; and upon that account was usually, if not always, performed by those that were engaged in it, in the standing posture. Cassian, indeed, seems to make an exception in the way of the monasteries of Egypt; but his exception helps to clear

* Book iii. chap. vii. sect. ii.

^b Conc. Laodic. c. xv. Μὴ διὺν πλὴν τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἰτίρους τινας ψάλλον ἐν ἱερεσίᾳ. (i. 1500.)

the contrary rule, and shews also, that their devotion was, in the main, performed in the standing-posture; for he says,^c “ Though by reason of their continual fastings and labour night and day, they were unable to stand all the time while twelve psalms were reading, yet they that read, in course, always stood up to read, and at the last psalm they all stood up,^d and repeated it alternately, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the end.” In other places, it was always the custom to stand, as is plain, not only from this exception, but from the testimony of St. Austin,^e who speaks of the psalmody as an act of devotion, which all the people performed standing in the Church.

SECT. XV.—*Of the Use of Plain Song, and its Commendation, among the Ancients.*

As to the voice, or pronunciation, used in singing, it was of two sorts: the plain song, and the more artificial and elaborate tuning of the voice to greater variety of sounds and measures. The plain song was only with a little gentle inflection, and agreeable turn of the voice, with a proper accent, not much different from reading, and much resembling the musical way of reading the Psalms now in our cathedral churches. This was the way of singing at Alexandria in the time of Athanasius: for St. Austin says,^f “ He ordered the reader to sing the psalm with so little inflection, or variation of the tone, that it looked more like reading than singing.” And this St. Austin^g seems to intimate to

^c Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xii. Absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. Ita namque jejuniis et operatione totius diei noctisque lassuescunt, ut nisi hujusmodi refectione adjuventur, ne hunc quidem numerum [psalmodum duodenarium] stantes implere valeant. (24.)

^d Ibid. c. viii. Illud etiam in hac provincia vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi, omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, ‘ Gloria Patri,’ &c.

^e Aug. Serm. iii. in Psalm. xxxvi. p. 122. Certe ne verum est, quod cantavi; certe verum est, quod in ecclesia stans tam devota voce personui, &c.

^f Ibid. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. Tutius mihi videtur, quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio sæpe mihi dictum commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset, quam canenti.

^g Ibid. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xviii. Pleraque in Africa ecclesiæ membra pigriora sunt: ita ut Donatistæ nos reprehendant, quod sobrie psallimus, &c.

have been the common way of the African Churches, as most agreeable to the slow genius of the African people: whence some of the warmer Donatists made it a matter of objection, that the Catholics sung the Divine hymns of the prophets soberly in the church, whilst they sung their own psalms, of human composition, in a ranting way, and even trumpeted out, like men that were drunk, their own exhortations. St. Austin does not speak this, as if he wholly disapproved the other more artificial and melodious way of singing, but only as it was intemperately abused by many, and particularly by the Donatists. For, otherwise, he commends this way of singing, as very useful to raise the affections, when performed with a clear voice and a convenient sweetness of melody; and says,^b “It was that that melted him into tears, when he first heard it in the beginning of his conversion, in the church of St. Ambrose.”

SECT. XVI. — *Artificial and melodious Tuning of the Voice allowed in Singing, when managed with Sobriety and Discretion.*

This plainly implies, that the artificial and melodious way of singing, with variety of notes for greater sweetness, was used and allowed, as well as plain song, in the Italic Churches; and they mistake St. Austin, who think he speaks in commendation of the one, to the derogation of the other; for he professes to admire both ways for their usefulness, and particularly the more melodious way, for this, *Ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat*, ‘That weaker minds may be raised to affections of piety, by the delight and entertainment of their ears;’ and, whilst it kept within due bounds, there is nothing plainer than that it had the general approbation of pious men throughout the Church.

^b Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. Verumtamen cum reminiscor lacrimas meas, quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiæ tuæ, in primordiis recuperatæ fidei meæ, et nunc ipso quod moveor, non cantu, sed rebus quæ cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem rursus agnosco. Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis, magisque adducor, non quidem irretractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesia; ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis adsurgat. (Antuerp. 1700, i. 141.)

SECT. XVII. — *No Objection made against Psalms and Hymns of human Composition, barely as such.*

Neither was it any objection against the psalmody of the Church, that she sometimes made use of psalms and hymns of human composition, besides those of the sacred and inspired writers. For though St. Austin, as we have just heard before, reflect upon the Donatists for their psalms of human composition, yet it was not merely because they were human, but because they preferred them to the Divine hymns of Scripture, and their indecent way of chanting them to the grave and sober method of the Church. St. Austin himself made a psalm of many parts, in imitation of Psalm cxix.; as has been observed above in this chapter, sect. xii.; and this he did for the use of his people, to preserve them from the errors of Donatus. And it would be absurd to think, that he who made a psalm himself for the people to sing, should quarrel with other psalms, merely because they were of human composition. It has been demonstrated, in the fifth chapter of the last Book, that there were always such psalms, and hymns, and doxologies, composed by pious men, and used in the Church from the first foundation of it; nor did any, but Paulus Samosatensis, except against the use of them: which he did not neither because they were of human composition, but because they contained a doctrine contrary to his own private opinions. St. Hilary and St. Ambrose made many such hymns, which, when some muttered against in the Spanish Churches, because they were of human composition, the fourth Council of Toledo¹ made a decree to confirm the use of them, together with the doxology, “Glory be to the Father,” &c., and “Glory be to God on high,” threatening excommunication to any that should reject

¹ Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio compositi in laudem Dei, et apostolorum ac martyrum triumphos esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis Sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt. Respuant ergo et illum hymnum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, ‘Gloria et honor Patri,’ &c. . . . Sicut igitur orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos, nullus vestrum ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Galicia Hispaniaque celebret: excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi. (v. 1709.)

them. The only thing of weight to be urged against all this, is a canon of the Council of Laodicea,¹ which forbid all *ιδιωτικούς ψαλμούς*, 'private psalms,' and all uncanonical books, to be read in the Church. For it might seem, that, by private psalms, they mean all hymns of human composition; but it was intended rather to exclude apocryphal psalms, such as went under the name of Solomon, as Balsamon and Zonaras understand it; or else such as were not approved by public authority in the Church. If it be extended further, it contradicts the current practice of the whole Church besides, and cannot, in reason, be construed as any more than a private order for the Churches of that province, made upon some particular reasons unknown to us at this day. Notwithstanding, therefore, any argument to be drawn from this canon, it is evident the ancients made no scruple of using psalms, or hymns, of human composition, provided they were pious and orthodox for the substance, and composed by men of eminence, and received by just authority, and not brought in clandestinely into the Church.

SECT. XVIII. — *But two Corruptions severely inveighed against. First, Over great Niceness and Curiosity in Singing, in Imitation of the Modes and Music of the Theatre.*

But there were some disorders and irregularities always apt to creep into this practice, and corrupt the psalmody and devotions of the Church, and against these the fathers frequently declaim, with many sharp and severe invectives. Chiefly they complain of the lightness and vain curiosity which some used in singing, who took their measures from the mean and practice of the theatres, introducing from thence the corruptions and effeminacy of secular music into the grave and solemn devotions of the Church. We have heard St. Chrysostom before^k complaining of men's using theatrical noise and gestures, both in their prayers and

¹ Conc. Laodic. c. lix. (i. 5007.) "Ὅτι οὐ δὲ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμούς λίγισθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκατόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς κατ' οὐκὴς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.

^k Book xiii. chap. viii. sect. xi. litt. (n).

hymns: and here I shall add the reflection which St. Jerom makes upon those words of the apostle (Ephes. v.)¹ “Singing, and making melody in your hearts, to the Lord.” “Let young men hear this: let those hear it, who have the office of singing in the Church, that they sing not with their voice, but with their heart, to the Lord; not like tragedians physically preparing their throat and mouth, that they may sing after the fashion of the theatre in the church. He that has but an ill voice, if he has good works, is a sweet singer before God.”

SECT. XIX. — *And, Secondly, Pleasing the Ear, without raising the Affections of the Soul.*

The other vice complained of, was the regarding more the music of the words, and sweetness of the composure, than the sense and meaning of them; pleasing the ear, without raising the affections of the soul, which was the true reason for which psalmody and music was intended. St. Jerom takes notice of this corruption in the same place, giving this caution against it:^m “Let the servant of Christ so order his singing, that the words that are read, may please more than the voice of the singer: that the spirit that was in Saul, may be cast out of them who are possessed with it, and not find admittance in those who have turned the house of God into a stage and theatre of the people.” St. Austinⁿ confesses he was for some time thus moved to a faulty complacency in the sweetness of the song, more than the matter that was sung; and then he rather wished not to have heard the voice of the

¹ Hieron. in Ephes. v. (tom. vi. opp. p. 188, edit. Paris. 1693.) Audiant hæc adolescentuli: audiant hi quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, Deo non voce, sed corde cantandum: nec in tragediorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica, sed in timore, in opere, in scientia Scripturarum. Quamvis sit aliquis, ut solent illi appellare *κακίφωνος*, si bona opera habuerit, dulcis apud Deum cantus est. (vii. 652.)

^m Ibid. Sic cantet servus Christi, ut non vox canentis, sed verba placeant quæ leguntur: ut spiritus malus, qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab his, qui similiter ab eo possidentur, et non introducatur in eos, qui de Dei domo scenam fecere populorum.

ⁿ Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. Quum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus, quam res quæ canitur, moveat, pœnaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallet non audire cantantem. (i. 141.)

singer. St. Isidore of Pelusium^o brings the charge of these abuses more especially against women, and goes so far as to say, that though the apostle had allowed them to sing in the church, yet the perverse and licentious use they made of this liberty, was a sufficient reason why they should be totally debarred from it. And some are of opinion, that it was abuses of this kind, in excess, and not in defect, that made the Council of Laodicea forbid all but the canonical singers to sing in the church; as thinking that they might be better regulated and restrained from such abuses by the immediate dependence they had upon the rulers of the Church. But the experience of later ages rather proves, that this was not the true way to reform such abuses; since there are greater complaints, made by considering men, of the excesses committed in church-music, after it was wholly given up to the management of canonical singers, than there were before. Witness the complaints made by Polydore Vergil,^p Maldonat,^q Durantus,^r and others in the Romish Church, and

^o Isidor. lib. i. epist. xc. Τὰς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις φλυαρίας καταπαύσαι βουλόμενοι οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολοι, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν παιδευταὶ καταστάσιως, ψάλλον ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς γυναικας συνιτῶς συνιχώρησαν· ἀλλ' (ὡς) πάντα εἰς τοῦναντίον ἱεράκη τὰ Διοφώρα διδάγματα, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ἑκλυσιν καὶ ἁμαρτίας ὑπόθεσιν τοῖς πλείοσι γίγοντι· καὶ κατάνυξιν μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων ὕμνων οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν· τῇ δὲ τοῦ μίλους ἡδύνητι εἰς ἱερθεμὸν παθημάτων χρώμενοι, οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἁμαρτῶν λογίζονται· χρεὶ τίνυν, εἰ μίλλοιμιν τὸ τῷ Θεῷ ἀρίσκον ζῆτιν, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ποιῆν, παύειν ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ᾄδης, καὶ τῆς ἐν πόλει μονῆς, ὡς χρῆστο-καπῆλους, καὶ τὸ θείον χάρισμα μισθὸν ἀπωλείας ἐργαζομένας.

^p Polydor. Vergil. de Rer. Invent. lib. vi. c. ii. p. 359, (p. 108, edit. Lugd. 1594.) Hodie nihilo plus e republica nostra esse apparet, quando cantores nostri ita in templis constrepunt, ut nihil præter vocem audiatur, et qui intersunt ejusmodi vocum concentui, quo eorum aures maxime calent, contenti, de vi verborum minime curant. Unde eo ventum est, ut apud vulgus omnis fere Divini cultus ratio in istis cantoribus sita esse videatur; quos bona pars populi, ut audiat, in sacras ædes velut in theatrum concurrat, eos pretio conducit, eos fovet, eos denique solos domui Dei ornamento esse existimat: tanto molliores et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et fictæ vocolæ vulgus magis delectant, quam certæ et planæ: ac ei gravior est sonus, qui tremulo e guttore funditur, quam qui cum gravitate editur.

^q Maldonat. de vii. Sacramentis, tom. ii. p. 238. Nimis delectati homines musica, cœperunt minore gravitate canere et majore studio, quam decebat, in ecclesia. Qua de re conqueruntur omnes antiqui auctores, qui de hac re aliquid scribunt, &c.

^r Durant. de Ritib. lib. iii. c. xxi. p. 491, edit. Lugd. 1675. Hodie, dolenter refero, in ecclesiis musici, qui cantorum vice funguntur, hominum omnium dissolutissimi sunt: adeo ut adagium populo dederit, musice vivere, hoc est, dissolute

Bishop Wettenhal,* in the Protestant communion: which it is none of my business, in this place, any further to pursue.

CHAPTER II.

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE MOST NOTED HYMNS IN USE IN THE SERVICE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Of the Lesser Doxology, "Glory be to the Father," &c.*

BUT there is one thing more may be of use for the better understanding the psalmody of the ancient Church, which is, to give a distinct account of the most noted hymns that made a part of her service. Among these, one of the most ancient and common was that which was called 'the lesser doxology,' "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." Concerning which we are to note, in the first place, that it was something shorter than it is now; for the most ancient form of it was only a single sentence, without a response, running in these words: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." Part of the later clause, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be," was inserted some time after the first composition. This appears from the most ancient form used both in the Greek and Latin Church without those words in it. The fourth Council of Toledo (an. 633) reads it thus:^a "Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." Where we may observe, that not

et effeminate. Hos e choro dejici optabat Lindanus, lib. iv. Panopliæ c. lxxviii. Optabat item in ecclesiis cathedralibus eligi cantores psalmodum intelligentes, et Deum vitâ simul et voce moderata potius, quam incondito garritu, laudantes, &c.

* Wettenhal, Gift of Singing, chap. i. pp. 277, 247.

^a Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xii. (xiii. ap. Labb. tom. v. p. 1710.) In fine omnium psalmodum dicimus, 'Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'

only the words, "As it was in the beginning," &c., are omitted, but the word 'honour' is added to 'glory,' according to another decree made in that Council;^b that it should not be said, as heretofore some did, "Glory be to the Father," but "Glory and honour be to the Father:" forasmuch as the prophet David says, "Bring glory and honour to the Lord," (Psalm xxviii. 2.) And John the evangelist, in the Revelations, heard the voice of the heavenly host, saying, "Honour and glory be to our God, who sitteth on the throne," (Rev. v. 13.) From whence they conclude, that it ought to be said on earth, as it is sung in heaven. The Mosarabic liturgy, which was used in Spain a little after this time, has it in the very same form.^c "Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." Which shews, that that was the received way of using this hymn in the Spanish Churches. The Greek Church also, for several ages, used it after the same manner: only they did not insert the word 'honour,' which seems to be peculiar to the Spanish Church. Athanasius, or whoever was the author of the Treatise of Virginité among his works, repeats it thus:^d "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." And Strabo says of the Greeks in general, that they omitted those words in the latter clause,^e "As it was in the beginning." So that it is

^b Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiv. al. c. xv. In fine psalmorum non sicut a quibusdam hucusque, 'Gloria Patri,' sed 'Gloria et honor Patri' dicatur, David propheta dicente (Psalm. xxviii. 2), Adferre Domino gloriam et honorem. Et Joanne evangelista, in Apocalypsi (c. v. 13): Audivi vocem cœlestis exercitus dicentem, 'Honor et gloria Deo nostro sedenti in throno: ac per hoc hæc duo sic oportet in terris dici, sicut in cœlis resonant.' (v. 1710.)

^c Missa Mozarab. in Nativ. Christi ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. p. 453. Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

^d Athanas. de Virginit. p. 1051, (tom. ii. p. 218, c. edit. Paris. 1698.) Δόξα Πατρί, καὶ Τῷ, καὶ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

^e Strabo de Reb. Eccles. c. xxv. (Bibl. Patr. tom xv. p. 195, c. ed. Lugd. 1677.) Dicendum de hymno, qui ob honorem sanctæ et unicæ Trinitatis officiis omnibus interseritur, eum a sanctis patribus aliter atque aliter ordinatum. Nam Hispani (sicut superius commemoravimus) ita eum dici omnimodis voluerunt. Græci autem, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' Latini vero eodem ordine et eisdem verbis hunc hymnum decantant, addentes tantum in medio, 'sicut erat in principio.'

not easy to tell what time they first began to be used in it. Some say, the Council of Nice ordered them to be inserted against Arius: others, that the Church, by common consent, admitted them, in compliance with the doctrine of that Council, to confront the Arian tenet, which asserted, "That the Son was not in the beginning; and that there was a time when he was not." But, if so, it is strange we should not hear of this additional part of the hymn, in any Greek or Latin writer, for above two whole centuries after. The first express mention that is made of it, is in the second Council of Vaison (an. 529), which says,^f "It was then so used at Rome, and in Italy, and Afric, and all the East; and therefore is now so ordered to be used in the French Churches." Whence it is plain, it was not in the French Churches before. And there is reason to conjecture, that the *East* is here put for the *West*, by a mistake of some transcriber; since it appears from Strabo, that, in his time, the custom of the Greek Church was still otherwise: and how long it had been the custom of the Western Churches, before the time of this Council, is uncertain. The Spanish Churches, as we have seen, did not admit it till afterwards.

There goes an epistle, indeed, under the name of St. Jerome, to Pope Damasus, which, if it were genuine, would make this addition more ancient, than now it can be allowed to be: for there he advises Damasus to order,^g "That in the Roman Church, at the end of every psalm, there should be added, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.'" But this epistle is rejected as spurious by learned men of all sides—Bellar-

^f Conc. Vas. II. al. III. c. v. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1680.) Quia non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totum Orientem, et totam Africam, vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, qui Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore cœpisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post 'Gloria Patri,' &c. 'sicut erat in principio, dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita dicendum esse decernimus.

^g Hieron. Epist. ad Damas. inter Decreta Damasi, ap. Crab. tom. i. p. 383. (ap. Labb. tom. ii. Conc. p. 868.) Precatur cliens tuus, ut vox ista psallentium in sede tua Romana, die noctuque canatur, et in fine psalmi cujuslibet sive matutinis vel vespertinis horis conjungi præcipiat apostolatus tui ordo, 'Gloria Patri,' &c.

min, Baronius, Bona, and others of the Romanists, as well as Protestants in general, because it contradicts the known practice of the Roman Church in another particular: for at Rome they did not use the *Gloria Patri*, at the end of every psalm, long after this, in the time of Walafridus Strabo;^h neither do they now by the Rubrics of the Roman Breviary, at this day: whereas, if Damasus had made those orders, as this epistle directs, the *Gloria Patri* would have been used at Rome at the end of every psalm; which it was not, either there or in any of the Eastern Churches, but only in France, and some few other Churches; as we have heard before in the last chapter.

There was another small difference in the use of this ancient hymn, which yet made no dispute among Catholics, till the rise of the Arian heresy, and then it occasioned no small disturbance. The Catholics themselves, of old, were wont to say, some, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" others, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost;" and others, "Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost." Now these different ways of expressing, were all allowed, so long as no heterodox opinion was suspected to be couched under them; as Valesiusⁱ has observed in his notes upon Socrates and Theodoret; and St. Basil^k shews more at large in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*. But when Arius had broached his heresy in the world, his followers would use no

^h Strabo de Reb. Eccles. c. xxv. (Bibl. Patr. p. 195, d. cit. edit.) Romanum (hymnum) in psalmis rarius, in responsoriis iterant.

ⁱ Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxi. (C. p. 105.) Intelligit Socrates *δοξολογίας*, quæ leguntur in fine sermonum Eusebii, quas perpetua ita concipit Eusebius, 'Gloria non nato Patri per Filium suum unigenitum,' &c. Atque id perspicere licet in opusculis Eusebii, quæ Jacobus Sirmondus in lucem edidit. Exempli gratia, in fine libri primi contra Sabellium hæc leguntur verba; 'Gloria uni non nato Deo, per unum unigenitum Deum, Filium Dei, in uno Spiritu Sancto, et nunc, et semper, et per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' Et sic in ceteris. . . . Porro notum est, Arianos præpositionem illam, 'per quem,' attribuisse Filio, eo consilio, ut illum Patri subjicerent. — Id. in Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxiv. In fine orationum et sermonum ad populum, antiqui patres fere dicebant *δι' οὗ*, 'per quem Omnipotenti honor et gloria,' &c. ut videre est, tum apud Basilium in dicto loco, tum in Opusculis Eusebii Pamphili a Jacobo Sirmondo olim editis. (Cant. 106.)

^k Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cc. vii. xxv. et xxix. tot.

other form of glorification but the last, and made it a distinguishing character of their party to say, "Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son, and Holy Ghost:" intending hereby to denote, that the Son and Holy Ghost were inferior to the Father in substance, and, as creatures, of a different nature from him; as Sozomen¹ and other ancient writers inform us. And from this time it became scandalous, and brought any one under the suspicion of heterodoxy, to use it, because the Arians had now, as it were, made it the shibboleth of their party. Philostorgius, indeed, says,^m "That the usual form of the Catholics was a novelty, and that Flavian, at Antioch, was the first that brought in this form of saying, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.' Whereas all before him, said either, 'Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost:' or, 'Glory be to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.'" But this is no more than what one might expect from the partiality of an Arian historian; and it is abundantly confuted by the ancient testimonies which St. Basil produces in his own vindication, against some who charged him with the like innovation: in answer to which, he says:ⁿ "He did no more than what was done before by Irenæus, Clemens Romanus, the two Dionysii of Rome and Alexandria, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Origen, Africanus, Athenogenes, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian, and Meletius, and what was done in the prayers of the Church, and with the consent of all the Eastern and Western Churches." Which would make a man amazed to hear Cardinal Bona charging St. Basil as blameworthy,^o for displeasing the Catholics in

¹ Sozomen. lib. iii. c. xx. Οἱ δὲ ἰδιόαζον Πατέρα ἐν Τίῳ, ὅτι παρεκείλει τοῦ προθέ-
ματος, διουσιεῖν τὸν Τὸν ἀποφαίνοντες.

^m Philostorg. lib. iii. c. xiii. "Οτι φησι τὸν Ἀντιοχείας Φλαβιανὸν, πλῆθος μα-
ταχῶν συναγαγόντα, πρῶτον ἀναβῆσαι, Δόξα Πατρὶ, καὶ Τίῳ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι·
τὸν γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν, Δόξα Πατρὶ, δι' Τίῳ, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, λίγους· καὶ
ταῦτα μᾶλλον τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ἐκτελεῖν τοὺς δὲ, Δόξα Πατρὶ, ἐν Τίῳ, καὶ ἁγίῳ
Πνεύματι. (Cant. 495.)

ⁿ Basil. de Spirit. Sancto. c. xxix. (tom. ii. opp. pp. 360-362, edit. Paris. 1637.)

^o Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. iii. n. ii. Primus, qui hymnum glorificationis
mutavit, Aëtius fuisse dicitur, ecclesiae Antiochenae diaconus, Arianismi instaura-
tor, sic cani instituens, 'Gloria Patri, per Filium, in Spiritu Sancto:' quae verba licet
per se nullam haeresin contineant, subdole tamen ab Arianis usurpabantur, ut

using the form of the heterodox party; when it is plain, it was the heterodox party that quarrelled with him for using the Catholic form of the Church. And yet, though he blames St. Basil without grounds, telling us, "That a Catholic doctor ought to be without rebuke, and abstain from terms that have a suspected sense, and offend pious ears;" yet he has nothing to say to Pope Leo, who, if either, was more certainly liable to his censure, for using the Arian form of doxology, though in a Catholic sense, in one of his Christmas sermons, which he thus words,^p "Let us give thanks, beloved, to the Father, by his Son, in the Holy Ghost." St. Basil never used this suspected form (though he says it might be used with an orthodox meaning) but always, "Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and Holy Ghost." for which he was charged by some heterodox men as an innovator; but there was no room for Bona's censure.

Having thus stated the ancient form and modification of this hymn in its first original, and subsequent progress that it made in the Church, we are next to see to what use it was applied, and in what parts of Divine service. And here we may observe, that it was a hymn of most general use, and a doxology offered to God in the close of every solemn office. The Western Church repeated it at the end of every psalm; and the Eastern Church, at the end of the last psalm; as we have seen in the former chapter. Many of their prayers were also concluded with it, as we shall find in various instances, in the following parts of this and the next Book; particularly the solemn thanksgiving, or consecration-prayer at the eucharist, to which Irenæus^q and Tertul-

illorum æquivocatione suam impietatem celarent. Illis in sensu orthodoxo usus est Leo (serm. i. de Nativitate) dicens, 'Agamus, dilectissimi, gratias Deo Patri per Filium ejus in Spiritu Sancto.' At vero Basilius, quum iisdem verbis sermonem ad populum conclusisset, Catholicis displicuit, et pro illorum defensione librum apologeticum edidit, quem de Spiritu Sancto ad Amphilochem inscripsit, sed non omnibus satisfecit. Adeo verum est, oportere Catholicum doctorem irreprehensibilem esse, et a vocibus abstinere, quæ communiter suspectæ habentur, et pias aures offendunt, quamvis veræ sint et orthodoxæ in eo sensu, quo scribentes vel prædicantes eas concipiunt et docent. Ideo apostolus Timotheo præcepit, ut 'depositum custodiret, et profanas vocum novitates devitaret.'

^p Leo Sermon. i. de Nativitate. cit. Bona l. c. Agamus, dilectissimi, gratias Deo Patri, per Filium ejus, in Spiritu Sancto.

^q Iren. lib. i. c. i. n. v. p. 16. Καὶ τὸν Παῦλον φανερώτατα λίγουσι, τοὺς δὲ

lian' refer, when they mention the close of it, ending in these words, αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, 'world without end. Amen:'—the whole doxology commonly running thus: "To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all glory, worship, thanksgiving, honour, and adoration, now and for ever, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen:"—as it is in the Constitutions.* Or, if the prayer ended, "By the intercession of Christ," then it was, "To whom with thee," or "With whom, unto thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, &c. world without end. Amen."† This was also the ordinary conclusion of their sermons, "That we may obtain eternal life through Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and power, world without end;" as may be seen in the Homilies of Chrysostom, Austin, Leo, and all others: of which more in the fourth chapter of this Book.

SECT. II. — *Of the Great Doxology, "Glory be to God on High."*

Another hymn of great note in the ancient Church, was that which they commonly called 'the angelical hymn,' or 'great doxology,' beginning with those words which the angels sung at our Saviour's birth, "Glory be to God on High," &c. This was chiefly used in the communion-service, as it is now in our Church: and there we shall speak of it again in its proper place. It was also used at morning-prayer, daily, at men's private devotions: as I have shewed before out of Athanasius and the Constitutions, where the reader may

Αἰῶνας ὀνομάζουσιν πολλάκις, ἵτι διὰ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν τιτηρηθεῖναι, οὕτως εἰπόμενα, "εἰς πάσας τὰς γενιάς τῶν αἰώνων τοῦ αἰῶνος." ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, "εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων," ἐκείνους τοὺς αἰῶνας σημαίνουσιν.

* Tertul. de Spectac. c. xxv. Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei, in diaboli ecclesiam tendere? de cælo (quod aiunt) in cœnum? illas manus, quas ad Deum extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo et Christo. (Paris. 1664, p. 83.)

† Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. "Ὅτι σοι πᾶσα δόξα, εἰςας καὶ εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελπιστοὺς καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. (i. 484.)

† Ibid. c. xiii. Μὴ οὐ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, αἶνος, δοξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

find it repeated at length, under the title of *προσευχὴ ἑωθινή*, ‘the morning-prayer.’^u In the Mozarabic liturgy, it is appointed to be sung in public, before the lessons on Christmas-day. St. Chrysostom^v often mentions it, and in one place particularly observes of those who retired from the world to lead an ascetic life,^x “That they met together daily to sing their morning-hymns with one mouth to God, among which they sung this angelical hymn with the angels in heaven.” But I have observed before, that this was not the common practice of all Churches, to sing it every day at morning-prayer, but only in the communion-service; or at least only upon Sundays, and Easter-day, and such greater festivals of the Church. Who first composed this hymn, adding the remaining part to the words sung by the angels, is uncertain. Some^y suppose it to be as ancient as the time of Lucian, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and is thought to mean it in one of his Dialogues, where he speaks of the ‘hymn with many names,’ *πολυώνυμον ῥῆδην*, as used by the Christians; others take it for the *Gloria Patri*: which is a dispute as difficult to be determined, as it is to find out the first author and original of this hymn. And all I shall say further of it, is only what was said heretofore by the fourth Council of Toledo,^z against some who rejected the

^u See Book xiii. chap. x. sect. ix.

^v Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. p. 1337, (p. 176, edit. Francof.) *Εὐχαριστοῦντες λέγομεν, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*
— Id. Hom. ix. in Coloss. p. 1380, (p. 228, d. edit. cit.) *Τίς ὁ ὕμνος τῶν ἁγίων, Ἰησοῦ οἱ πιστοί· τί λέγου τὰ χειροῦς ἡμῶν; τί ἔλπιον οἱ ἄγγελοι [πάτερ]; Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ.*

^x Ibid. Hom. lxviii. al. lxix. in Matth. p. 600, (p. 740, edit. Francof.) *Τί τῶν ἀγγέλων οὗτος διόστηκεν ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ᾄδόντων καὶ λεγόντων; Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*

^y Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 226. This I conjecture to be the ῥῆδὴν *πολυώνυμος* mentioned by Lucian, &c.

^z Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (tom. v. Conc. pp. 1709, 1710.) *Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non exsistunt: respuant ergo et illum hymnum, ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, ‘Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.’ Nam et ille hymnus, quem nato in carne Christo angeli cecinerunt, ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax*

hymns of St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, and others, because they were of human composition: "That, by the same reason, they might have rejected both the lesser doxology, 'Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' which was composed by men; and also this greater doxology, part of which was sung by the angels, at our Saviour's birth, 'Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will:.' " so they read it, as many other Greek and Latin writers did; but the rest that follows, was composed and added to it by the doctors of the Church.

SECT. III.—*Of the Trisagion, or 'Cherubical Hymn,'
'Holy, Holy, Holy,' &c.*

A third hymn, of great note in the Church, was the 'cherubical hymn,' or the *trisagion*, as it was called, because of the thrice repeating "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts," in imitation of the seraphims in the vision of Isaiah. The original form of this hymn was in these words: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory, who art blessed for ever. Amen." Thus it is in the Constitutions,^a and frequently in St. Chrysostom, who says always,^b "That it was in the same words that the seraphims sung it in Isaiah." Afterward the Church added some words to it, and sung it in this form, "Ἁγίος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us.' This form is ascribed by some to Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, and Theo-

hominibus bonæ voluntatis; reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur, ecclesiastici doctores composuerunt. Ergo nec idem in ecclesiis canendus est, quia in Scripturarum Sanctorum libris non invenitur.

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. "Ἁγίος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβᾶθ. πλήρης ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ ἡ γῆ, τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. ὑμνοῦντες αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. (i. 480, A.)

^b Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Esaiæ, tom. iii. p. 834, (p. 724, edit. Francof.) "Ἄνω τὰ Σεραφίμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναβοῶν· κάτω τὸν αὐτὸν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνατίμωσι πληθύνει· κοινὴ τῶν ἰσχυρανῶν καὶ ἰσχυρίων συγκροτεῖται πανήγυρις.— Id. Hom. vi. in Seraph. ibid. p. 890, (p. 772, fin. 773, invent. edit. cit.)—Vid. cit. lib. xv. c. iii. sect. x. et passim. Vid. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. v. n. v. (p. 537.) Μημνησόμενοι καὶ τῶν Χερουζίμ, ἃ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἰδίστατο Ἡσαΐας παριστηνόμενος πύκλῳ τοῦ Θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ πτέρυξι· κατακαλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ πτερόμιναι, καὶ λέγοντα, Ἁγίος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβᾶθ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθῆσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν Σεραφίμ θιολογίαν ταύτην λέγομεν, ὅπως κοινωνοὶ τῆς ὑμνωδίας ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίαις γνώμεθα στρατιαῖς.

dosius Junior (an. 446); and in this form, not long after, we find it used by the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon,^c in their condemnation of Dioscorus. Which is also noted by Damascen, who says,^d the Church used this form to declare her faith in the Holy Trinity, applying the title of “Holy God to the Father, and Holy Mighty to the Son, and Holy Immortal to the Holy Ghost;” not as excluding any of the three Persons from each of these titles, but in imitation of the apostle, who says, “To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.” And thus this hymn continued to be applied to the whole Trinity, till Anastasius, the emperor, as some say,^e or, as others relate,^f Peter Gnapheus, bishop of Antioch, caused the words, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς, ‘that was crucified for us,’ to be added to it; which was intended to bring in the heresy of the Theopaschites, who asserted that the Divine Nature itself suffered upon the cross, and was in effect to say, that the whole Trinity suffered, because this hymn was commonly applied to the whole Trinity. To avoid this inconvenience, one Calandio, bishop of Antioch, in the time of Zeno, the emperor, made another addition to it, of the words, “Christ, our King,” reading it thus: “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Christ, our King, that wast

^c Conc. Chalced. Act. i. tom. iii. (Conc. tom. iv. p. 324, b.) “Ἁγίος ὁ Θεός, ἄγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἄγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλήσων ἡμᾶς.

^d Damascen. de Orth. Fide, lib. iii. c. x. ‘Ἡμεῖς τὸ, ἄγιος ὁ Θεός, ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκλαμβάνομεν, οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὸ τῆς Θεότητος ἀφορίζοντες ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Τίον Θεὸν εἰδότες, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὸ, ἄγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίου τίθμεν, οὐκ ἀπαμφινύντες τῆς ἰσχύος τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ τὸ, ἄγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τάττομεν, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἀθανασίας τίθιντες τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Τίον, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἐκείνης τῶν ὑποστάσεων πάσας τὰς διωνυμίας ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀπολύτως ἐκλαμβάνοντες, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀπόστολον ἐκμιμούμενοι, φάσκοντα· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, ἔξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν Πνεύμα ἁγίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ. (Venet. 1748, i. 218.)

^e Evagr. lib. iii. c. xlv. ‘Ἀνὰ δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιον, προσθήκην τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ Τρισαγίῳ βουλευθέντος ποιήσασθαι, τὸ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς, μισγίσθη στάσις γίγνεται, ὥς τὰ μάλιστα τῆς Χριστιανῆς θρησκείας ἀντιουμένης. (Cant. 380.)

^f Damascen. de Orth. Fide, lib. iii. c. x. ‘Ἐντιῦθιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Τρισαγίῳ προσθήκην ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαίωφρονος Πίτρου τοῦ Γναφίως γιγινήμενι, βλάσφημον ὀρίζομεθα. (p. 218.)

crucified for us, have mercy on us;" as Theodorus Lector^a and other historians inform us. These last additions occasioned great confusion and tumults in the Eastern Church, whilst the Constantinopolitans and Western Churches stiffly rejected them; and some of the European provinces, the better to confront them, and maintain the old way of applying it to the whole Trinity, instead of the words "crucified for us," expressly said, "Holy Trinity, have mercy on us;" as we find it in Ephrem Antiochenus,^b recorded in Photius.

This is the short history and account of the rise and progress of this celebrated hymn in the service of the Church, and of the heretical corruptions and interpolations that were intended to be made upon it. As to its use, it was chiefly sung in the middle of the communion-service, as we shall see more expressly hereafter in the next Book; but it was sometimes used upon other occasions, as we have heard, in the Council of Chalcedon, before. And some Greek ritualistsⁱ tell us, that it was always sung before the reading of the Epistle, which was anciently a part of the service of the catechumens. But, then, they distinguish between the *trisagion* and *epinicion*, or 'triumphal hymn,' calling the

^a Theod. Lect. lib. ii. p. 566. Καλανδῖονα λόγι προσθῆναι τῷ τρισαγίῳ, Χριστὶ βασιλεῦ, διὰ τοὺς προτιθεῖστας ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς.—Cedren. an. 16, Zenonia. Ζήνων δι' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντιθεὶς τῶν τυράννων, ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχίας Καλανδῖονα, καὶ ἐξόρισεν εἰς Ὀσείν, Πίστερον δὲ τὸν Κναφία κατήστησεν ἐν αὐτῇ, δὲ ἰλθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, πολλὰ κακὰ ἐποίησεν . . . πρῶτον δὲ προσέθηκε τῷ τρισαγίῳ, Χριστὶ βασιλεῦ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς ὕστερον δὲ ἰλθὼν, περιεῖλε τὸ, Χριστὶ βασιλεῦ.

^b Photius. Biblioth. Cod. ccxviii. p. 773. Προτάττει δὲ τῆς γυμνασίας τῶν ἱψημέων ῥημάτων, δικαίαν τινὰ τοῦ τρισαγίου ὕμνου· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ζηνόβιος τῆς καινῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸν ἀπὸρρήξας, πρόφασιν ἰδίδου τὴν περὶ τὴν τρισαγίον δοξολογίαν καινοσομίαν φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἐφραίμης τὴν τριακὴν ὕμνολογίαν, τοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀπαστολὴν οἰκοῦντας, εἰς τὸν Κύριον ὕμνον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀναφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἰπυσυνάπτοντας τὸ, "ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς" τοὺς δὲ τὸ Βυζαντίον τε καὶ τὴν ἰσπερίαν νυμμένους, εἰς τὴν ὑπερτάτην καὶ πανίρειον πηγὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος, τὴν ἰμοθύσιον Τριάδα, τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀνάπτειν· διὰ μὴ δ' ἀνέχεσθαι τούτους ἰπυσυνάπτειν τὸ, "ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς" ἵνα μὴ πάθος τῇ Τριάδι περιέλθωσιν ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην Εὐρώπην ἰσπερχαίς ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς," τὸ ἁγία Τριάς "ἰλίθον ἡμᾶς" ἰπάγναι· ἐξ ὧν ἰσπεδηλότερον τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν ἐυσεβούντων καθίστασθαι, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα τὸ "ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος," ἀνάγοιτες, "ἀκριβεῖ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ λόγῳ τὸ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς παραγεγράφονται."

ⁱ German. Theoria Eccles. in Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. ii. p. 145. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναγιγνώσκεται βιβλίον ἀποστολικόν.

simple form, “ Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,” the *epinicion*, which was sung in the communion-service; and the other the *trisagion*, which was sung in the service of the catechumens: but the more ancient writers do not observe this distinction, and therefore I have here put both forms under the common name of the *trisagion*. He that would see this history more at large, may consult Christianus Lupus^k upon the Council of Trullo, and Mr. Allix,^l who has written a peculiar treatise upon the subject.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Allelujah, and Alleluatic Psalms.*

Next to the *trisagion*, there is frequent mention made among the ancient writers, of singing the Allelujah; by which they sometimes mean the repetition of this single word, which signifies ‘ Praise the Lord,’ which they did in imitation of the heavenly host, singing and saying, again and again, Allelujah, (Rev. xix.) Sometimes they mean one of those psalms, which were called ‘ Alleluatic psalms,’^m because they had the word Allelujah prefixed before them in the title, such as the hundred and forty-fifth, and those that follow to the end. The singing of these was sometimes called ‘ singing the Allelujah;’ as has been observed out of Cassian,ⁿ more than once, in the foregoing parts of this and the former Book. But the more common acceptation of Allelujah is for the singing of the word itself, by a frequent solemn repetition of it upon certain days, and in special parts of Divine service; it being a sort of invitatory, or mutual call, to each other, to praise the Lord. Therefore, as St. Austin observes,^o “ They always used it in the Hebrew

^k Lup. Not. in can. lxxi. Trullan.

^l Allix de Trisagio, Rothomagi, 1674, 4to.

^m Aug. in Psalm. cv. p. 505, (tom. viii. opp. p. 1234, edit. Basil. 1569.) Hoc adserunt, quod omnes Alleluatici psalmi habeant in fine Alleluia, non omnes in capite.— Id. in Psalm. cxviii. p. 542, (p. 1322.) Proœmium in psalmum octonarium, vel alphabeticum vel Alleluaticum.

ⁿ Cassian. lib. ii. c. v. duodecimum (psalmum) sub Alleluia responsione consummans.— Cap. xi. Ut in responsione Alleluia nullus dicatur psalmus, nisi is, qui in titulo suo Alleluia inscriptione prænotatur. (P. 24.)

^o Aug. Ep. clxxviii. Sciendum est, Amen et Alleluia, quod nec Latino nec Barbaro licet in suam linguam transferre, Hebræo cunctas gentes vocabulo decantare.— Id. Hom. xvi. ex. l. tom. x. opp. p. 165, (p. 449, edit. Basil.) Nunc

language, because that was the known signification of it." And so it was in our first liturgy, though now we say, "Praise ye the Lord;" with a response of the people, "The Lord's name be praised." Anciently there was no dispute about the lawfulness of the hymn itself, but some variation, and some dispute there was about the times of using it. St. Austin says,^p "In some Churches it was never sung but upon Easter-day, and the fifty days of Pentecost;" but, in other Churches, it was used at other times also. Vigilantius contended fiercely against St. Jerom, that it ought never to be sung but only upon Easter-day.^q And in this he seems to have followed the practice of the Church of Rome, where Sozomen assures us,^r it was never sung but once a-year, and that was upon Easter-day: insomuch that it was the common form of an oath among the Romans, "As they hoped to live to sing Alleluiah on that day." Cardinal Bona^s and Baronius^t are very angry at Sozomen for this; but Valerius honestly ergo, fratres carissimi, exhortamur vos, ut laudetis Deum: et hoc est, quod nos omnes dicimus, 'Alleluia, laudate Deum.'

^p Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xvii. Ut Alleluia per solos dies quinquaginta cantetur in ecclesia, non usquequaque observatur: nam et aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi. (p. 106.) — Id. Epist. lxxxvi. Alioquin quod nullus, non dico Christianus, sed nec insanus dicere auderet, dies illi quinquaginta post Pascha usque ad Pentecosten, quibus non jejunatur, erunt secundum istum a sacrificio laudis alieni, quibus tantummodo diebus in multis ecclesiis, in omnibus autem maxime cantatur Alleluia, quam vocem laudis esse, nullus Christianus, quamlibet imperitus, ignorat. (p. 57.) — Id. in Psalm. cvi. (tom. viii. opp. p. 1247, edit. Basil.) Alleluia quod nobis cantare certo tempore solemniter moris est, secundum ecclesiæ antiquam traditionem. Neque enim et hoc sine sacramento certis diebus cantamus Alleluia. Certis quidem diebus cantamus Alleluia, sed omni die cogitamus. — Serm. cli. de Tempore. (tom. x. opp. p. 935, c. edit. Basil. 1569.) Tempus lætitiæ et quietis et regni, quod significant dies isti, significamus per Alleluia. Quid est Alleluia? Laudate Deum. Sed nondum habemus laudes: in ecclesia frequentantur laudes Dei post resurrectionem; quia nobis erit perpetua laus post resurrectionem nostram. (P. 730.)

^q Hieron. cont. Vigilant. c. i. Exortus est subito Vigilantius, qui dicat . . . nunquam nisi in Pascha Alleluia cantandum.

^r Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. Πάλιν αὐτὸ ἐκάστων ἰτοὺς ἀπαξ ἐν ῥώμῃ τὸ ἀλληλοῦσα ψάλλουσι, κατὰ τὴν πρῶτην ἡμέραν τῆς πασχαλίου ἑορτῆς ὡς πολλοὶς Ῥωμαίων ἔχον ἐῖναι, τοῦτον τὸν ὕμνον ἀξιοθῆναι ἀκοῦσαι τι καὶ ψάλλαι. (Cant. 307, 14.)

^s Bona de Psalm. c. xvi. sect. vii. n. iv. Quidam sequuti Sozomenum existimarunt, ecclesiam Romanam in die duntaxat Dominicæ resurrectionis cecinisse Alleluia: cujus erroris antesignanus fuisse videtur Vigilantius, quem idcirco D. Hieronymus acriter reprehendit.

^t Baron. an. 384, n. xxiii. Quod ad Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem per-

defends him,^u forasmuch as Cassiodore, who was a Roman, reports the same in his *Historia Tripartita*. But we must note, that anciently in those Churches where it was most frequented, there were some exceptions in point of time and season; for, in the time of Lent, it was never used, as appears from St. Austin, who says,^x "That was a time of sorrow," and, therefore, from the beginning of Lent till Easter-day they always omitted it; the ancient tradition of the Church being only to use it at certain seasons. The fourth Council of Toledo^y forbids the use of it not only in Lent, but upon other days of fasting, as particularly upon the first of January, which was then kept a fast in the Spanish Church; because the heathen observed it with great superstition of many idolatrous rites and practices. In the same Council, the Alleluiah is mentioned under the name of *laudes*,^z and appointed to be sung after the reading of the Gospel; which, as Bona^a and Mabillon^b observe, was according to

tinet; hallucinatur plane Sozomenus, dum ait, 'In ea non nisi semel in anno canit solitum Alleluia: nam Vigilantium hæresiarcham ejus institutionis auctorem fuisse, conatumque eam Hierosolymis introducere, testatur Hieronymus, in eo, quem adversus eundem Vigilantium scripsit commentario.

^u Vales. in Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. "Ἀναξὶς ἡ Παύλη"] Reprehendit hoc Baronius ad ann. Christi 384, n. xxiii. Verum argumenta quibus id probare nititur, parum firma mihi videntur. Proinde auctoritatem Sozomeni heic sequi malim, maxime quum Cassiodorus ejus verba retulerit in *Historia Tripartita*. Qui profecto numquam id fecisset, nisi hunc morem vetustum fuisse scisset ecclesiæ Romanæ, ut in ea semel tantum Alleluia caneretur, die scilicet Paschæ.

^x Aug. in Psalm. cx. Venerunt dies, ut jam cantilemus Alleluia, &c. Id. in Psalm. cxlviii. (tom. viii. opp. p. 1728.) Propter hæc duo tempora, unum quod nunc est in tentationibus et tribulationibus hujus vitæ, alterum quod tunc erit in securitate et exultatione perpetua, instituta est nobis etiam celebratio duorum temporum, ante Pascha et post Pascha. . . . Illud tempus in jejuniis et orationibus exercemus; hoc vero tempus, relaxatis jejuniis, in laudibus agimus. Hoc est enim Alleluia, quod cantamus: quod Latine interpretatur, ut nostis, 'Laudate Dominum.'

^y Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xi. In omnibus quadragesimæ diebus (quia tempus non est gaudii sed mœroris) Alleluia non decantetur. . . . Hoc enim ecclesiæ universalis consensio roboravit. In temporibus quoque reliquis, id est, kalendis Januarii, quæ propter errorem gentilitatis aguntur, omnino Alleluia non decantabitur. (v. 1709.)

^z Ibid. c. xi. Laudes ideo evangelium sequuntur propter gloriam Christi, quæ per idem evangelium prædicatur.

^a Baron. Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vi. n. iv. Ad ritum Mozarabicum, quo tunc Hispania utebatur, et longo post tempore viguit, pertinet citatus canon.

^b Mabillon, de Liturgic. Gallican. lib. i. c. iv. n. xii. Garsias Loaisa 'laudum' nomine (in Conc. Tolet.) intelligit hymnum trium puerorum. At certum est,

the Mozarabic rite, for in other Churches it was sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. It was also sung at funerals, as St. Jerom acquaints us in his epitaph of Fabiola, where he speaks^c “of the whole multitude singing psalms together, and making the golden roof of the church shake with echoing forth the Allelujah.” The author, under the name of Dionysius,^d speaks of it also as used in the consecration of the chrism, or holy oil, to be used in the unction of confirmation. St. Austin says,^e “It was sung every Lord’s day at the altar, for the same reason that they prayed standing, as a memorial of Christ’s resurrection, and as a figure of our future rest and joyfulness, to signify that our business in the life to come will be nothing else but to praise God, according to that of the psalmist; ‘Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord, they will be always praising thee:’” the meaning of Allelujah being nothing else but ‘Praise the Lord,’ as both he and others represent it.^f In the second Council of Tours,^g it is appointed to be sung immediately after the Psalms, both at the sixth hour—that is, noon-day—and the twelfth hour, that is, evening-prayer. But whether they mean the shorter Allelujah, or one of those psalms called the ‘Alleluatic Psalms,’ of which St. Austin and Cassian speak, is not very easy to determine. Isidore says,^h

Alleluia significari hoc loco. Isidorus (de Div. Offic. c. xiii.) ‘Laudes,’ inquit, hoc est, Alleluia canere, &c.

^c Hieron. Epist. xxx. c. iv. Sonabant psalmi, aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluia.

^d Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. iv. sect. xii. p. 340, in fine. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς τῶν Θεολόγων προφητῶν ἱερωνίας μελῶδημα, φασὶν οἱ τὰ Ἑβραίων ἰδόντες, τὸ αἶνος Θεοῦ δηλοῦν, ἢ τὸ αἰνῶντι τὸν Κύριον, κ. τ. λ. — Add. Paraphrasin Pachymeræ, ibid. p. 454, fin. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσι, ὅτι τὸ Ἀλληλουῖα ἐν τῇ τοῦ μέγρου ἱεραρχίᾳ.

^e Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xv. Omnibus diebus Dominicis ad altare stantes oramus, quod signum est resurrectionis, et Alleluia canitur, quod significat, actionem nostram futuram non esse, nisi laudare Deum, sicut scriptum est; ‘Beati, qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, in sæcula sæculorum laudabunt te.’

^f Vid. Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodox. quæst. i. Ἐμνήσια ἵσται τοῦ μὲν Ἀλληλουῖα τὸ, ὑμνῶσθαι μετὰ μέλους τὸ Ὦν.

^g Conc. Turon. II. c. xix. Patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum Alleluia: et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia.

^h Isidor. de Offic. lib. i. c. xiii. In Africanis ecclesiis non omni tempore, sed tantum dominicis diebus et quinquaginta post Domini resurrectionem Alleluia cantatur: verum apud nos secundum antiquam Hispaniarum traditionem, præter dies jejuniorum et quadragesimæ, omni tempore canitur Alleluia.

“ It was sung every day in Spain, except upon fast-days; though it was otherwise in the African Churches.” St. Jerom says it was used in private devotion,¹ “ For even the ploughman, at his labour, sung his Allelujahs.” And this was the signal, or call, among the monks^l to their ecclesiastical assemblies: for one went about and sung Allelujah, and that was the notice to repair to their solemn meeting. Nay, Sidonius Apollinaris seems to intimate,^k that the seamen used it as their ‘ signal,’ or *celeusma*, at their common labour, making the banks echo while they sung Allelujah to Christ. I only observe further, that in the church Allelujah was sung by all the people; as appears not only from what is said before by St. Jerom, that “ The church echoed with the sound of it;” but also from that of Paulinus, in his epistle to Severus,^l *Alleluja novis balat ovile choris*, ‘ The whole sheepfold of Christ sings Allelujah in her new choirs.’ And St. Austin, alluding to this, says,^m “ It was the Christians’ sweet *celeusma*, or ‘ call,’ whereby they invited one another to sing praises unto Christ.”

SECT. V.—*Of the Hosanna, and the Evening-Hymn, and Nunc Dimittis, or the Song of Simeon.*

I do not here insist upon the Hosanna, or the evening-hymn, because it does not appear that either of these was used in the service of the catechumens. The Hosanna was but a part of the great doxology, “ Glory be to God on high;” and only used in the communion-service, where we shall speak of it hereafter. And the evening-hymn has been

¹ Hieron. Epist. xviii. ad Marcellam. Quocunque te verteris, arator, stivam retinens, Alleluia decantat.

^l Id. Epist. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ, c. xvi. Post Alleluia cantatum, quo signo vocabantur ad collectam, nulli residere licitum erat.

^k Sidon. Apol. lib. ii. ep. x. (p. 153.)

Curvorum hinc chorus heleariorum,
Responsantibus Alleluia ripis,
Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma,
Sic sic psallite nauta vel viator.

^l Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Severum.

^m Aug. de Cantic. Novo, c. ii. (tom. ix. opp. p. 935, b. edit. Basil. 1569.)
Adsit nostra tutela, Christi gratia: celeusma nostrum dulce cantemus Alleluia,
ut læti ac securi ingrediamur sempiternam ac felicissimam patriam.

mentioned before in the former Book,ⁿ where we have given an account of the daily evening-service, and shewed it to be rather a private hymn than any part of the public worship of the Church. In it was contained the *Nunc dimittis*, or song of Simeon: "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word," &c. But whether any of this was used in public, or only by Christians in their private devotions in their families, at their setting up of lights, is what (I ingenuously confess) I am not yet able, from any ancient records, to determine. For though there is frequent mention of the *λυχναιΐα* among the Greeks, and of the *lucernarium* among the Latins, as of a public office for vespers, or evening-prayers; yet I will not assert that this hymn was a part of that office without clearer proof, but leave it to further disquisition and inquiry. The only thing we find more of the *Nunc dimittis*, is in the Life of Maria Ægyptiaca,^o who died about the year 525: of whom it is said, "That a little before her death she received the eucharist, repeated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and sung the *Nunc dimittis*, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.'" But this was only an act of private devotion; and whether it was then received into the public offices of the Church, remains uncertain.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Benedicite, or the Song of the Three Children.*

But we are more certain of the use of the hymn called *Benedicite*, or song of the three children in the burning fiery furnace. For not only Athanasius directs virgins to use it in their private devotions,^p but the fourth Council of

ⁿ Book xiii. chap. xi. sect. v.

^o Vita Mariæ Ægypt. ap. Durant. de Ritibus, lib. i. c. xv. n. ix. (p. 59, edit. Lugd. 1675.) In Mariæ Ægyptiacæ Vita, quam Paulus, Ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ diaconus, conscripsit, legitur, Mariam Ægyptiacam, sanctissimam feminam, graviter ægrotantem, Zosimum abbatem rogasse, eucharistiam sanctis vasculis inclusam sibi deferre, quam quum, Symbolo et Dominica Oratione recitatis, sumsisset, dixit, 'Nunc dimittis,' &c.

^p Athanas. de Virginit. p. 1057, C. (p. 122, edit. 1698.) Διάφαιμα λίγισι· Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον.

Toledo says,^q “ It was used in the Church over all the world;” and therefore orders it to be sung by the clergy of Spain and Galicia, every Lord’s day, and on the festivals of the martyrs, under pain of excommunication. L’Estrange^r thinks this is the first time there is any mention made of this hymn, as of public use in the Church : but Chrysostom lived two hundred years before this Council, and he makes the same observation as the Council does,^s “ That it was sung in all places throughout the world, and would continue to be sung in future generations.” The *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon,^t appoints this hymn to be sung after the reading of the prophets, much after the same manner as it is now ordered to be sung between the first and second lesson in the liturgy of our Church.

SECT. VII.— *Of the Magnificat, or Song of the Holy Virgin.*

The use of the *Magnificat*, or song of the Holy Virgin : “ My soul doth magnify the Lord,” &c. is not quite so ancient : for the first time we meet with it as prescribed for public use, is in the rule of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian,^u who order it to be sung in the French Churches at morning-service. And that was about the year 506.

^q Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. al. xiv. Hymnum quoque trium puerorum, in quo universa cæli terræque creatura Dominum collaudat, et quem ecclesia Catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat, quidam sacerdotes in missa Dominicorum dierum, et in solemnitatibus martyrum canere negligunt : proinde hoc sanctum Concilium instituit, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ vel Galliciæ (alii Galliæ) in omnium missarum solemnitate idem in pulpito [publico] decantetur : communionem amissuri, qui et antiquam hujus hymni consuetudinem, nostramque definitionem excesserint. (v. 1710.)

^r L’Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. iii. p. 79.

^s Chrysostom. Quod nemo lædatur nisi a seipso. c. x. tom. iv. p. 593, (p. 520, edit. Francof.) ὅθεν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ᾄδουσιν καὶ ᾠθισομένην εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα γενιάς.

^t Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. ii. p. 108. Hoc canticum in aliquibus differt ab eo, quod Romanus ordo præscribit in sabbatis quatuor temporum. Aliter in Lectionario nostro habetur in sabbato sancto. Ex his intelligimus, lectionem ex apostolo non continuo post prophetiam lectam fuisse in Ordine Gallicano : &c.

^u Ap. Mabillon. de Curs. Gallican. p. 407. Ad hæc Cæsarius et Aurelianus in matutinis laudibus canticum ‘Magnificat,’ et hymnum ‘Gloria in excelsis’ pro

SECT. VIII.—*When first the Creed began to be sung as a Hymn in the Church.*

Some learned persons reckon the singing of the Creed into the psalmody of the Church, and speak of it as an ancient custom : but herein they mistake, by suffering themselves to be imposed upon by modern authors. Bishop Wettenhal says,^w “It is no improbable conjecture, that the hymn which the primitive Christians are said by Pliny to have sung to Christ as God, was their Creed ; and that it is certain the Nicene Creed has been sung in the Church, in a manner from the very compiling of it.” For this he cites Platina, in the Life of Pope Mark, who affirms, “That it was ordained by that pope, that, on all solemn days, immediately after the Gospel, the Creed should be sung with a loud voice, by the clergy and people, in that form wherein it was explained by the Nicene Council.” When yet it is certain, on the other hand, that the Creed was never so much as barely repeated in the Roman Church, in time of Divine service, till the year 1014, when Benedict the Eighth brought it into use, to comply with the practice of the French and Spanish Churches ; as has been shewed at large in a former Book,^x where we have noted, that it was never read publicly in the Greek Church, but once a-year, till Peter Fullo brought it into the Church of Antioch (an. 471) ; and Timotheus into the Church of Constantinople (an. 511) ; from whose example it was taken by the third Council of Toledo (an. 589) ; and brought into custom in the Spanish Churches. After which, it was four whole centuries before it gained admittance in the Church of Rome. So little reason is there to depend upon the authority of modern authors, in cases where they plainly contradict the testimony of more ancient and credible writers. And this is a good argument, as Bishop Stillingfleet well urges it,^y to shew the differences

diebus Paschalibus præcipiunt, itemque pro singulis Dominicis et majoribus festivitatis.

^w Wettenhal, Gift of Singing, chap. iii. p. 330.

^x Book x. chap. iv. sect. xvii.

^y Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 237. From which discourse it will

betwixt the old Gallican and Roman offices ; and that the Church of England did not follow precisely the model of the Roman offices, but those that were more anciently received in the general practice of the Gallican and British Churches.

SECT. IX.—*Of the Author and Original of the Hymn
Te Deum.*

There remains one hymn more, the *Te Deum*, which is now in use among us, the author and original of which is variously disputed. The common opinion ascribes it to St. Ambrose and St. Austin jointly ; others to St. Ambrose singly,^a because he is known to have composed hymns for the use of the Church. Two things are chiefly said in favour of these opinions, which have no real weight or force in them. 1. That the Chronicle of Dacius, one of St. Ambrose's successors, says he composed it. 2. That it is approved as his hymn, in the fourth Council of Toledo (an. 633). But to the first, it is replied by learned men, that the pretended *Chronicon* of Dacius is a mere counterfeit, and altogether spurious. Mabillon^a proves it to be at least five hundred years younger than its reputed author : whence the story that is so formally told in it, is concluded to be a mere fiction and invention of later ages. The story is this, as Spondanus, a favourer of it, reports it out of Dacius :^b “ That when St. Austin was baptized by St. Ambrose, whilst they were at the font, they sung this hymn by inspiration, as the Spirit gave them utterance, and so published it in the sight and audience of all the people.” But the authority of the story resting merely upon the foundation of this fabulous writer, there is no credit to be given to it. Neither is there any greater weight to be laid upon what is alleged from the

appear, that where the British, or Gallican, and Roman differed, our Church had not followed the Roman, but the other.

^a Comber, on Liturgy, p. 180.

^a Mabillon. *Analect.* Veter. tom. i. p. 5, (p. 487, edit. Paris. 1723.)

^b Spondan. *Epitom.* Baron. p. 404, an. 388, n. ix. [*Chronicon illud, quod in bibliotheca Ambrosiana adservatur, variorum est scriptorum, quum producatur usque ad annum Christi 1067, et Dacius imperante Justiniano obierit.*] In quibus fontibus, prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illis, ‘*Te Deum laudamus,*’ cantantes, cunctis qui aderant, audientibus et videntibus, ediderunt.—*Ex Chronico Dacii, lib. i. c. x.*

Council of Toledo: for the Council only says, "That some hymns were composed for the use of the Church, by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose, without any particular mention of this hymn;" so that it might as well be ascribed to St. Hilary and St. Ambrose, for any thing that is said in that Council. The truth of the matter is, that it was composed by a French writer about a hundred years after St. Ambrose's death, for the use of the Gallican Church. Pagi says,^c Gavantus found it in some MSS. ascribed to St. Abundius; and others have the name of Sisebutus prefixed to it. Bishop Usher^d found it in two MSS. ascribed to Nicetius, bishop of Triers, who lived about the year 535. And he is now, by learned men, generally reputed the author of it. The learned Benedictins, who lately published St. Ambrose's works, judge St. Ambrose not to be the author of it: and Dr. Cave,^e though he was once of a different judgment; yet, upon maturer consideration, subscribes to their opinion.^f Wherefore, the most rational conclusion is that of Bishop Stillingfleet,^g "That it was composed by Nicetius, and that

^c Pagi Critic. in Baron. 388, n. xi. Gavantus in Rubric. Breviarii, sect. v. c. xix. adserit, in antiquissimo breviario MS. collegii Aniciani de urbe isti cantico præferri hunc titulum, 'Hymnus S. Abundii.' In antiquo breviario Chori monasterii Cassinensis descripto paullo post an. 1086, hoc canticum inscribitur, 'Hymnus Sisebuti Monachi.' (P. 572.)

^d Usser. de Symb. p. 2. In ea de hymnorum collectione, Nicetium Deum laudavisse legimus, dicentem, 'Laudate, pueri, Dominum, laudate nomen Domini. Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur,' et quæ sequuntur in hymno illo decantatissimo, qui B. Ambrosio vulgo tribuitur: . . . In Latino-Gallico quoque psalterio, circa tempora Hen. I. exarato, inscribitur iste 'Hymnus Sancti Nicetii,' (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentaneæ) sive Trevirensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius, sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius, &c.

^e Cave, Histor. Litterar. vol. i. p. 215, (p. 150, edit. Genev. 1693.) Hymnus, 'Te Deum,' cœlitus, ut fertur, delapsus, et inter baptizandum Augustinum ab Ambrosio et Augustino alternis versiculis recitatus. Videtur vero ab Ambrosio eo tempore compositus, quo Ariani, omnia susque deque miscentes, ecclesiam militari manu obsederunt, ut fatiscientes Catholicorum animos refocillaret.

^f Ibid. vol. ii. p. 75, (p. 49, edit. Genev. 1699.) Hymni xii. quos Ambrosio adjudicari posse censent clarissimi editores (Benedictini), veterum auctoritate hac in parte nixi. Ab hoc censu relegant hymnum 'Te Deum laudamus,' qui Ambrosii esse nullo idoneo testimonio probari potest, et fabulam pro origine habere videtur.

^g Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. pp. 221, 222. In an old collection of hymns, and an old Latin and French psalter, mentioned by Archbishop Usher, this hymn ['Te Deum laudamus'] is attributed to St. Nicetius. And there were

we must look on this hymn as owing its original to the Gallican Church; since not long after the time of Nicetius, it is mentioned in the Rule of St. Benedict, cap. xi.; and the Rule of Cæsarius Arelatensis, cap. xxi.; and the Rule of Aurelian; where they prescribe the use of it; but Menardus^b is confident there is no mention of this hymn in any writers of credit before them.

SECT. X.—*The Hymns of St. Ambrose.*

But though St. Ambrose cannot be allowed to be the author of this hymn, yet there is no doubt to be made but that he composed hymns for the use of the Church, some of which are yet extant. For St. Austin mentions one of his evening-hymns in several places,ⁱ *Deus, Creator omnium, &c.*:

two of that name in the Gallican Church; the former of which might probably be the author of it. The one was bishop of Triers . . . and the other of great fame too, and bishop of Lyons. . . . I see no reason against the former Nicetius, since Menardus confidently affirms, there is no mention of this hymn in any writers before. And, therefore, we may look on this hymn as owing its original to the Gallican Church.

^b Menard. Not. in Gregor. Sacramentor. (p. 585, edit. Paris. 1705.) Hoc institutum vulgo refertur ad SS. Ambrosium et Augustinum, qui in ejusdem S. Augustini baptismo hunc hymnum ex tempore ediderint et decantaverint: proferturque hujus opinionis auctor et adsertor S. Dacius, episcopus Mediolanensis, in Chronico, qui floruit tempore Justiniani imperatoris, cujusque meminit S. Gregorius, lib. iii. dial. c. iv. Sed quidquid sit de veritate hujus historiæ, certum est, hoc Chronicon non esse hujus Daci, quia probari non potest, ullum Chronicon ab eo scriptum fuisse, nedum citatum: tum quia non redolet stylum temporum illorum; tum quia falsum est, quod ibi continetur, quod S. Augustinus, ‘audiens Sanctum Ambrosium de incarnatione ad populum tractantem et prædicantem, tremens ac pallens, omnibus qui aderant videntibus, obriguerit: ac etiam finita monitione, quam ad populum B. Ambrosius ministrabat, primus ad eum Augustinus pervenerit,’ &c. Adversatur enim S. Augustini et Possidii scriptis, nec potuit in mentem viri alicujus eruditi ac sapientis viri, qualis fuit hic Dacius, venire. Quare ante S. Benedictum et Teridium, S. Cæsarii Arelatensis episcopi discipulum, qui de hoc hymno in suis regulis loquuti sunt, nullus veterum illius mentionem fecit.

ⁱ Aug. Confess. lib. ix. c. xii. Dormivi et evigilavi, et non parva ex parte mitigatum inveni dolorem meum: atque ut eram in lecto meo solus, recordatus sum veridicos versus Ambrosii tui: Tu es enim

Deus, Creator omnium,

Polique rector, &c.

— Id. de Musica, lib. vi. c. ii. Quamobrem tu, cum quo mihi nunc ratio est, familiaris meus, ut a corporeis ad incorporea transeamus, responde, si videtur, quum istum versum pronuntiamus, ‘Deus, Creator omnium,’ &c. — It. c. xvii.

which I forbear to relate here at length, because I have done it in the former Book.^j Again St. Austin, in his *Retractions*,^k speaks of another hymn composed by St. Ambrose, upon the repentance of Peter, after the crowing of the cock, part of which he there relates; and says it was used to be sung by many in his time. Du Pin^l thinks most of those hymns which are now the daily office of the Roman service, are taken from St. Ambrose; but that the rest are in a different style, and owing to other authors. Particularly that the hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, is none of his, which is now used in the Romish Church in the fourth week of Lent, so notorious for their kneeling down to the cross, and worshipping it in these words:^m “Hail, cross, our only hope, in this time of passion, increase the righteousness of the pious, and grant pardon of sins to the guilty.” We are sure this could not be the composition of St. Ambrose, nor any writer of that age; being so much the reverse of the practice of the ancient Church, in whose hymns, or other devotions, there is not the least footstep of worshipping the cross, or any material image of God, as has been demonstrated in a former part of this work,ⁿ where the history of images has been handled *ex professo*, in considering the way of adorning the ancient churches.

Quare ille versus, a nobis propositus, ‘Deus Creator omnium,’ non solum auribus sono numeroso, sed multo magis est animæ sententiæ sanitate et veritate, gratissimus.

^j Book xiii. chap. v. sect. vii. litt. (*).

^k Aug. *Retract.* lib. i. c. xxi. Cantatur ore multorum in versibus Beatissimi Ambrosii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait, ‘Hoc, ipsa petra ecclesiæ, canente, culpam diluit.’

^l Du Pin. *Biblioth. cent.* iv. p. 231, (tom. ii. p. 506, edit. Lat. Paris. 1692.) Quum Augustinus non designaverit numerum hymnorum, quos Ambrosius confecit, ambigi potest, utrum omnes, qui ipsius nomen præferunt, ab eo compositi sint. De hymnis, qui officio singulorum dierum destinati sunt, certius constare mihi videtur, quam de ceteris. His addi possunt hymni, in sex dies creationis. Quod ad ceteros attinet, alio stylo et ab alio auctore mihi videntur conscripti esse. Hymnum, cujus initium, ‘Vexilla regis,’ Ambrosii non esse liquet.

^m Breviar. Roman. Hebdom. iv. quadragesimæ, Die sabbati.

O crux, ave, spes unica,

Hoc Passionis tempore,

Auge piis justitiam,

Reisque dona veniam.

or,

Piis adauge gratiam

Reisque dele crimina.

ⁿ Book viii. chap. viii. sect. vi.

SECT. XI.—*The Hymns of St. Hilary, Claudianus Mamercus, and others.*

There were many other hymns, and some whole books of hymns, composed by other writers of the Church, of which we have little remaining besides the bare names; and, therefore, it will be sufficient just to mention them. St. Jerom says,^o “St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, composed a book of hymns:” and these, we are sure, were, many years after his death, of famous note and use in the Spanish Churches, being ratified and confirmed in the fourth Council of Toledo.^p But none of these are come to our hands, except a morning-hymn prefixed before his works,^q which he sent with an epistle to his daughter Abra. It is a prayer to Christ for preservation from the perils of day and night, savouring of ancient piety, and concluding with the common glorification of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Sidonius Apollinaris^r says also that Claudianus Mamercus collected the psalms, and hymns, and lessons, proper for the festivals in the Church of Vienne, in France, and made some hymns of his own; one of which he highly commends for its elegance, loftiness, and sweetness, as exceeding any of the ancient lyrics, in the greatness of its composure and historical truth.^s

^o Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccles. c. cxi. Est ejus et ad Constantium libellus . . . et liber hymnorum.

^p Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xii. cit. supra, c. i. sect. xvii. sub litt. (†).

^q Hilar. Epist. ad Fil. Abram. Interim tibi hymnum matutinum et serotinum misi, ut memor mei semper sis. The hymn begins thus: ‘Lucis largitor optime,’ and ends with these words of the doxology:—

Gloria tibi, Domine,
Gloria Unigenito,
Cum Spiritu Paracleto,
Nunc et per omne sæculum.

^r Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xi. (p. 260.)

Psalmorum hic modulator et phonastus,
Ante altaria fratre gratulante,
Instructas docuit sonare classes.
Hic solemnibus annuis paravit,
Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.

^s Ibid. lib. iv. ep. iii. Jam vero de hymno tuo si percunctere, quid sentiam, commaticus est, copiosus, dulcis, elatus, et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amœnitæ poetica et historica veritate supereminet. (P. 236.)

Savaro says,^t in his notes upon the place, that it is the same which is now in the Roman Breviary : and because it answers the character which Sidonius gives it, and has none of the superstition of a modern composure in it (such as the *Vexilla Regis*, fathered upon St. Ambrose) I think it not improper to transcribe it in the margin here,^u for the use of the learned reader :—and say further, that if every thing in the Roman Breviary had been in this strain, it had much more resembled the piety and simplicity of the ancient hymns, and been free from those marks of superstition and idolatry, which now it labours under, by mixing the follies of the modern superstitious admirers of the worship of the Virgin Mary and the cross, which were so great a deviation from the ancient worship, and stood so much in need of reformation. There were many other hymns for the use of particular Churches, composed by learned men, as Nepos, and Athenogenes, and Ephraem Syrus, not to mention those spoken of by Pliny and Tertullian, and frequently by Eusebius; not those which Paulus Samosatensis caused, in his anger, to be cast out of the Church of Antioch; not those which Sozomen^w says were made upon a special occasion, when the people of

^t Savaro in hunc locum. Qui canitur in ecclesia, Dominica, in passione Domini, ad laudes, et incipit, 'Pange, lingua, gloriosi prælum certaminis,' &c. (241.)

^u Breviar. Roman. Domin. v. quadragesimæ, sive in passione Domini ad matutinum : (Prati, 1821, p. 213.)

Pange, lingua, gloriosi	Ipse lignum tuum notavit,	Missus est ab arce Patris
Lauream certaminis,	Damna ligni ut solveret.	Natus, orbis conditor :
Et super crucis tropæo	Hoc opus nostræ salutis	Atque ventre virginali
Dic triumphum nobilem,	Ordo depoposcerat,	Carne amictus prodiit.
Qualiter Redemptor orbis	Multiformis proditoris	Vagit infans inter arcta
Immolatus vicerit.	Ars ut artem falleret ;	Conditus præsepia :
De parentis protoplasti	Et medelam ferret inde,	Membra pannis involuta
Fraude factor condolens,	Hostis unde læserat.	Virgo mater alligat ;
Quando pomi noxialis	Quando venit ergo sacri	Et Dei manus pedesque
In necem morsu corrui,	Plenitudo temporis,	Stricta cingit fascia.
Gloria et honor Deo		Sempiterna sit beatæ
Usquequaque altissimo,		Trinitati gloria :
Una Patri Filioque,	or,	Æqua Patri, Filioque,
Inclito Paraclete,		Par decus Paraclete,
Cui laus est et potestas		Unius Trinique nomen
Per æterna sæcula. Amen.		Laudet universitas.

^w Sozom. lib. vii. c. xxiii. Καὶ παυσάμενοι μαίνεσθαι, μιστιμιλοῦντο· καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ παροῦσι τοῖς ἀγγελλομένοις κακοῖς ἵστανοντο, καὶ ἰδάνευσαν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐκείνους

Antioch had incensed Theodosius by throwing down his statues; which were both sung in the Church, and before Theodosius himself, by the singing boys, as he sat at table. Of all which we have no further account but only the bare mention of them in their several authors. As for those composed by Gregory Nazianzen, Paulinus, Prudentius, and other Christian poets, they were not designed for public use in the Church, but only to antidote men against the poison of heresies, or set forth the praises of the martyrs, or recommend the practice of virtue in a private way: for which reason I take no notice of them in this place, being only concerned to give an account of such hymns as related to the ancient psalmody, as a part of the public service of the Church. And so I have done with the first part of their worship in the *missa catechumenorum*, or ‘service of the catechumens.’

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MANNER OF READING THE SCRIPTURES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Lessons of the Scripture sometimes mixed with Psalms and Hymns, and sometimes read after them.*

NEXT to the psalmody and hymns, we are to take a view of their way of reading the Scriptures, which was another part of the service of the catechumens, at which (as has been observed before) all sorts of persons were allowed to be present for instruction. Which is an argument of itself, sufficient (if there were no other) to prove, that they were

πραῦναι τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὴν ὁργὴν, μελωδίαις τισὶν ὀλοφύρτικῶς πρὸς τὰς λιτὰς κίχρημένοι· ἥνκα δὲ καὶ Φλαβιανὸς ὁ Ἀντιοχίαν ἐπίσκοπος, περισυύμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἵτι τοῦ βασιλείως χαλιπαίνοντος, πίπτει τοὺς παρὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν ἔδιν ἐισθότας νέους, τὰς ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχίων ψαλμῳδίας εἰπὶν ἰφ' ᾧ λίγεται φιλανθρωπία διαχυθῆντα τὸν βασιλῆα, κρατηθῆναι τῷ ἰλίφ, καὶ αὐτίκα τὴν ὁργὴν ἐκκαλῶν, καὶ σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, δάκρυσι βρίζοντα τὴν φιάλην, ἢν ἔτυχι κατέχων. (Cant. p. 313.)

always read in a known tongue : of which I need say no more here, because it has been so fully evinced by great variety of arguments in the last Book. What we are now to observe further, relates to the manner and circumstances of this service. Where, first of all, it is proper to remark, that though many times the Psalms, and lessons, and hymns, were so intermixed (as now they are in our liturgy), that it is hard to tell which came first in order, or with which the service began : yet, in some places, it was plainly otherwise ; for the Psalms were first sung all together, only with short prayers between them ; and then the lessons were read by themselves, to such a number as the rules of every church appointed. Of which I have given sufficient proof out of Cassian and St. Jerom, in the beginning of the last chapter, which may supersede all further confirmation in this place.

SECT. II.—*The Lessons read both out of the Old and New Testament, except in the Church of Rome, where only Epistle and Gospel were read.*

The next thing worthy of our observation, is the number of the lessons, which were always two, at least, and sometimes three or four ; and those partly out of the Old Testament, and partly out of the New. Only the Church of Rome seems to have been a little singular in this matter ; for, as Bishop Stillingfleet^a observes, out of Walafridus Strabo,^b and others of her old ritualists, for four hundred years, till the time of Pope Celestine, they had neither Psalms nor lessons out of the Old Testament read before the sacrifice, but only Epistle and Gospel. In other Churches, they had lessons out of the Old Testament, as well as the

^a Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 220. How he (Baronius) can justify the ancient use of the singing psalms at Rome, either before or after Damasus's time, till Celestine was pope, I cannot imagine, if the pontifical book say true ; for that expressly affirms, 'That Celestine appointed David's Psalms to be sung *antiphonatum* before the sacrifice, and that it was not done before, but only the Epistles of St. Paul and the holy Gospel were read.' Which words are repeated by Alcuinus, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus, Walafridus Strabo, Beruo Augiensis, and several other ritualists and historians.

^b Strabo. de Reb. Eccles. c. xxii. *Antiphonas ad introitum dicere Cælestinus Papa xlv. instituit, sicut legitur in Gestis pontificum Romanorum, quum ad ejus usque tempora, ante sacrificia lectio una apostoli tantum et evangelij legaretur.*

New. Cassian says,^c "In Egypt, after the singing of the Psalms, they had two lessons read, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New; only on Saturdays and Sundays, and the fifty days of Pentecost, they were both out of the New Testament, one out of the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles, and the other out of the Gospels." The author of the Constitutions speaks of four lessons,^d two out of Moses and the Prophets, besides the Psalms; and then two out of the Epistles, or Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels. Again,^e he mentions the reading of the Prophets on Sundays; and, in another place,^f the Law and the Prophets, the Psalms and the Gospels. And, again, the Law and the Prophets,^g and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels. So Justin Martyr, describing the business of the Christian assemblies on the Lord's day, speaks of the reading of the writings of the prophets, as well as the apostles.^h In like manner, Chrysostom, reproving some who were very

^c Cassian. lib. ii. c. vi. Quibus (psalmis duodecim) lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris et aliam Novi Testamenti, tamquam a se eas traditas et velut extraordinarias, volentibus tantum, ac Divinarum Scripturarum memoriam possidere adsidua meditatione studentibus addiderunt. In die vero sabbati vel Dominico, utrasque de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliiis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt hi, quibus lectio curæ est seu memoria scripturarum.

^d Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. Μίσην δ' ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἰθ' ἐν ἡμερῇ τινος ἱερῶς, ἀναγινωσκίτω τὰ Μωσίου, καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, καὶ τὰ τῶν προφῶν, καὶ τῶν βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν παραλειπομένων, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἱκανοῦς πρὸς τούτους τὰ τοῦ Ἰωῆ, καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκαίδεκα προφητῶν ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γινομένων ἀναγινωσκμάτων, ἵνα ἴσῃ τις τοὺς τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλίτου ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστιχία ὑπεψαλλίτω· μὴ τὰ τοῦτο αἱ πράξεις αἱ ἡμίτεροι ἀναγινωσκέσθαι, καὶ πιστολαὶ Παύλου, ἃς ἐπίστυλι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθ' ὑφήγησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ μὴ τὰῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκίτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια, κ. τ. λ. (i. 294, D.)

^e Ibid. lib. ii. c. lix. Ἐν ἡ (ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ) προφητῶν ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ εὐαγγελίου περυκία, καὶ θυσιᾶς ἀναφορὰ, καὶ τροφῆς ἱερῆς δωρεά. (i. 330, C.)

^f Ibid. lib. v. c. xix. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροίζονται γεννηροῦτε προσευχόμενοι καὶ δέκοντες τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῇ διανοητικῇ ὑμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, ταῦς προφῆτας, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, μέχρις ἀκιστρῶν κρουγῆς, καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὑμῶν τοὺς κατηχομένους, καὶ ἀναγνόντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν φόβῳ, καὶ τρέμῳ. (i. 366, C.)

^g Ibid. lib. viii. c. v. Μὴ τὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν πράξεων, καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χριστοφυτὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. (i. 463, A.)

^h Justin. Mart. Apol. ii. p. 98. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλιν ἢ ἀγρῶς μινόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνίλισις γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπορημονήματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκονται.

negligent at church, says,ⁱ "Tell me what prophet was read to-day, what apostle?" implying, that the one was read as well as the other. Particularly he tells us, that the Book of Genesis was always read in Lent; of which more by and by, in the following observation. St. Basil, in one of his homilies on baptism in Lent,^j takes notice of the several lessons that were read that day, besides the Psalms, whereof one was out of Isaiah, i., the second out of Acts, ii., and the third out of Matt. xi. And, in another homily,^k he speaks of the Psalms and Proverbs, and Epistles and Gospels, as read that day. Maximus Taurinensis, in one of his homilies upon the Epiphany, says,^l "The lessons were out of Isaiah, lx., Matt. ii., and John, i., for that festival." St. Austin sometimes only mentions Epistle and Gospel; but, in other places, he expressly mentions the reading of the Prophets, and particularly mentions the Prophet Micah, and those

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. in Roman. p. 270, (p. 329, edit. Francof.) 'Ο μάτην ἱσταῦθα εἰσιλθὼν, ἐπὶ τίς προφήτης, τίς ἀπόστολος σήμερον διελίχθη ἡμῖν, καὶ περὶ τίνων.

^j Basil. Hom. xiii. de Bapt. tom. i. p. 409. Σὺ δὲ, διὰ προφητῶν διδασκόμενος, Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· διὰ ψαλμῶν νοθετούμενος, Προσέλθιτι πρὸς αὐτὸν, φωτίσθητι· δι' ἀποστόλων ἐναγγιζόμενος, Μιτανοήσατι καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφισιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ λήψισθι τὴν ἐναγγελίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου προσλαμβάνόμενος, λίγοντος, Διὸτι πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες, καὶ πιφορτισμένοι, κατὰ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα σήμερον συνίδραμι πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, κ. τ. λ.

^k Basil. Hom. xxi. in Lacizis, p. 460. 'Αναλίσκῃ μοι τὰς μνήμας τῶν ἐξ ἰωθὴνθ παραναγνωσθέντων ὑμῖν λογίων πνευματικῶν, διδασκαλίας ψυχοφελεῖς, θεραπείας ψυχῶν· μνήσθητι τῶν ψαλμικῶν διδαγμάτων· συναγάγιστί μοι τὰς παροιμιώδεις ὑποθήκας· ἱερυνήσατι τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὸ κάλλος· πρόσθιτι τούτοις τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρακλήσεις· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἰονί κορωνίδα, ἐπίθιτι τῶν ἐναγγελικῶν ῥημάτων τὴν μνήμην, κ. τ. λ.

^l Maxim. Taurin. Hom. iv. in Epiphan. (tom. vi. Bibl. Patr. Max. pp. 10, 11, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Ait Prophetarum præcipuus Esaias, sicut audistis, fratres carissimi, 'Illuminare, illuminare Hierusalem,' &c. . . . Ait namque Beatissimus Matthæus evangelista, 'Ecce Magi ab oriente advenerunt, dicentes,' &c. . . . Judæus Christum videt, invidet, 'sicut lectum est, In sua venit, et sui eum non receperunt.'

^m Aug. Hom. ccxxxvi. de Temp. p. 384, (p. 111, b. edit. Basil.) Memini, superiore Dominico quod promiserim. Quum enim de sancto propheta quod lectum fuerat, aliquid exponere voluissem; lectum autem fuerat, quærenti homini quibus sacrificiis placaret Deum; renuntiatum esse, Nihil ab illo Deum quærere, nisi facere judicium et justitiam, et diligere misericordiam, paratumque esse ire cum Domino Deo suo. (Antwerp. 1700, 5, p. 190.)

words of chap. vi. "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God;" which were the theme for his discourse upon the lesson for the day. In the French Churches, there is still more evidence for this practice: for Cæsarius Arelatensis, in one of his homilies, cited by Mabillon, uses this argument to the people, why they should stay the whole time of Divine service: "Because the lessons were not so properly called *Missa*, or 'Divine service,' as was the oblation, or consecration, of the body and blood of Christ; for they might read at home, or hear others read, the lessons, whether out of the prophets, or apostles, or evangelists; but they could not hear or see the consecration any where else but only in the house of God." Where it is plainly implied, that the lessons were then read in the Church, as well out of the Prophets as the Epistles and Gospels. And so in the relation of the conference between the Catholics and Arians, in the time of Gundobadus, king of Burgundy, which we have had occasion to mention before, out of the same learned writer,^o it is said, that in the vigil held the night before the conference, four lessons were read, one out of Moses, another out of the prophet Isaiah, a third out of the Gospel, and the last out of the Epistles. And in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon, there is always a lesson out of the Old Testament before the Epistle and Gospel. And on the *Sabbatum Sanctum*, or 'Saturday before Easter,'^p there are no less than twelve lessons appointed out of Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jonah, beside the Epistle and Gospel which follow after. It further appears, from the Canons of the Council of Laodicea,^q and

ⁿ Cæsar. Arelat. de non Recedendo ab ecclesia, &c. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. i. c. iv. n. iv. Non tunc fiunt missæ, quando Divinæ lectiones in ecclesia recitantur, sed quando munera offeruntur, et corpus vel sanguis Domini consecratur: nam lectiones, sive propheticas, sive apostolicas, sive evangelicas, etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legere, aut alios legentes audire potestis; Consecrationem vero corporis et sanguinis Domini non alibi nisi in domo Dei, audire vel videre poteritis.

^o Chap. i. sect. ii. sub litt. (l).

^p Lection. Gallican. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. ii. pp. 137-140.

^q Conc. Laodic. c. lix. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.

the third Council of Carthage,^r and St. Cyril's Catechetical Discourses, that all the books of the Old Testament were then read in the Church, as well as the New; for they give us catalogues of what books might, or might not, be read in the Church; among which all the books of the Old Testament are specified as such, as were then actually read in the public service; and Cyril^s allows his catechumens to read no other books in private but the books of the Old and New Testament, which he thought they might safely read, because they were both publicly read in the Church.

SECT. III. — *Proper Lessons for certain Times and Festivals.*

The next observation to be made is, upon their method of reading the Scriptures; which seems always to be done by some rule, though this might vary in different Churches. St. Austin^t tells us there were some lessons so fixed and

—Can. lx. Οσα δὲ βιβλία ἀναγιγνώσκονται τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης ἢ Γένειε νόμου. β' Ἐξοδὸς ἐκ Αἰγύπτου. γ' Λευιτικόν. δ' Ἀριθμοί. ε' Δευτερονόμιον. ς' Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ. ζ' Κριταί. Ϙ'ούθ. ή' Ἑσθήρ. θ' Βασιλειῶν, α, β'. ι' Βασιλειῶν, γ', δ'. ια' Παραλιπόμενα, α, β'. ιβ' Ἑσθρας α, β'. ιγ' Βίβλος Ψαλμῶν εν'. ιδ' Παραμίας Σολομώντος. ιε' Ἐκκλησιαστής. ις' Ἀσμα ψαλμῶν. ιζ' Ἰώβ. ιη' Δώδεκα Προφῆται. ιθ' Ἡσαΐας. κ' Ἰερειμίας καὶ Βαρουχ, Θερῖοι καὶ Ἑπιστελαί. κβ' Ἰεζικιήλ. κγ' Δανιήλ. Τὰ δὲ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, ταῦτα· Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων. Ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ ἑπτὰ, οὕτως· Ἰακώβου μία, Πίτρου δύο, Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, Ἰούδα μία, Ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου διακρίσεις πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μία, πρὸς Κορινθίους δύο, πρὸς Γαλάτας μία, πρὸς Ἐφεσίους μία, πρὸς Φιλιππησίους μία, πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς μία, πρὸς Θιμοκαλουκίς δύο, πρὸς Ἑβραίους μία, πρὸς Τιμόθεον δύο, πρὸς Τίτον μία, πρὸς Φιλήμονα μία. (i. 5007.)

^r Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvii. Placuit, ut præter scripturas canonicas, nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Sunt autem eanonicæ scripturæ, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, Libri duodecim Prophetarum, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Machabæorum libri duo. Novi autem Testamenti, evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actuum Apostolorum liber unus, Pauli apostoli epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una: Petri apostoli duæ, Joannis apostoli tres, Judæ apostoli una, et Jacobi una, Apocalypsis Joannis, liber unus. (ii, 1178.)

^s Cyril. Catech. iv. n. xxii. pp. 66, 67. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθαι ἐν διυτίῳ καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ ἀναγιγνώσκονται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σκευὴν ἀναγιγνώσκει, καθὼς ἤκουσας. (Paris. 1609. 101.)

^t Aug. Exposit. in 1 Joh. in Præfat. tom. ix. p. 235, (p. 575, edit. Basil. 1569.) Meminit sanctitas vestra, evangelium secundum Joannem, ex ordine lectionum, nos solere tractare. Sed quia nunc interposita est solemnitas sanctorum

appropriated to certain times and seasons, that no others might be read in their stead. And he particularly instances in the festival of Easter, when, for four days successively, the history of Christ's resurrection^u was read out of the four Gospels. On the day of his Passion,^x they read the history of his sufferings out of St. Matthew's Gospel only. And all the time between Easter and Pentecost, he says,^y "They read the Acts of the Apostles." This last particular is frequently mentioned by St. Chrysostom, who has a whole sermon to give an account of the reasons of it. There he takes notice of many things together relating to this matter of reading the lessons by rule and order. First, he tells us^z "how, by the appointment of the Church, on the day of our Saviour's passion all such Scriptures were read, as had any relation to the cross; then how, on the great Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, they read all such portions of Scripture as

dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesia recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint; ordo ille quem susceperamus, necessitate paululum intermissus est, non omisus.

^u Aug. Sermon. cxxxix. de Tempore. In die sancto Paschæ, (tom. x. p. 902, edit. Basil.) Per hos dies, sicut recolit caritas vestra, solemniter leguntur evangelicæ lectiones, ad resurrectionem Domini pertinentes. — Sermon. cxl. eodem die, (ibid. p. 905.) Hesterno die, id est, nocte, lecta est ex evangelio resurrectio Salvatoris, Lecta est autem ex evangelio secundum Matthæum. Hodie vero, sicut audistis pronuntiare lectorem, recitata est nobis Domini resurrectio, sicut Lucas evangelista conscribit. — Sermon. cxci. eodem die. Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi ex more legitur, his diebus, ex omnibus libris sancti evangelii. — Sermon. cxciv. Feria tertia Paschæ. Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et hodie recitata est: sed de altero libro evangelii, qui est secundum Lucam. Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum; hesternæ autem die secundum Marcum; hodie secundum Lucam. — Sermon. cxlviii. Feria quarta Paschæ. Et hodie lectio recitata est, de his, quæ facta sunt post resurrectionem Domini, secundum evangelistam Joannem.

^x Ibid. Sermon. cxliii. de Tempore, p. 320, (p. 915, edit. Basil.) Passio, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum.

^y Ibid. Tract. vi. in Joan. tom. ix. p. 24, (pp. 56, 57, edit. Basil.) Actus Apostolorum testes sunt: ille liber canonicus omni anno in ecclesia recitandus. Anniversaria solemnitate post passionem Domini, nostis illum librum recitari: ubi scriptum est, quomodo conversus sit apostolus, et ex persecutore prædicator factus.

^z Chrysostom. Hom. lxiii. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur, tom. v. p. 949, D. (hom. lxvi. p. 849, edit. Francof.) 'Εν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάντα ἀναγινώσκουμεν. ἐν τῇ σαββάτῳ τῇ μεγάλῃ πάλιν, ὅτι παρεδόθη ἡμῶν ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι ἰσταυρώθη, ὅτι ἀπείλαν ἐν κατὰ σάρκα, ὅτι ἐτάφη.

contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead, and buried." He adds also,* "That, on Easter-day, they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection: and on every festival the things that related to that festival." But it seemed a difficulty, why then the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of their miracles done after Pentecost, should not rather be read after Pentecost than before it? To this he answers, "That the miracles of the apostles contained in that book, were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection; and, therefore, the Church appointed that book to be read always between Easter and Pentecost, immediately after our Saviour's resurrection, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery, which was the completion of their redemption: so that, though the lessons for other festivals related the things that were done at those festivals, yet, for a particular reason, the Acts of the Apostles, which contained the history of things done after Pentecost, were read before Pentecost, because they were more proper for the time immediately following our Saviour's resurrection." And upon this account it became a general rule over the whole Church to read the Acts at this time, as not only Chrysostom testifies here, but in many other places of his writings. In his Homily upon those words, "Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against his disciples" (Acts, ix.), he gives this reason why he could not preach in order upon every part of that book: ^b "Because the law of

* Chrysostom. Hom. lxiii. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur, tom v. p. 951, D. (hom. lxvi. p. 852, e. edit. Francof.) "Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀναγινώσκομεν, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὁμοίως, καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἱερῇ γιγνομένη τῇ αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὕτως ἴδι καὶ τὰ θαύματα τὰ ἀποστολικὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀποστολικῶν σημείων ἀναγινώσκουσιν· τίνες οὖν ἵνα οὐ τότε αὐτὰ ἀναγινώσκομεν, ἀλλ' ὑβίως μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀκούσιτε μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὴν αἰτίαν ἄσσαν. μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ὑβίως ἀνάστασιν καταγγέλλομεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδιξις ἵσται τὰ σημεῖα τὰ ἀποστολικὰ, τῶν δὲ σημείων ἀποστολικῶν διδασκαλιῶν ἵσται τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον· ὃ τοίνυν μάλιστα πιστεῦται τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν διανοητικὴν, τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον ἀνάστασιν ὑβίως οἱ πατέρες ἰνομοθέτησαν ἀναγινώσκουσιν· διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν, ἄγαπητοι, μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὑβίως ἀναγινώσκομεν τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα ἴχωμεν σαφὴ καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἀπόδιξιν.

^b Ibid. Hom. xlvii. tom. v. p. 637, A. (hom. l. p. 569, edit. cit.) Τῶν πατέρων ὁ νόμος κελεύει μετὰ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν ἀποτίθεται τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς ἱερῆς ταύτης συγκαταλύεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ βιβλίου ἀνάγνωσις.

the Church commanded it to be laid aside after Pentecost, and the reading of it to conclude with the end of the present festival." In another place, he says,^c "It was appointed by law to be read on that festival, and not usually read in any other part of the year." And in another place, he gives this reason why he broke off his sermons upon Genesis in the Passion Week,^d "Because the intervention of other solemnities obliged him to preach then upon other subjects, agreeable to what was read in the church, as against the traitor Judas, and upon the passion, and our Saviour's resurrection; at which time he took in hand the Acts of the Apostles, and preached upon them from Easter to Pentecost." Cassian^e says, the same order was observed among the Egyptians. And it appears from the ancient *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, that it was so in the French Churches; for there, almost on every day between Easter and Pentecost, except the rogation-days, and some few others, two lessons are ordered to be read out of the Apocalypse, and the Acts of the Apostles. Whence it may be concluded further, that the reading of the Apocalypse was also, in a great measure, appropriated to this season in the Gallican Church. And so it was in the Spanish Churches by an order of the fourth Council of Toledo, which enjoins the reading of it,^f in this interval, under pain of excommunication. In Lent they usually read the Book of Genesis, as is plain from Chrysostom, whose famous Homilies, called *ἀνδριάντες*, because they are about the statues of the emperor, which the people of Antioch had seditiously thrown down, were preached in Lent. And

^c Chrysostom. Hom. xlviii. in Inscriptionem Altaris, Act. xvii. tom. v. p. 650, (hom. li. pp. 580, 581, edit. Francof.) *Σήμερον βουλόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων εἰπεῖν* . . . διὸ τοῖνυν ἐξετάσαι, τίς ὁ γράψας, καὶ πότε ἔγραψε, καὶ περὶ τίνων, καὶ τίνας ἔνικεν τῇ ἰστορίᾳ ταύτῃ νομοθετηταὶ αὐτὰ ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τάχα γὰρ οὐκ ἀκούσι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους ἀναγινωσκόμενου τοῦ βιβλίου.

^d Ibid. Hom. xxxiii. in Genes. p. 478, (p. 369, c. edit. Francof.) cit. lib. xiii. c. vi. sect. ii. sub litt. (b).

^e Cassian. lib. ii. c. vi. In die vero sabbati vel Dominico, utrasque de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo, vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliiis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt. (P. 18.)

^f Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xvi. Si quis Apocalypsin a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non prædicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit. (v. 1711. c. xvii.)

in one of these he says,^s “He would preach upon the book that had been read that day, which was the Book of Genesis, and the first words, ‘In the beginning, God created heaven and earth,’ were the subject of his discourse.” In another sermon, preached upon the same text in the beginning of Lent, he says,^b “The words had been read in the lesson that day.” And for this very reason, he preached two whole Lents upon the Book of Genesis, because it was then read, of course, in the Church; for the thirty-two first of those homilies were preached at Constantinople in Lent, in the third year after he was made bishop (an. 400, or 401); but the festivals of the Passion, and Easter, and Pentecost, coming on, this subject was interrupted, and he preached upon other subjects, as he himself tells us,ⁱ suitable to those occasions. Afterward he resumed his former work, and finished his Comment upon Genesis, in thirty-two sermons more, in the year ensuing: which makes it plain, that Genesis was then read in Lent, as the Acts were in Pentecost; and that Chrysostom conformed his discourses according to

^s Chrysostom. Hom. vii. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. i. p. 106, D. (p. 94, b. edit. Francof. 1698.) Τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνώσθιν μεταχειριζοῦμαι βιβλίον καὶ, εἰ δοκίῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον, ὃ δοκίῃ μάλιστα, μηδὲ ἴχνος ἱμφαίνιν παρεμβόδας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου παρεκκλητικῶν ἀλλοτριουῦσθαι λόγων, εἰς μίσην προβάς, ὃ λίγω, ποίησαι φανερόν. τί σὺτ' οὖν ἴσσι τὸ προοίμιον; Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἰστίησιν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Ibid. Sermon. i. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 880, A. (p. 725, d. edit. cit.) Λειτουργοῦντες κατεταλμῆσμεν νοημάτων, περὶ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς κτίσεως φιλοσοφοῦντες σώματος· ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνιγνώσθη σήμερον.

ⁱ Ibid. Hom. xxxiii. in Genes. p. 480, A. (p. 372, edit. cit.) Ἀνίστη δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Λὼτ μιστ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἰερμὸν ἵστασθαι τὸν λόγον καταλύσαντες, τὰς μεταξὺ πάσας ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν κατεπιγόντων διδασκαλίαν αὐτὸν μιστηγόρουσιν. Vid. etiam, p. 369, cit. lib. xiii. c. v. sect. ii. — Severian. Gabalens. Hom. i. in Genes. ap. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 214. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἰστίησιν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Οἶδα μιν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι τὰ λοιπὰ ταῦτα ζητήματα δυσχερῆ φαίνονται ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις· ἀλλὰ δι' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ νοητικῆς νηφύσεως μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς περὶ τῶν βαθυτέρων νοημάτων διαλίγισθαι. — Aug. Sermon. lxxi. de Tempore, tom. x. opp. p. 737, edit. Basil.) Lectio illa, fratres carissimi, in qua beatus Abraham Isaac filium suum in holocaustum legitur obtulisse, ideo in ordine suo, diebus quadragesimæ, non recitatur; quia, sicut ipsi nostis, in vigiliis Paschæ propter sacramentum Dominicæ passionis reservatur. Et quia tunc non est in spatio, ut de ista possit aliquid dici, nunc, si videtur, expositionem ejus, secundum quod eam patres nostri, inspirante Domino, tractaverunt, Caritatis vestræ auribus, quantum possumus, breviter intimemus. (v. p. 10.)

the order of reading then established in the Church. It appears further from St. Ambrose, that the Book of Job and Jonah were both read in the Passion Week; for, speaking of a sermon which he made to the people at this time, he says,^k "Ye have heard, children, the Book of Job read, which is, in course, appointed to be read at this time." And again, says he,^l "The Book of Jonah was read;" that is, as Pagi critically remarks,^m on the third day of the Passion Week. And that this was an ancient rule of the Church, appears from Origen's Comment upon Job, which, St. Jerom says,ⁿ St. Hilary translated into Latin; for there he not only tells us,^o that the Book of Job was read in the church in the Passion Week, but also gives us the reason of it, because it was a time of fasting and abstinence; a time, in which they that fasted and abstained, had, as it were, a sort of fellow-suffering with admirable Job; a time in which men, by fasting and abstinence, followed after the passion of Christ Jesus our Lord: and because the passion of Job was, in a great measure, a type and example of the passion and resurrection of Christ, therefore the history of Job's passion was with good reason read and meditated upon, in these days of passion, these days of sanctification, these days of fasting.

^k Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcellin. Soror. p. 160, edit. Basil. 1567. Audistis, filii, librum legi Job, qui solemniter et munere est decursus et tempore.

^l Ibid. p. 162. Sequenti die, lectus est de more liber Jonæ.

^m Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 387, n. iv. (n. v. p. 568, edit. Antwerp. 1705.) Postea ait, 'Sequenti die' (nempe feria tertia, die xxxi. Martii, non autem feria secunda, ut putavit Baronius) 'lectus est de more Jonæ,' &c.

ⁿ Hieron. cont. Vigilant. In conventu ecclesiæ, in diebus sanctis legitur passio Job, in diebus jejunii, in diebus abstinence, in diebus, in quibus tamquam compatiuntur ei, qui jejunant et abstinent, admirabili illo Job, in diebus, in quibus in jejuniis et abstinence sanctam Domini nostri Jesu Christi passionem sectamur: ut terribilem ejus passionem transeuntes ad beatam ejus resurrectionem venire mereamur, compassi nunc, ut et conregnemus, condolentes modo in tempore passionis, ut et congaudeamus post hoc in tempore resurrectionis. Quam passionem Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad terras veniens in humano corpore sustinuit pro omnium hominum salute, ut per passionem sane mortem interficeret, per resurrectionem vero suam recidivam vitam cunctis ostenderet. Cujus passionis atque resurrectionis Domini formam atque exemplum quia Job passio in multis gerebat, sicut ei, qui diligentius requisierunt, repererunt: Merito etiam nunc in diebus passionis, in diebus sanctificationis, in diebus jejunii, beati Job passio legitur, meditatur atque scrutatur.

^o Orig. in Job. lib. i. p. 366, (p. 227, e. f. edit. Paris. 1604.)

Thus far Origen; but, in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*,^h there is no mention of the Book of Job, but only of Jonah, on the *Sabbatum magnum*, or 'Saturday before Easter-day.'ⁱ St. Jerom seems to say, that the prophet Hosea was also read on the vigil of our Saviour's Passion; for he mentions a long discourse of Pierius, which he had read, made by that martyr on the beginning of that book, in an elegant but extemporary style, on the vigil before the Passion. St. Chrysostom,^r in one of his homilies upon the Gospel of St. John, which he was then expounding, advises his auditors "to read at home, in the week days before, such portions of the Gospel as they knew were to be read and expounded on the Lord's day following in the Church," which implies some certain rule and order. So that, though we have not any complete *lectionarium*, or 'calendar of lessons,' now remaining, yet we are sure their reading of Scripture was some way methodized and brought under rule, especially for the greater solemnities and festivals of the Church. The first calendar of this kind is thought by some to be Hippolitus's *Canon Paschalis*, which, as I have shewed before,^s no less men than Scaliger and Gothofred take to be a rule appointing lessons proper for the festivals. But Bucherius and others give another account of it, which leaves the matter uncertain. There goes also, under the name of St. Jerom, a book, called his *Comes* or *Lectionarium*. But critics^t of the best rank reckon this a counterfeit,

^p *Lectiones Gallic. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 139. Lectio Jonæ prophetæ. Tempore illo factum est verbum Domini ad Jonam, filium Amathi, dicens, 'Surge, vade in Niniven,' &c.*

^q Hieron. *Procem. in Hoseam, ad Pammach. Pierii legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus prophetæ (Hosæ) die vigiliarum Dominicæ passionis, extemporali et deserto sermone, profudit. (6, xxiii.)*

^r Chrysostom. *Hom. x. in Joan. al. xi. edit. Savil. p. 597, (p. 72, edit. Francof.)* Τί ποτ' οὖν ἴσται, ὅτι αἰτοῦμαι [ὑμᾶς:] κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, ἣ καὶ κατὰ σάββατον, τὴν μίλλουσαν [i.e.] ὑμῖν ἀναγνωσθῆναι τῶν εὐαγγελίων περικοπήν, ταύτην πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν μετὰ χεῖρας λαμβάνων ἵκαστος οἴκοι καθήμενος ἀναγνωσκίτω συνεχῶς, καὶ πολλάκις περισκοπίτω μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς τὰ ἱγνίμυνα, καὶ βασιανίζτω ταῦτα καλῶς· καὶ τί μὲν σαφίς, τί δὲ ἄδηλον σημειούσθω· τί δὲ αὐτῶν ἰναντίον εἶναι δοκοῦν, οὐκ ὃν δι' καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς διακωδωνίσαντες, οὕτως ἀπαντᾷτε πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. (Paris. 1636, ii. 57, A.)

^s Book xiii. chap. v. sect. vi.

^t Stillingfleet, *Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 229.* Nothing but the Epistle and Gospel were read at Rome, as is shewed already; which manifests that the book

and the work of a much later writer, because it mentions lessons out of the prophets and Old Testament; whereas, in St. Jerom's time, as we have noted before, there were no lessons read besides Epistles and Gospels in the Church of Rome. However, some time after, there were several books of this kind composed for the use of the French Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris says,^u Claudianus Mamercus made one for the Church of Vienne (an. 450). And Gennadius says,^v Musæus made another for the Church of Marseilles about the year 458. But both these are now lost; and the oldest of this kind is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which Mabillon lately published from a manuscript, which he judges, by the hand, to be above a thousand years old, but wrote after the time of Gregory the Great, because it mentions the festival of Genovefa,^w who is supposed to live after his time. But though we have no more ancient calendar now remaining, yet the authorities alleged before do indisputably evince the thing itself, that the lessons of Scripture were generally appropriated to times and seasons, according as the festivals required: and for the rest, they were either read in order as they lie in the Bible, as Mabillon^x shews from the rules of Cæsarius

under St. Jerom's name, called the 'Lectionarius,' or 'Comes,' must be counterfeited; because therein lessons out of the prophecy are set down: and the authorities of Berno Augiensis, Micrologus, and Radulphus Tungrensis, which are the best Pamelius could find, are not great enough against so plain evidence to the contrary, to prove this 'Lectionarius' to have been made by St. Jerom. And he confesses, that Amalarius several times only mentions the 'Auctor Lectionarii' without St. Jerom's name, who lived a good while before them. — Cave, Hist. Litt. vol. i. p. 225, (p. 157, edit. Genev.) Comes sive Lectionarius exstat apud Pamelium Liturgicorum, tom. ii. Præfationem hujus libri extulit Dacherius, Spicileg. tom. xiii. Hunc Comitem multo, quam editus sit a Pamelio, ampliorem se habuisse, testatus est Cornelius Scultingius. Citatur sub Hieronymi nomine, tituloque Comitum et Lectionarii in Micrologo, c. xxv.; Bernone Augiensis, c. i.; Hugone de S. Victore, de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. c. xi. Plura de hoc libro habet Cardinalis Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vi. sect. iii.: qui illum Hieronymo, sed levi quidem argumento nixus, adserere conatur.

^u Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xi. Hic solemnibus annuis paravit, quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent. (P. 260.)

^v Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lxxix. Excerpsit de scripturis lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas; responsoria psalmorum capitula, temporibus et lectionibus congruentia.

^w Lection. Gallic. ap. Mabil. p. 114. Legenda in festo S. Genovevæ virginis, &c.

^x Mabillon. de Curs. Gallic. p. 406, n. 34. Qua ratione ordinata fuerint Massiliæ divina officia, non liquet: at de Arelatensi ritu conjectare possumus ex

and Aurelian: or else were arbitrarily appointed by the bishops at discretion, as sometimes particular psalms were upon emergent occasions, according to the observation that has been made in speaking of that subject.⁷ St. Austin² says expressly, he sometimes ordered a lesson to be read agreeable to the subject of the Psalm upon which he was preaching. And Ferrarius^a gives several other instances, both out of St. Austin^b and Chrysologus,^c to the same purpose, which need not here be repeated.

regulis Cæsarii et Aureliani, qui longe diversum a Lugdunensi modum præscribunt. Ambo vero duos tantum Nocturnos passim in Vigiliis nocturnis adsignant, et lectiones uterque Missas appellant. Et tria quidem folia ad unamquamque exigit Cæsarius; tres aut quatuor paginas, pro mensura libri, Aurelianus.

⁷ Chap. i. sect. vi.

² Aug. in Psalm. xc. Serm. ii. p. 412. (iv. p. 729.) Propterea fecimus ipsam lectionem evangelii recitari, ubi Dominus tentatus est, per ea verba psalmi, quæ hæc audistis.

^a Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xvii. Inscriptio capitis hæc est: 'Pro communi ac determinata alicujus diei lectione, sive apostolica, sive evangelica seligebatur aliquando peculiaris aliqua et temporis maxime congruens particula, quam tractandam susciperent concionatores.' Ipsum caput sic habet: 'Vere nos hæc quidem hactenus.' Verum tamen si quis dixerit, pro communi ac determinata alicujus diei, sive ex evangelio, sive ex apostolo, lectione, fecisse aliquando concionatores, ut peculiaris aliqua lectio fuerit, quæ esset congruens et accommodata ei argumento, quod ipsi tractandum suscepissent; non is, mea quidem sententia, a vero longe abibit. Etenim apud Augustinum, in Serm. cxxi. de Diversis, ita scriptum invenias: (v. 988.) 'In memoria retinentes pollicitationem nostram, congruas etiam ex evangelio et apostolo fecimus recitari lectiones.' Et in Sermone xxiii. de Verbis Domini secundum Matthæum, ait: (v. 349.) 'Hesterno die qui adfuistis, promissionem nostram tenetis: quæ hodie non solum vobis, sed pluribus etiam qui convenerunt, Domino adjuvante, reddenda est. Quæ sint decem virgines, quarum sint quinque prudentes, et quinque stultæ, non facile indagari potest. Verumtamen secundum ea, quæ continet ipsa lectio, quam Caritati vestræ etiam hodie volui recitari,' &c. Et in Tractatu xii. in Joannis Evangelium: (iii. 279.) 'Meminit Caritas vestra, Dominico præterito, quantum Dominus adjuvare dignatus est, disseruisse nos de spiritali regeneratione; quam lectionem vobis iterum legi fecimus, ut quæ tunc non dicta sunt, in Christi nomine adjuvantibus orationibus vestris impleamus.' (p. 307.) Chrysologus etiam hoc eleganter expressit in Serm. lxvi. 'Duas hodie a duobus evangelistis editas ita recitare fecimus lectiones, ut sermoni nostro vester intellectus occurreret, paterent abdita,' &c. Et in Sermone cxviii. 'Quoniam tota spes fidei Christianæ in resurrectione constituta est mortuorum, ne quisquam de ea ausus sit dubitare; beati Pauli, assereantis eam auctoritate, rebus, exemplis, latissimam recitare vobis fecimus lectionem,' &c. (P. 352.)

^b Aug. Serm. xxiii. de Verbis Domini. Serm. cxxi. de Diversis. Tractat. xii. in Joan. Vid. sub litt. anteced. (*).

^c Chrysolog. Serm. lxvi. et cxviii. Vid. sub litt. anteced. (*).

SECT. IV.—*By whom the Scriptures were anciently read in the Church.*

The next question may be concerning the persons, by whom the Scriptures were publicly read in the church; which is a question that has been, in some measure, answered before, in speaking of the order of readers:^d where I shewed, that for the two first centuries, before the order of readers was instituted, it is probable the Scriptures were read by the deacons; or else, in imitation of the Jewish Church, by such as the bishop or president, for that time, appointed. But, in the time of St. Cyprian, it was the peculiar office of the readers, which were become an inferior order of the clergy, to read all the lessons of Scripture, and even the Gospel, as well as other parts; as appears from several of Cyprian's epistles.^e Here I must add, that, in after ages, the reading of the Gospel was, in some Churches, confined to the office of the deacons and presbyters; for so the author of the Constitutions words it:^f "After the other lessons are read by the readers, let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels." And so St. Jerom reminds Sabinianus,^g the deacon, how he read the Gospels in the church. And Socrates^h notes the same of Sabbatius, a presbyter in the

^d Book iii. chap. v.

^e Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (Paris. 1633, p. 67.) Hunc ad nos, fratres dilectissimi, cum tanta Domini dignatione venientem, testimonio et miraculo ejus ipsius, qui se persecutus fuerat, illustrem, quid aliud quam super pulpitu, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celestitate subnixus, et plebi universæ, pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur? Ep. xxxiii. p. 65. Merebatur talis clericæ ordinationis ultiores gradus et incrementa majora, non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus; sed interim placuit, ut ab officio lectionis incipiat: quia et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia, quæ Christi martyrium proloquuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt.

^f Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γινομένων ἀναγνώσμάτων, ἑστὴς τις τοῦ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλόντος θμους . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγνώσκειν τὰ εὐαγγέλια. (i. 294, E.)

^g Hieron. Epist. xlviii. ad Sabinian. Evangelium Christi, quasi diaconus, lectitabas.

^h Socrat. lib. vii. c. v. Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ συνέξεως, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου περισχὺν ἀναγνώσκων, κ. τ. λ.

Novatian Church. Sozomen says,¹ "At Alexandria, the Gospel was read only by the archdeacon; in other places, by the deacons; in others, only by the presbyters; and on the greater festivals, by the bishop, as at Constantinople on Easter-day." In the French Churches it was the ordinary office of deacons; as appears from that canon of the Council of Vaison, which says,¹ "That if the presbyter was sick, the deacon might read a homily;" giving this reason for it, that "They who were thought worthy to read the Gospels of Christ, were not unworthy to read the expositions of the holy fathers." Yet, in the Spanish Churches, the ancient custom continued, that the readers read the Gospel as well as other lessons; which may be collected from that canon of the first Council of Toledo,² which allows no one that had done public penance, ever to be ordained, unless it were to the office of a reader, in case of great necessity, and then he should read neither the Epistle nor the Gospel. Which implies, that other readers, who were never under penance, read both the Gospel and all other lessons; as Albaspinæus,¹ in his notes, rightly observes upon it.

SECT. V. — *Whether the Epistle and Gospel were read twice: first, to the Catechumens, and then to the Faithful, at the Altar.*

But in one thing that learned person seems to be mistaken, when he supposes Reading of the Gospel to have

¹ Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. Ταύτην δὲ ἱερὰν βίβλον ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἰσθᾶτι μόνος ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος· παρὰ δὲ ἄλλοις, διάκονοι· ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ἐκκλησίαις οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνος ἐν δὲ ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις, ἐπίσκοποι, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, κατὰ τὴν πρῶτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστασίμου ἱερῆς. (Cant. p. 308.)

² Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1680.) Si digni sunt diacones quod Christus in evangelio loquutus est, legere; quare indigni judicentur sanctorum Patrum expositiones publice recitare?

³ Conc. Tolet. I. c. ii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1223.) Pœnitentes non admittantur ad clerum, nisi tantum si necessitas, aut usus exegerit, et tunc inter lectores deputentur, ita ut evangelia et apostolum non legant. — Vid. c. iv. ibid. ubi sic legitur. Subdiaconus, defuncta uxore, si aliam duxerit, ab officio, in quo ordinatus fuerat, removeatur, et habeatur inter ostiarios, vel inter lectores; ita ut evangelium et apostolum non legat.

⁴ Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Tolet. I. c. ii. ibid. p. 1241. B. Liquido ex his constat, lectores non evangelium tantum sed et lectiones pronuntiassent.

been in the communion-service;^m for anciently the Scriptures, and even the Gospel itself, were only read in the service of the catechumens. Cardinal Bona, indeed, says,ⁿ “The ancient custom was to read the Gospel only to the faithful,” and that the Council of Orange, in France,^o and the Council of Valentia, in Spain,^p were the first that ordered it otherwise. But nothing is plainer, than that the reading of the Gospel was always before the sermon, and the sermon was always before the communion-service began, in the presence of the catechumens, and before their dismissal ordinarily, being designed chiefly for their instruction: therefore, though some ill custom might have crept into the Churches of France and Spain, excluding the catechumens from hearing the Gospel and the sermon, which those Councils endeavoured to correct, yet that is far from proving it to be the ancient custom, to confine the hearing of the Gospel to the faithful only. And a man cannot look into the homilies of St. Austin or St. Chrysostom, but he will find this mistake every where confuted: for they always speak of reading the Gospel before the homily, and the homily made in the presence of the catechumens. And the contrary supposition is merely owing to a common prejudice and conceit, that the ancient service was in all things like the modern, where the Gospel is twice read, first among the lessons, and then with the Epistle, by itself, in the communion-service; whereas anciently they were both read in the ordinary course of the lessons, in that part of the service only, which was properly called ‘the service of the catechumens.’

^m Albaspin. Not. in c. iv. Conc. Carth. III. p. 1185. C. Vetus ille mos invaluerat, ut non diaconi, sed lectores epistolas et evangelia in solemni missæ sacrificio pronuntiarent.

ⁿ Bon. Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vii. n. i. In Concilio Arausicano primo, tempore Leonis I. c. xviii. statutum est, ut evangelia, quæ solis fidelibus antea legebantur, deinceps etiam catechumenis legerentur. Idem decrevit Concilium Valentianum in Hispania.

^o Conc. Arausican. I. c. xviii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1450.) Evangelia deinceps placuit catechumenis legi apud omnes provinciarum nostrarum ecclesias.

^p Conc. Valent. c. i. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1617. E.) Ut sacrosancta evangelia ante munus illationem in missa catechumenorum, in ordine lectionum, post apostolum legantur: quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant.

SECT. VI.—*The Solemnity and Ceremonies of Reading the Lessons. Where first of the Salutation, Pax vobis, before Reading.*

The next thing worthy our observation, is the solemnity and ceremony with which the ancients appointed the Scriptures to be read. The reader, before he began to read, was commonly used to say, *Pax vobis*, 'Peace be with you;' which was the usual form of salutation at the entrance of all offices in the Church. St. Cyprian plainly alludes to this,^a when speaking of a new reader whom he had ordained to the office the Lord's day before, he says, *Auspiciatus est pacem, dum dedicat lectionem*, 'he began to use the salutation, 'Peace be with you,' when he first began to read.' I know none of the commentators that take notice of this custom in Cyprian, or make any remark upon the phrase; but this is evidently the sense of it, and so the learned Albaspinæus understands it.^b This custom seems to have continued in Afric, till the third Council of Carthage made an order to the contrary,^c that the readers should no longer salute the people. This form of salutation, "Peace be with you," to which the people usually answered, "And with thy spirit," was commonly the office of a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, in the performance of their several functions in the church, as is noted by Chrysostom^d in many places. And, therefore, this Council took away this power from the readers, and put it into the hands of the deacons, or the other superior minis-

^a Cyprian. Epist. xxxiii. al. xxxviii. ad Cler. Carth. p. 75, (p. 223, lin. 1, edit. Fell. Amstelod.)

^b Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Carth. III. c. iv. Antequam evangelii pronuntiandi initium faceret olim lector, elata voce proferebat, 'Pax vobis,' perinde atque hodierno die diaconus dicit, 'Dominus vobiscum.' Hoc idem epistola D. Cypriani iisdem verbis probatur, 'Interim vobis hoc die auspicatus est pacem, dum dedicat lectionem,' quibus D. Cyprianus verbis alloquutum et salutatum populum ait ab Aurelio, quum primo ei evangelii recitandi potestas esset facta, et pacem et benedictionem Christi Domini fidelibus condonasse. (ii. 1185, D.)

^c Conc. Carth. III. c. iv. Ut lectores populum non salutent.

^d Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p. 673, (p. 673, edit. Francof.) "Ὅταν εἰρήνη πάλιν μεταλαμβάνει καὶ μεταδίδονται δι, κ. τ. λ. — Hom. iii. in Coloss. p. 1338, (p. 176, edit. cit.) 'Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς οἰκαιῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς, ἐν ταῖς προσεήνεσι, καὶ ἅπασι, καὶ δις, καὶ τρις, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὴν δίδωσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάς, εἰρήνην ὑμῖν, ἐπιτίθων.

ters of the Church. So that, as the reader had used to say before reading, "Peace be with you," this canon only ordered that it should be said by some other minister: for that it was used either by the reader, or some other minister, before he began to read, appears from St. Austin, who, writing against the Donatists, says,^u "Nothing could be more perverse than their own practice, who, before the reader began to read the Epistle, said to him, 'Peace be with thee;' and yet separated from the peace of those Churches to which the Epistles were written."

SECT. VII.—*This Salutation sometimes used by the Bishop immediately before the Reader began to read.*

St. Austin, in another place, mentions the bishop's using this form of salutation as soon as he came into the church, immediately before the reader began to read the lessons, which in Afric, in those days, was the first part of the service, with a responsory psalm between every lesson. "I went to church," says he:^v "I saluted the people; [that is, said, 'Peace be unto you;'] and then, silence being made, the solemn lessons of the Holy Scriptures were read in order." This custom of saluting the people in this form, is also mentioned by Chrysostom in several places. "When we are come into the Church," says he,^x "we say immediately, 'Peace be unto you,' according to this law; and ye answer, 'And with thy spirit.'" Again,^y "The bishop, at his entrance into the church, says always, 'Peace be unto you,' as a proper salutation when he comes into his Father's

^u Aug. Ep. clxv. Quid perversius et insanius, quam lectoribus easdem epistolas legentibus dicere, 'Pax tecum,' et ab earum ecclesiarum pace separari, quibus ipsæ epistolæ scriptæ sunt? (Antwerp. ii. 91.)

^v Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. p. 1489, (p. 1350, b. edit. Basil. 1569.) Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum: 'Deo gratias, Deo laudes,' nemine tacente, hinc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum Divinarum sunt lecta solemnia. (vii. p. 507.)

^x Chrysostom. Hom. xxxiii. in Matth. p. 318, B. (p. 366, d. edit. Francof.) Κοινῇ πᾶσι τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπιτίθωμεν εἰσιόντις εὐθὺς, κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἑαυτῶν.

^y Ibid. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 653, (p. 405, edit. cit.) Εὐχὴν καὶ νῦν ὁ τοῦ ἐκκλησίας προϊστάμενος ἐπιτίθεται, ὡς εἰς πατρὶαν οἰκίαν εἰσιών.

house." And in another place,^a "When the bishop enters the church, he immediately says, 'Peace be with you all.' When he begins his sermon, he says again, 'Peace be with you all,'" &c. Now, considering that this was the common salutation at the beginning of all offices, and that the Scriptures began to be read as soon as the bishop came into the church, it is plain that such a form of salutation was always used by one or other before the reading of the Scriptures.

SECT. VIII. — *The Deacon enjoined Silence, before the Reader began, and required attention. As the Reader also did before every Lesson, saying, "Thus saith the Lord."*

St. Chrysostom takes notice of two other customs relating to this matter, as introductory to the reading and hearing the Scriptures with greater advantage: that is, the deacon's enjoining silence, and requiring attention; and the reader himself, after the naming any lesson, saying, "Thus saith the Lord." "The deacon," says he,^a "who is the common minister of the Church, first stands up, and cries, with a loud voice, *Πρόσχωμεν*, 'Let us give attention,' this he repeats several times; and after that, the reader names the prophet, Isaiah suppose, or any other; and before he begins to read, he also cries aloud, *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος*, 'Thus saith the Lord.' " So again, in another place,^b "When the reader rises up and says, 'Thus saith the Lord,' and the deacon stands up, and commands all men to keep silence, he does not say this to honour the reader, but God, who speaks to all, by him." This enjoining of silence is spoken of by St. Ambrose^c and

^a Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. p. 1338, (p. 173, sub fin. edit. Francof.) "Ὅταν εισέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάς, εὐθὺς λέγει, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ἰμῶλῃ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Ibid. Hom. xix. in Acta Apostol. p. 538, (p. 185, edit. cit.) Κοινὸς διάκονος ἵστηται, ὁ διάκονος μίγα βῶν καὶ λίγων, Πρόσχωμεν· καὶ τοῦτο πολλὰκις . . . μισ' ἐκείνους ἀρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαίου . . . εἴτα εἰς ἐπήκουσιν ἐκφωνεῖ λίγων, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος.

^c Ibid. Hom. iii. in 2 Thessal. p. 1502, (p. 381, edit. cit.) "Ὅταν ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀναγνώσκων λίγη, Τάδε λίγει Κύριος· καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἱστᾷς πιστομίῃ πάντας, οὐ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι τιμὴν παῶν τοῦτο φησιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δι' ἐκείνου πᾶσι διαλεγόμενῳ.

^c Ambros. Præfat. in Psalmos. Quantum laboratur in ecclesia, ut fiat silen-

others; but it differed from another act of the deacon's under the same name, *silentium indicere*, which was 'calling upon the people to fall to their private prayers;' of which we shall have occasion to say more in the next Book, chap. i.

SECT. IX. — *At the naming of the Prophet, or Epistle, the People, in some places, said, Deo gratias, and Amen, at the end of it.*

Mabillon observes,^d "That at the naming of the lessons out of the Prophets or Epistles, the people sometimes said, *Deo gratias*, 'Thanks be to God,' as it is in the Mozarabic Liturgy." But we have little notice of this elsewhere. Only St. Austin says,^e "It was a very common phrase among the monks, when they met a brother-Christian, to say, *Deo gratias*, 'Thanks be to God;' for which the Circumcellions, or Agonistici, as they called themselves, among the Donatists, were wont to insult them, though they themselves often used to say, *Deo laudes*, which, in their mouth, was more to be dreaded than the roaring of a lion." It appears, also, from the Acts of Eraclius' election to be his successor, that it was a usual acclamation upon many other occasions: for as soon as he had nominated Eraclius to be his successor, the people cried out for a long time together,^f *Deo gratias, Christo laudes*, 'Thanks be to God, praise be to Christ.' What, therefore, was so common upon other occasions, might very probably be said, by way of acclamation, at the naming of the lessons of the Holy Scriptures. Grotius says,^g

tium, quum lectiones leguntur, &c.—Vid. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. citat. sub litt. antec. (").

^d Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. c. ii. n. x. p. 11. Audito populi responso, legit prophetiam, ad cujus titulum populus respondet, 'Deo gratias,' et in fine, 'Amen.'

^e Aug. in Psalm. cxxxii. p. 630, (p. 1538, b. edit. Basil.) Agonistici appelluntur. Utinam ergo milites Christi essent, et non milites diaboli, a quibus plus timetur 'Deo laudes,' quam fremitus leonis. Hi etiam insultare nobis audent, quia fratres, quum vident homines, 'Deo gratias' dicunt. (iv. pars. i. 1111.)

^f Aug. Ep. cx. de Actis Eraclii. A populo acclamatum est trigesies sexies; 'Deo gratias, Christo laudes.' (ii. 600, F.)

^g Grotius, Adnotat. in Philemon. v. 25. 'Ἀμήν, 'Amen.'] Est vox, quam ecclesia respondebat lectis epistolis. Ideo omnibus Pauli epistolis cœpit adscribi.

“It was also customary, at the end of the Epistle, for the people to answer, ‘Amen:’ and that hence it was, that at the end of all St. Paul’s Epistles, the word, ‘Amen,’ was added by the Church.” I know not upon what grounds he asserts this: and, therefore, I shall let it rest upon the authority of that learned man, without affirming or denying his assertion.

SECT. X.—*At the reading of the Gospel all stood up, and said, in some Places, “Glory be to thee, O Lord.”*

At the reading of the Gospel, it was a general custom for all the people to stand up: and some of the middle-age Ritualists take notice of their saying, “Glory be to thee, O Lord,” at the naming of it. The author of the Homily *De Circo vel Hippodromo*, under the name of St. Chrysostom, says,^b “When the deacon goes about to read the Gospel, we all presently rise up, and say, ‘Glory be to thee, O Lord.’” But as that homily is known to be none of Chrysostom’s, we cannot certainly say, it was the custom in his days. But the custom of rising up at the reading of the Gospel, is certainly as old as Chrysostom: for he speaks of it in one of his homilies on St. Matthew:ⁱ “If the letters of a king are read in the theatre with great silence; much more ought we to compose ourselves, and stand up with attentive ears, when the letters, not of an earthly king, but of the Lord of angels, are read to us.”

The author of the Constitutions mentions the same:^k “When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters, and deacons, and all the people, stand with profound silence.” And so Isidore of Pelusium:^l “When the true Shepherd appears at

^b Chrysostom. Hom. lii. de Circo, tom. vi. p. 411, C. (p. 412, c. edit. Francof.) ‘*Ὡίκα (ὁ διάκονος) τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἔρχεται, ὡθίως διακινεῖται ἡμεῖς, ἰσχυροῦντες, Ἄλλὰ δόξα σοι, Κύριε.*

ⁱ Ibid. Hom. i. in Matth. p. 11, A. (p. 13, edit. cit.) Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ θιάτρου πολλῆς σιγῆς γινώμεναι, τότε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναγιγνώσκονται γράμματα· πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλει ταύτης ἅπαντας διτὴ κατιστάλθαι, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ταῖς ἀκουαῖς ἰσχύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἰσχυροῦς ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῶν ἀγγέλων δισπότου τὰ γράμματα ἀναγιγνώσκονται μίλλαι.

^k Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (l. 296.) “Ὅταν ἀναγιγνώσκονται ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ περιεστυμένοι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς σθηκίτωσαν μιτὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας.

^l Isidor. Pelusiot. lib. i. ep. cxxxvi. ‘*Ὡίκα αὐτὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ποιμὴν παραγίγνεται,*

the opening of the holy Gospels, then the bishop himself rises up, and lays aside his pastoral habit, or authority, signifying thereby, that then the Lord himself, the author of the pastoral function, his God and his Master, is present." This was every where observed, except at Alexandria, where it is noted by Sozomen, as a singular thing in that Church,^m "That the bishop did not use to rise up, when the Gospel was read." And Cassian observes it as no less singular in the monks of Egypt,ⁿ That, excepting the reader, who always stood up, the rest sat upon low seats, both when the Psalms and the lessons out of the Old or New Testament were reading. Which was only indulged them because of their excessive watchings, and fastings, and labours. In other places, sitting at the Gospel was reckoned a corruption and abuse: insomuch that Philostorgius tells us,^o "That Theophilus, the Arian bishop, who went to the Indies, corrected it as an indecency that had crept in there against the rules of the Church." And Anastasius did the same at Rome, as is said in his Life,^p by the author of the Pontifical. For he made a decree, that as often as the Holy Gospels were read, the priests should not sit, but stand in a bowing posture. In Afric, the general custom was not only to stand at the Gospel, but at all the other lessons out of Scripture:

διὰ τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελίων τῶν προσκυνητῶν ἀναπτύξεως, καὶ ὑπαγίσταται καὶ ἀποτίθεται τὸ σχῆμα τῆς μνήσεως ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτὸν δηλῶν παρῆναι τὸν Κύριον, τὸν τῆς πειραστικῆς ἡγούμενον, καὶ Θεὸν καὶ Δυσπότην.

^m Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. Πῖνον δὲ κακέينو παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρείῃς τούτοις ἀναγνωσκόμενοι γὰρ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, οὐκ ὑπαγίσταται ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· ὁ παρ' ἄλλοις οὗτ' ἔγνω οὗτ' ἀκήκουσεν. (Cant. p. 307.)

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xii. Hunc canonicum, quem prædiximus, duodenarium psalmodum numerum tali corporis quiete relevant, ut has easdem congregationum solemnitates ex more celebrantes, absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentia (lege *insidentes*) ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. Itaque namque jejuniis et operatione totius diei noctisque lassescunt, ut nisi hujusmodi refectioe adjuventur, ne hunc quidem numerum stantes implere prævaleant. (P. 24.)

^o Philostorg. lib. iii. c. v. Κακέειδεν εἰς τὴν ἑλλήν ἀφίειστο Ἰνδικήν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐαγῶς δρωμένων ὑπανορθώσατο· καὶ γὰρ καθιζόμενοι τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἱστοῦντο τὴν ἀκρόασιν, καὶ ἄλλὰ τινα, ὧν μὴ θύοις διεμὸς ἱσιστάται, διαπράττοντο. (Cant. p. 488.)

^p Pontifical. Vit. Anastas. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1190.) Hic constituit, ut quotiescumque sancta evangelia recitarentur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent.

for they gave equal honour to every part of the word of God, insomuch as that their sermons, and homilies, and whatever was rehearsed in the Church, was heard standing; as we shall see more in the next chapter. Here, it will be sufficient to observe, that Cyprian's readers not only stood up to read, but that all the people stood about them, when they read the Scriptures.^a And in St. Austin's time, the custom was the same: for he says,^r "The longest lessons were then heard by all sorts and sexes standing, except only such as, through some infirmity in their feet, or weakness of body, were disabled; who, upon that account, were indulged sitting, but no others whatsoever." Bona thinks there was no certain answer made^s when the Gospel was ended. For some said only, "Amen," as it is in the Mozarabic Liturgy, and the Rule of St. Benedict. Which Alexander Hales interprets the same as saying, "God grant we may persevere in the doctrine of the Gospel." Others said, *Deo gratias*, 'Thanks be to God;'^t and others, *Laus tibi, Christe*, 'Praise be to thee, O Christ.'^u But all this is said only out of the middle-age writers; whilst there is a perfect silence as to this matter, in the more ancient writers of the Church.

^a Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. p. 68, (p. 224, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Hos lectores interim constitutos sciatis, quia oportebat lucernam super candelabrum poni, unde omnibus luceat, et gloriosos vultus in loco altiore constitui, ubi ab omni populo circumstante conspecti, incitamentum gloriæ videntibus præbeant.

^r Aug. Hom. ex l. tom. x. p. 174. Quando passionēs proluxæ aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare not possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c. Note, that this homily is, by Mabillon and the Benedictins, in their new edition, ascribed to Cæsarius Arelatensis. If it be his, it proves the custom of standing to hear the lessons, to have been according to the usage of the French Churches.

^s Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vii. n. iv. Lecto evangelio, olim dixisse 'Amen,' Belet, in Explicatione Divinorum Officiorum, c. xxxix.; et Durandus, lib. iv. c. xxiv., testes sunt; quod etiam in missa Mozarabum et in regula Sancti Benedicti, c. xi. præscribitur. Alensis item 4 p. Summæ in Tractat. de Offic. Missæ, 'Perlecto,' inquit, 'evangelio dicunt adstantes Amen, quasi dicant, Faciat nos Deus perseverare in doctrina evangelii. Alii dicunt 'Deo gratias,' in gratiarum actionem pro beneficio tantæ doctrinæ et tam salutaris. Nunc dicimus, 'Laus tibi, Christe.'

SECT. XI.—*Lights carried before the Gospel in the Eastern Churches.*

There was one ceremony more ancient, which St. Jerom makes peculiar to the Eastern Churches, which was the carrying lights before the Gospel, when it was to be read. He says,† “They had no such custom in the Western Church, either as burning candles by day, at the monuments of the martyrs (as Vigilantius falsely accused them); nor at any other time, save only when they met in the night, to give light to their assemblies: but in the Eastern Church it was otherwise: for, without any regard to the relics of the martyrs, whenever the Gospel was read, they lighted candles, partly to demonstrate their joy for the good news which the Gospel brought; and partly, by a corporeal symbol, to represent that light of which the psalmist speaks, ‘Thy word is a lamp to my feet, and a light unto my paths.’” I know no other author, beside St. Jerom, that mentions this; and, as far as his authority will prevail, it may be credited, and no further. Dr. Cave^u judges it might not be much elder than

† Hieron. cont. Vigilant. c. iii. (p. 408, g. b. edit. Paris. 1643.) Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, sicut frustra calumniaris, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus. . . . Absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis ecclesias, quando legendum est evangelium, accenduntur luminaria, jam sole rutilante: non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum. Unde et virgines illæ evangelicæ semper habent accensas lampades suas. Et ad apostolos dicitur, ‘Sint lumbi vestri præcincti, et lucernæ ardentes in manibus vestris.’ Et de Joanne Baptista, ‘Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens:’ ut sub typo luminis corporalis illa lux ostendatur, de quo in Psalterio legimus, ‘Lucerna pedibus meis,’ &c. (Venet. 1767, ii. 393.)

^u Cave, Prim. Christ. book i. chap. vii. p. 203. By reason of the darkness of these places, and their frequent assembling there in the night, to avoid the fury of their enemies, they were forced to use lights and lamps in their public meetings; but they who make this an argument to patronize their burning of lamps and wax-candles in their churches at noon-day (as it is in all the great churches of the Roman communion), talk at a strange rate of wild inconsequence. I am sure St. Hierom, when charged with it, denied that they used any in the day-time, and never but at night, when they rose up to their night-devotions. He confesses, indeed, it was otherwise in the Eastern Churches, where, when the Gospel was to be read, they set up lights as a token of their rejoicing for those happy and glad tidings that were contained in it, light having been ever used as a symbol and representation of joy and gladness: a custom probably not much elder than his time.

his time : however it was, it is no argument to patronize the burning of lamps and wax-candles, without the same reason, in churches at noon-day.

SECT. XII.—*Three or four Lessons sometimes read out of the Gospels on the same Day.*

It is further observable, that in some Churches, upon some solemn occasions, they had three or four lessons read out of the Gospels on the same day. St. Austin says,† “ He would have had four lessons read out of the four Gospels on the day of our Saviour’s passion; but the people were disturbed at it, as what they had not been accustomed to, so he was forced to wave it.” But the custom prevailed in the French Churches. For in the old *Lectioarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon,‡ the lessons of several festivals are thus appointed: on the feast of Epiphany, there is one lesson out of St. Matthew ii. for morning-service; and three more out of Matthew, Luke, and John, for the communion-service. So on the Παρασκευή, or ‘day of our Saviour’s passion,’ there is one lesson of the Gospel for morning-service, another for the second, another for the third, another for the sixth, another for the ninth hours of prayer,* collected out of the four Gospels, ‘by way of harmony,’ or *catena*. Whence we may observe, that the old Gallican Liturgy, from whence our English service is thought chiefly to be derived, and not from the Roman,‡ by learned men, had distinct offices for morning and communion-service, and

† Aug. Serm. cxliii. de Tempore, p. 320. Passio, quæ uno die legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum. Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes evangelistas etiam passio legeretur: factum est: non audierunt homines, quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt. (v. 683.)

‡ Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. p. 116. Legenda in Epiphania ad missam. Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matthæum. ‘Tempore illo venit Dominus Jesus in Cana Galilææ, in Jordane ad Joannem, ut baptizaretur, &c. Matth. c. iii. v. 13, ad fin. cap. Tum continue subjungitur. ‘Et ipse Jesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta, ut putabatur, filius Joseph,’ ex Lucæ, c. iii. v. 23: postea consequenter ex Joannis, c. ii. v. 1. ‘Et die tertio nuptiæ factæ sunt in Cana Galilææ,’ ad v. 11.

* Ibid. pp. 134, 135.

‡ Vid. Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 232, seqq. imprimis, p. 237, fin. cit. supra, litt. (†), p. 462.

distinct Gospels for each service, on solemn days, as ours now has for all the festivals, which probably were designed, at first, for distinct offices, though they are now commonly read together in the greatest part of our Churches.

SECT. XIII. — *Of longer and shorter Lessons, and their distinct Use, according to Durantus.*

There is another distinction made by some, between the longer and shorter lessons. The longer lessons are said by Durantus^a to be used at the long nocturnal or antelucan service; and the lesser, at the other canonical hours of prayer; so that this distinction could have no place till the canonical hours were settled in the Church; which was not till the fourth or fifth century, as has been shewed in another place.^a Radulphus Tungrensis, whom Durantus cites, speaks somewhat of this distinction in his time, and says,^b “The lesser sort of lessons were called, vulgarly, *capitula*, ‘chapters,’ and designed for the praise of God;” which makes it more probable that these lesser lessons were no other than the psalms, or antiphonal hymns, collected out of the Psalms for the service of the several hours of devotion; which are expressly called *capitella de Psalmis*, ‘chapters out of the Psalms,’ by the Council of Agde,^c and were the same as antiphonal

^a Durant. de Ritib. lib. iii. c. xviii. nn. iv. v. In nocturno officio leguntur lectiones, partim ex sacris libris Veteris vel Novi Testamenti, partim ex homiliis et gestis sanctorum: in diurno vero officio, loco lectionum leguntur capitula, hoc est, breves lectiones. De quibus capitulis mentio fit in Concilio Agathensi, c. xxi. Canon. convenit, de Consecr. distinct. v. ‘Et quia convenit, ordinem ecclesiæ æqualiter ab omnibus custodiri,’ &c. Et paulo post: ‘Et in conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos, capitella de psalmis dicantur, et plebs, collecta oratione, ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur.’ De eisdem capitulis agit Radulph. Tungrens. de Can. Observ. propos. xiii. in hæc verba: Sicut ad vigilias noctis leguntur lectiones magnæ: ita ad laudes, et vesperas et ad quinque parvas horas dicuntur parvæ lectiones, quas Benedictus appellat in sua regula lectiones: communi tamen usu sæculari, sit Radulph. appellantur capitula. — Idem Radulph. propos. viii. In lectionibus, inquit, tam majoribus, quæ in nocturnis vigiliis leguntur, quam parvulis, quæ dicuntur ad alias horas, et capitula appellantur, laudem Dei agimus et pronuntiamus.

^a Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. viii.

^b Radulph. de Canon. Observant. propos. viii. xiii. Vid. sub litt. (*).

^c Conc. Agath. c. xxx. In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de psalmis dicantur, &c. (iv. p. 1388.)

hymns, collected out of the Psalms, and to be said alternately by way of responses: so that, whatever may be said of the middle ages, there seems to be no ground for this distinction of greater and lesser lessons in the ancient service, save only as we take the reading of the Psalms for lessons of Scripture.

SECT. XIV. — *What might, or might not, be read by way of Lessons in the Church.*

It is true, indeed, St. Austin, in one of his homilies,^d which Mabillon and the Benedictins, in their late edition, ascribe to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, speaks of longer and shorter lessons; but it is not in relation to the long morning-service, and the shorter service of the canonical hours, but upon a quite different occasion. For there it is supposed, that beside the lessons of Scripture, sometimes other lessons were read out of the homilies of the fathers, or the acts of the martyrs; which, because they were sometimes very prolix, an indulgence was therefore granted to infirm persons to sit down to hear them read. And this leads us to a new observation and further remark upon the ancient practice, that, in some Churches at least, other things were allowed to be read, by way of lesson and instruction, beside the canonical Scriptures; such as the passions of the martyrs on their proper festivals, and the homilies of the fathers, and the epistles and tracts of pious men, and the letters communicatory of one Church to another; with other things of the like nature. That the Passions of the Martyrs were sometimes read among the lessons in the church, appears not only from the foresaid homily of Cæsarius or St. Austin, but from a rule made in the third Council of Carthage,^e which forbids all other books to be read in the church besides the canonical Scripture, except the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days of commemoration.

^d Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex l. Quando aut Passiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant, quæ leguntur. (vi. 357.)

^e Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvii. Liceat legi passiones martyrum, quum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur. (ii. 1177.)

Eusebius^f probably collected the Passions of the Martyrs for this very purpose, as Paulinus, bishop of Nola, did after him; which Joannes Diaconus^g says were used to be read in the churches. Thus Gelasius says,^h “The Acts of Pope Sylvester were read in many of the Roman churches; though not in the Lateran, because they were apocryphal, and written by an unknown author.” And Mabillonⁱ gives several other such instances out of Avitus and Ferreolus; and in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which he published, there are frequently lessons appointed out of St. Austin and others, upon the festivals of St. Stephen and the Holy Innocents, and Julian the martyr, on Epiphany, and the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul. Whence some learned men^j conjecture, not improbably, that such sort of histories and passions of the martyrs had particularly the name of *legenda*, ‘legends:’ for though now that name be commonly taken in a worse sense, for fabulous history, because many lives of saints and martyrs were written by the monks of later ages in a mere fabulous and romantic way; yet, anciently, it had a good signification;

^f Euseb. lib. v. c. iv. de his collationibus loquitur, quando ait: “Ὅτι γὰρ φίλον, καὶ ταῦτα βῆθιον πληρίστατα διαγινῶναι, μετὰ χύρας ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῇ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γούν ἴφην, κατεύλειται. (Cant. 214, 16.)

^g Joan. Diac. Præfat. ad Vit. Gregor. Magni. Nuper ad vigiliis beati Gregorii, Romani pontificis, Anglorum gentis apostoli, lectione de Paulino, civitatis Nolanæ præsule, consuetudinaliter personante, &c.

^h Gelas. Decret. ap. Crab. Conc. tom. i. p. 992, (tom. iv. ap. Labb. p. 1263, D.) Actus beati Sylvestri, apostolicæ sedis præsulis, licet ejus, qui conscripsit, nomen ignoretur, a multis tamen, in urbe Romana, Catholicis legi cognovimus, et pro antiquo usu multæ hæc imitantur ecclesiæ.

ⁱ Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 403. — Idem (Avitus) in fragmento vi. meminit lectæ passionis sanctorum Agaunensium in eorum Festivitate, p. 407. Præter ea Ferreolus Ucetiensis antistes in Regulæ suæ, c. xviii. ‘Gesta martyrum,’ inquit, ‘id est, passiones sanctorum fidelium, quæ quorundam compaginata studio et sermone, digesta sunt, tempore quo nobis diem migrationis eorum anni meta cursus sui legibus repræsentat, recenseri in Oratorio audientibus cunctis omnino decernimus.’

^j Vid. Chamier. Panstratia, tom. i. de Canon. lib. iv. c. vi. sect. iii. Concilium Carthagin. III. eo ipso capite, quod ab adversariis solet citari, primo non vetat quidquam legi præter ea, quæ sunt in canone, sed legi sub nomine Divine Scripturæ. Secundo ad finem addit, ‘Liceat etiam legi passionem martyrum, quum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.’ Unde opinor eis ‘legeudarum’ nomen inditum.

and in its original use, denoted only such acts and monuments of the martyrs, as were allowed by authority to be read in the church. The curious reader may find frequent references, made by St. Austin in his homilies,^k to such lessons read out of the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days in the church: as also in the homilies of Pope Leo^l and others, which it is needless to recite in this place.

But, besides the Passions of the Martyrs and homilies relating to them, there were also many other pious books read by way of moral exhortation in many Churches. Thus, Eusebius says,^m the book called *Hermes Pastor*, was anciently read in the church. He says the same of Clemens Romanus's first Epistle to the Corinthians,ⁿ that it was read in many Churches, both in his own time and the ages before him. And Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, says,^o "They read not only that epistle of Clemens, but another written by Soter, bishop of Rome, which they would always continue to read." Sozomen says,^p "The book called the Revelations of Peter, was read once a-year, on Good Friday, in many of the churches of Palestine." Athanasius^q testifies the same of the book

^k Vid. Aug. Sermon. xii. de Sanctis, p. 408, (tom. x. opp. p. 1190, edit. Basil.) In passione, quæ nobis hodie recitata est, &c. — Id. Sermon. xlv. de Diversis, p. 508, Sermon. lxiii. p. 553. Sermon. xciii. p. 564. Sermon. ci. cii. ciii. cv. cix. de Diversis, in edit. Paris. 1637.

^l Leo, Sermon. de Maccabæis, (Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. vii. fol. 1053, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Causam solemnitatis hodiernæ, dilectissimi, plenissime sacræ historiæ lectione didicistis, &c.

^m Euseb. lib. iii. c. xvi. "ὅθεν ἦδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἰσμεν αὐτὸ [βιβλίον τοῦ Παιμίνος] διδημοσιευμένον.

ⁿ Hieron. de Scriptor. c. x. Asserunt (Hermen) auctorem esse libri, qui appellatur Pastor, et apud quasdam Græciæ ecclesias etiam publice legitur.

^o Euseb. lib. iii. c. xvi. p. 107. Τοῦτου δὲ οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐμολογουμένη μία πιστοτὴν φέρεται, μεγάλῃ τι καὶ θαυμασίᾳ ἦν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίῳ διευτυπώσατο, στάσιος τηλικᾶδε κατὰ τὴν Κόρινθον γενόμενης ταύτης δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείστοις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ καινοῦ διδημοσιευμένη πάλαι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶς αὐτοὺς ἔγνωμεν. — Id. lib. iv. c. xxiii. Τὴν σήμερον κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμεῖς διηγώμεθα, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεγνώκαμεν ὑμῶν τὴν πιστοτέραν ἢ ἔχομεν αἰεὶ ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νομινεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεύσαν. (P. 187, 6.)

^p Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. Οὕτω γοῦν τὴν καλούμενην ἀποκάλυψιν Πίτρου, ὡς νόθον πανταλῶς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων δοκιμασθεῖσαν, ἔν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Παλαιστίνης εἰσὶν οὖν ἀπαξ ἰκαίςτους ἀναγιγνωσκόμενην ἔγνωμεν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Παρασκευῆς, "ἐν ὑλαζῶς ἄγαν ὁ λαὸς ἡσυχίᾳ ἐπὶ ἀναμνήσει τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους. (P. 308, 25.)

^q Athan. Epist. ad Ruffin. tom. ii. p. 33, (potius Epist. Festal. tom. i. p. 963,

called *Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων*, 'The Doctrine of the Apostles.' And St. Jerom says,^r "The homilies of Ephraem Syrus were in such honour, as to be read in the church after the reading of the Scriptures." St. Austin assures us,^s "That the Acts of the Collation of Carthage were read always in the church in Lent." And in one of his epistles,^t he desires of Marcellinus Comes, that the Acts of the Trial of the Donatists, who were convict of the murder of the Catholics, might be sent him, to be read in all the churches of his diocess. And it is remarkable, that in the accounts we have of the burning of the Bible in the Diocletian persecution, there is sometimes mention^u made of burning the salutary or communicatory letters which were sent from one Church to another. St. Austin adds further,^v "That when any one received a signal mercy from God, the relation of it was many times read publicly in the church : of which he gives several instances in his own and other Churches of Afric." And St. Chrysostom says,^w

edit. Paris. 1698.) "Εἰσὶ γὰρ πλείους ἀκριβείας προστίθῃμι, καὶ τούτο γράφον ἀναγκαίως· ὥς ὅτι ἰσὶ καὶ ἴτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔχουσιν οὐ καυνοζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγιγνώσκασθαι τοῖς ἄγροι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχηθῆαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· σοφία Σολομώντος, καὶ σοφία Σαράχ, καὶ Ἑσθήρ, καὶ Ἰουδῆ, καὶ Τοβίας, καὶ Διδαχὴ παλουμένη τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ Παμῆν. (ii. 39.)

^r Hieron. de Scriptor. c. cxv. Ephraem, Edessenæ ecclesiæ diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit, et ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut post lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitarentur. (ii. 943.)

^s Aug. de Gestis cum Emerito, tom. vii. p. 215, (p. 636, edit. Basil. 1569.) Si omnia gesta vobis legere velimus, quamquam præsentibus vobis fratrem et coëpisopum meum Deuterium obstringo, ut quemadmodum sit apud Carthaginem, apud Thagastem, apud Constantinam, apud Hipponem, apud omnes diligentes ecclesias, sic etiam deinceps facere non pigrescat : ut annis omnibus per jejuniorum dies, id est, quadragesima ante Pascha, quando vobis maxime jejunantibus plus vacat audire, eadem gesta collationis per annos singulos, universa a capite in finem ex ordine recitentur. (ix. p. 426.)

^t Aug. Ep. clviii. Gesta, quæ promisit præstantia tua, vehementer exspecto, et in ecclesia Hipponensi jamjam cupio recitari, ac, si fieri potuerit, per omnes ecclesias etiam in diœcesi constitutas. (ii. p. 318.)

^u Gesta Purgat. Felicis et Cæciliani ad calcem Optati, p. 276, (p. 96, b. edit. Paris. 1679.) Inde cathedram tulimus, et epistolas salutatorias, et ostia omnia combusta sunt secundum sacrum præceptum.

^v Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. p. 1489. Libelli eorum, qui beneficia percipiunt, recitantur in populo, &c.

^w Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in 2 Thess. p. 1502, (p. 381, edit. Francof. 1697.)

"Αν μὲν τις παρὰ βασιλείας ἦκη, πάντες προσέχοντες παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦκη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν φέγγονται, καὶ οὐδαὶς ὁ προσέχων.

Sometimes the emperor's letters were read in the church, and heard with great attention; which he urges as an argument, why men should hear with reverence the writings of the prophets, because they come from God, and their epistles are from heaven. Such circular epistles also as were sent from one Church to another, to notify the time of keeping Easter (which were called 'heortastical, or festival epistles'), were generally published in their churches.* But these I mention not as lessons, but only hint the custom incidentally, corresponding to that of our reading briefs for charity, or the circular letters of bishops, or notifying holidays, or banns of marriage, or things of the like kind relating to the public.

SECT. XV. — *Those which we now call 'Apocryphal Books,' were anciently read in some Churches, but not in all.*

As to those books which we now call 'apocryphal,' they were read in some Churches, but not in all. For in the Church of Jerusalem they were utterly forbidden, as appears plainly from Cyril's Catechisms, where he directs the catechumens† "to read no apocryphal books, but only such books as were securely read in the church." And then he specifies what books were then read in the church, viz., all the canonical books which are now in our Bibles, except the Revelations, without any mention at all of the apocryphal books; which is a certain argument that they were not allowed to be read in the Church of Jerusalem, as I have more fully demonstrated in another place.‡ The like determination was made for some other Churches by the Council of Laodicea,§ which forbids all but the canonical books to be read in the

* Vid. Cassian. Collat. x. c. ii. (p. 383.) Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniorum die . . . epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus initium quadragesimæ et dies Paschæ non solum per civitates omnes, sed etiam per universa monasteria designentur.

† Cyril. Catech. iv. n. xxii. p. 66. Πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχει κοινόν ταύτας μόνας μιλίτα σπουδαίως, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μιστὰ πατρῷας ἀναγινώσκουσιν· πολὺ σου φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ ἀπίστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες. . . . — P. 67. "Ὅσα ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκονται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ συντὸν ἀναγίνωσκει. (Paris, 1609, p. 98.)

‡ Book x. chap. i. sect. vii.

§ Conc. Laodic. c. lx. Vid. Græc. supra, sect. ii. sub litt. (q).

church; and likewise specifies what she means by 'canonical books,' viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomena or Chronicles, two of Esdras, the Book of one hundred and fifty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations and Epistles of Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, fourteen Epistles of St. Paul; where none of the apocryphal books nor the Revelations are mentioned, which is a plain evidence that none of them were read in the churches of that district. After the same manner the author of the Constitutions,^b giving orders about what books of the Old Testament should be read in the church, mentions the five books of Moses, and Joshua and Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah (which he means by the histories of their return from Babylon), the books of Job and Solomon, the sixteen Prophets and the Psalms; but says nothing of any of the apocryphal books; which argues, that he did not find them to be read in the rituals of those Churches, whence he made his Collections.

However, in other Churches they were allowed to be read^c with a mark of distinction, as books of piety and moral instruction, to edify the people; but they neither gave them the name of 'canonical books,' nor made use of them to confirm articles of faith. This is expressly said by St. Jerom: and Ruffin,^d who was presbyter of Aquileia, delivers the

^b Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (i. p. 293, E.) 'Ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἴψ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἰστοῦς, ἀναγιγνωσκίτω τὰ Μωσείως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν Κριτῶν καὶ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν Παραλιπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς ἱκανότου πρὸς τοῦτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰωὺ καὶ τοῦ Σολομώντος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν προφητῶν ἀπὸ δύο δὲ γινόμενων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἵτιρές τις τοῦ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλίστω ὕμνου, κ. τ. λ.

^c Hieron. Præfat. in Libros Salomonis. Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobie, et Maccabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed eos inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit, sic et hæc duo volumina (Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum) legit ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.

^d Ruffin. in Symbolo ad calcem Cypriani. Oxou. p. 26. Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt: Ut est Sapientia Solomonis, et alia Sapientia, quæ dicitur filii Sirach. Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobie, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ,

same as the ancient tradition and practice of that Church when these books were neither reckoned canonical, nor yet, in the worst sense, apocryphal, but called 'ecclesiastical,' because they were read in the church, but not used to confirm matters of faith. Among these he reckons the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit, and Judith, and Maccabees, and *Hermes Pastor*, and the book called the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter. Athanasius* also ranks these books, not among the canonical, but among those that might at least be read to or by the catechumens: among which he reckons Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit, and Judith, and Esther, and the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd, that is, *Hermes Pastor*. So in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon, there are lessons appointed out of Tobit, and Judith, and Esther, particularly in the rogation-week, for several days together.

SECT. XVI.—*And in some Churches, under the Title of 'Canonical Scripture,' taking that word in a larger Sense.*

In some Churches, these books were also read under the general name of 'canonical Scripture,' taking that word in a large sense, for such books as were in the rule, or canon, or catalogue of books authorized to be read in the church. Thus, at least, we must understand the Canon of the third Council of Carthage,[†] which ordered, "That nothing but the canonical writings should be read in the church, under the

vel judicium Petri; quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

* Athanas. Epist. Heortastic. tom. ii. p. 39, (tom. i. p. 963.) Vid. supra, sub litt. (9), p. 498).—It. Synops. Scriptur. ibid. p. 55, (pp. 128, 129, edit. 1698.) 'Ἐπὶ τοῦτων εἰσὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα βιβλία, τῆς αὐτῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, οὐ καנוνιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγνωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχομένοις ταῦτα· Σοφία Σολομώνος, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἀγαπήσατε δικαιοσύνην, οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν. Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιμεὼν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ Κυρίου, καὶ μιστ' αὐτοῦ ἴσθιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἐσθῆρ, οὗ ἀρχή· Ἐτοὺς διουτίρου βασιλιεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου, κ. τ. λ. Ἰουδῆθ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἐτοὺς δαδικᾶτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονόσορ, κ. τ. λ. Τωβίτ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ, κ. τ. λ. (58, D.)

† Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvii. Præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine Divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ Scripture, id est, Genesis, &c. . . . Salomonis libri quinque, Tobias, Judith, Hester, Esdræ libri duo, Maccabæorum libri duo. (ii. p. 1177.)

name of the Divine Scriptures; among which canonical Scriptures there are reckoned Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, under the name of Solomon, together with Tobit, Judith, Esther, and the Maccabees." St. Austin seems to have followed this canon, making all these books canonical, but giving preference to some above the other, as they were more or less generally received by the Churches. In his book of Christian Doctrine,^g he calls all the apocryphal books 'canonical;' but he does not allow them so great authority as the rest, because they were not generally received as such by the Churches. He says,^h "The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were none of Solomon's, but yet received into authority by the Western Church." By which he must mean the Roman Church, where Pope Innocent had received them.ⁱ For in the Eastern Church, their canonical authority was always rejected: and in many of the Western Churches: for neither Ruffin, at Aquileia, nor Philastrius, at Brixia, in Italy,^j nor

^g Aug. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. ii. c. viii. Tenebit hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas, quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, præponat eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. (iii. p. 18, B.)

^h Ibid. de Civit. Dei, lib. xvii. c. xx. Non esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores: eos tamen in auctoritatem, maxime Occidentalis, antiquitus recepit ecclesia. (vii. 366.)

ⁱ Innocent. Epist. iii. ad Exuper. c. vii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1256.) Qui vero libri recipiantur in canone Sanctorum Scripturarum, brevis adnexus ostendit. Hæc sunt ergo quæ desiderata moneri voce voluisti. — Moysis lib. v. id est, Genesis, Exodi, Levitici, Numeri, Deuteronomii: et Jesu Nave unus, Judicum unus. Regnorum libri iv. simul et Ruth. Prophetarum libri xvi. Salomonis libri v. Psalterium. Historiarum, Job liber unus, Tobie unus, Esther unus, Judith unus, Maccabæorum duo, Paralipomenon duo, &c.

^j Philostorg. de Hæres. c. xl. de Apocryphis, (Bibl. Patr. Max. p. 711, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Hæresis est etiam, quæ Apocrypha, id est, secreta dicitur; quæ solum prophetas et apostolos accipit, non Scripturas canonicas, id est, legem et prophetas, Vetus scilicet et Novum Testamentum. Et quum volunt solum illa Apocrypha legere studiosæ, contraria Scripturis canonicis sentiunt, atque paulatim dogmatizant contra eas, dantes sententias contra legem et prophetas, contraque disputationes beatissimorum apostolorum consulta ponentes, e quibus sunt maxime Manichei, Gnostici, Nicolaitæ, Valentiniani, et alii quam plurimi, qui Apocrypha prophetarum et apostolorum, id est, actus separatos habentes, canonicas legere Scripturas contemnunt. Propter quod statutum est ab apostolis et eorum successoribus, non aliud legi in ecclesia debere Catholica, nisi Legem, et Prophetas, et Evangelia, et Actus Apostolorum, et Pauli tredecim epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et Jacobi unam, quæ septem Actibus Apostolorum conjunctæ sunt. Scripturæ autem absconditæ, id est, Apo-

Hilary, in Poitiers, in France,^k grant them any authority in the canon of Scripture. Nay, Hilary of Arles expressly told St. Austin,^l "That the Churches of France were offended at him, because he had used a proof out of the Book of Wisdom, which was not canonical." And it is remarkable, that at Rome itself, Gregory the Great, having occasion to quote a text out of Maccabees, makes a prefatory excuse for alleging a text out of a book that was not canonical,^m but only published for the edification of the Church. And even St. Austin himself,ⁿ in answer to the French divines, pleads no further for the Divine authority of the Book of Wisdom, which he had cited as canonical, but that it was so received by the Christians of Afric before him. Which by his own rule, laid down before in his book of Christian doctrine, did not make it, in the highest sense, canonical; because it was rejected by all the Churches of the East, and a great part of the West, from the authority of canonical Scripture. So that though these books were read in the African Church, under the name of 'canonical Scripture,' yet they were not esteemed of equal authority with the rest, because they were reputed by all the world besides as apocryphal, or, as some call them, 'ecclesiastical' only, being such as were allowed to be read in the church for moral instruction and edification, but not

crypha, et legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent, qui non intelligentes multa addiderunt et tulerunt, quæ voluerunt hæretici.

^k Hilar. Prolog. in Psalm. n. 15, (p. 9, edit. Paris. 1693.) Et ea causa est, ut in viginti duos libros lex Testamenti Veteris deputetur: ut cum litterarum numero convenirent. Qui ita secundum traditiones veterum deputantur, ut Moysi sint libri quinque, cetera. . . . Quibusdam autem visum est, additis Tobia et Judith, viginti quatuor libros secundum numerum Græcarum litterarum connumerare, Romana quoque lingua media inter Hebræos Græcosque collecta.

^l Ibid. Arelat. Epist. ad Aug. inter Opera Aug. tom. vii. p. 545. Illud etiam testimonium, quod posuisti, 'Raptus est, ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus,' tamquam non canonicum definiunt omittendum. (ii. 627, C.)

^m Gregor. Magn. Moral. in Job. lib. xix. c. xiii. Qua de re non inordinate agimus, si ex libris, licet non canonicis, sed tamen ad ædificationem ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus.

ⁿ Aug. de Prædestin. lib. i. c. xiv. tom. vii. p. 553. Non debuit repudiari sententia libri Sapientiæ, qui meruit in ecclesia Christi, de gradu lectorum ecclesiæ Christi tam longa annositate recitari, et ab omnibus Christianis, ab episcopis usque ad extremos laicos, fideles, pœnitentes, catechumenos, cum veneratione Divinæ auctoritatis audiri. (X. p. 534, A.)

used to confirm articles of faith. And this is the account which Cajetan himself gave of the practice of the Church, before the Council of Trent defined a new canon of Scripture. He says,^o “They are not canonical, that is, regular, to confirm articles of faith : yet they may be called ‘canonical,’ that is regular, for the edification of the people, as being received and authorized in the canon of the Bible, only for this end.” And, with this distinction, he thinks we are to understand both St. Austin and the Council of Carthage, all whose sayings are to be reduced to the rule of St. Jerom. But if any think that St. Austin, or the African Church, meant more, it may be said, their authority is of no weight against the general consent of the whole Church in all ages besides, from the first settling of the canon, down to the Council of Trent ; the proof of which consent is so fully and unanswerably made out by Bishop Cosins in that excellent book, called his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, where he produces the testimonies of the writers of every age distinctly in their order, that little more can be added to it,^p and it is wholly needless to detain the reader upon that subject ; it being sufficient to our present purpose, to have observed, that these books of controverted authority

^o Cajetan. in fine Comment. in Hist. Vet. Test. Ad Hieronymi limam redu-cenda sunt tam verba conciliorum quam doctorum. Et juxta illius sententiam libri isti non sunt canonici, id est, regulares, ad firmandum ea quæ sunt fidei : possunt tamen dici canonici, id est, regulares, ad ædificationem fidelium, utpote in canone Bibliæ ad hoc recepti et auctorati. Cum hac distinctione discernere poteris dicta Augustini, et scripta in provinciali Concilio Carthaginensi.

^p To the testimonies cited by Bishop Cosins, the learned reader may add this of Franciscus Georgius Venetus, a Franciscan, who lived a little before the Reformation : Problem. in Scriptur. tom. vi. sect. v. problem. clxxxiv. Paris. 1622, 4to. ‘Cur Raphael venit in comitatum Tcbiæ?’ Respond. ‘Quamvis historia sit sine certo auctore, nec in canone habeatur, tamen quia admittitur legenda in ecclesia tamquam vera, hujus quoque rei rationem assignare conabimur.’ Here he plainly rejects the Book of Tobit out of the Canon, and speaks of it no otherwise than as of a common history, which was allowed to be read in the church. Which words are so displeasing to the curators of the Roman Index Expurgatorius, that they order it to be struck out, with many other passages of the same author, where he reflects on the Vulgar translation as corrupt and false, and corrects its errors from the original Hebrew, of which he was a considerable master, though in other things he had his failings.—Vid. Index Libror. Prohibitorum et Expurgandorum, per Sotomajor. p. 417, Madriti, 1677, fol.

were read, either under the name of ‘apocryphal,’ or ‘ecclesiastical,’ or ‘canonical,’ in most of the ancient Churches.

SECT. XVII.—*A short Account of the Translations of Scripture used in the Ancient Church.*

There is one thing more which it will not be improper to give a short account of, before we put an end to this chapter: that is, of the translations of Scripture that were commonly used in the ancient Church. I mean not here to prove again (what has been abundantly done before in the last Book), that the Scriptures were translated and read in the vulgar language in every Church: but the thing I would observe in this place, is only this: that they generally read the translations of the Septuagint, where Greek was the vulgar language; or else such translations into other languages, as were derived from it. For they had no translation of the Bible from the Hebrew, till the time of St. Jerom, in the Latin Church, but only such as were made from the Greek translation of the Septuagint. The Septuagint was used all over the Greek Church, except, perhaps, that part of Syria where Syriac was the most vulgar language, that is, in Osdroene and Mesopotamia, where they had a Syriac translation made from the Hebrew, not long after the time of the apostles. This was called ‘the old translation,’ in opposition to another, which was made from the Septuagint in after ages. In all other parts of the East, the Septuagint was the common translation. But this, by tract of time, and variety of copies, was much corrupted; upon which account it was revised and corrected by several learned men, which laboured in this work, particularly by Origen, and Hesychius the Egyptian, and Lucian of Antioch, two martyrs, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution. Hence, as St. Jerom informs us,^q there came to be three famous exemplars, or editions, of the Septuagint, used in the Eastern Churches.

^q Hieron. Præfat. in Librum Paralipomenon, (tom. iii. p. 685, edit. Paris. 1643.) Alexandria et Ægyptus, in Septuaginta suis, Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt: totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnât. (tom. ii. p. 522.)

Alexandria and Egypt followed the copy revised by Hesychius. Constantinople and all the Asiatic Churches, as far as Antioch, used that of Lucian. The Churches of Palestine and Arabia read the copy corrected by Origen, and published by Eusebius and Pamphilus. And so between these three editions, the whole world was divided. Origen did two things further in this matter. 1. He published an edition of the Bible, which he called his *Hexapla*, because it was in six columns, the first was the Hebrew, in Hebrew characters; the second, the Hebrew, in Greek characters; the third, the translation of Aquila the Jew; the fourth, the translation of Symmachus; the fifth, the translation of the Septuagint; and the sixth, the translation of Theodotion the Ebionite. To these he afterward added two other translations found at Nicopolis and Jericho: and these made up his *Octapla*. And, in process of time, he published another lesser edition, containing only the four translations of the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which he called his *Tetrapla*. 2. He published the *Septuagint*, with the additions of Theodotion mixed with it, to supply the places where it was defective, which additions he marked with an asterisk to distinguish them; and such places as were redundant in the Septuagint, and not to be found in the Hebrew, nor in Theodotion, he also marked with an obelisk, straight line, for distinction also. But this mixing of the two translations together, in process of time, occasioned some

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. xvi. Τοσούτη δὲ εἰσήγιστο τῇ Ἠριγίνι τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξήτασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γλωτταν ἐκμαθῖν τὰς τι παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Ἰμφορομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς, κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι· ἀνιχνύσαι τι τὰς τῶν ἱερέων παρὰ τοὺς ἰδωμένοντα τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκότων ἰκδόσεις· καὶ τινὰς ἱερέας παρὰ τὰς κατημαξευμένας ἡρμηνείας ἰναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου, καὶ Συμμάχου, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἱφωρεῖν. ὅς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔκ τινων μυθῶν τὸν πάλαι λαθηνούσας χρόνον ἀνιχνύσας, εἰς φῶς προήγαγεν. ἰθ' ὦν διὰ τὴν ἀδηλόγητα, τίνος δὲ εἴναι οὐκ εἰδὼς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιστημῆναι, ὡς ἔρα τὴν μὲν εὐρεῖ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίῳ Νικηπόλει· τὴν δὲ ἐν ἱερέῳ τόπῳ τοιαύτῃ· ἵν' ἢ μὴν τοῖς Ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τίσσασας ἰκδόσεις, οὐ μόνον πίμπηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκτειν καὶ ἰδόμενι παραβῆις ἡρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μᾶς αὐτῆς οἰσημῖναι, ὡς ἐν Ἱεριστοῖς ὑερμῖναις ἐν πύθῃ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντισίου, τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεζήρου ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ ταυτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελὼν τι πρὸς πῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραβῆις ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημῖναι, τὰ τῶν λιγομένων ἱεραπλῶν ἡμῶν ἀντίγραφα καταλλίλοισιν ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου, καὶ Συμμάχου, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἰκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἰδωμένων ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς ἱεραπασκινύσας. (P. 275.)

confusion; and St. Jerom complains of it as a bold undertaking;^a and therefore he set about a new edition and translation of the Septuagint,^t for the use of the Latin Church. Hitherto all Churches used the translation of the Septuagint, except the Syrian Churches, as was said before, and except the one Book of Daniel, which, in all Churches, was read according to the translation of Theodotion, (as the same St. Jerom informs us in several places,^u particularly in his Preface upon Daniel,^v) because, by some means or other, the Septuagint translation of that book was more corrupt than any other part of Scripture. But there were abundance of faults in that translation in other places, partly by the design

^a Hieron. Præfat. in Paralipomenon, (tom. iii. opp. p. 685, edit. Paris. 1643.) Origenes non solum exempla composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singula verba describens, ut unus dissentiens statim, ceteris inter se consentientibus, arguatur: sed quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione Septuaginta, Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis videlicet designans, quæ minus fuerant, et virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur appositæ. Si igitur aliis licuit non tenere, quod semel susceperant, et post septuaginta cellulas, quæ vulgo sine auctore jactantur, singulas cellulas aperuere: hocque in ecclesiis legitur, quod Septuaginta nescierunt, cur me non suscipiant Latini mei, qui, inviolata editione veteri, ita novam condidi, ut laborem meum Hebræis et (quod his majus est) apostolis auctoribus probem? (ii. 522.)

^t Ibid. Præfat. in Josue. (ibid. p. 681.) Et ut in primis, quod sæpe testatus sum, sciat me non in reprehensionem veterum nova cudere, sicut amici mei criminantur; sed pro virili parte, offerre linguæ meæ hominibus (quos tamen nostra delectant), ut pro Græcorum ἱεραρχῶν, quæ et sumtu et labore maximo indigent, editionem nostram habeant. Et sicubi in antiquorum voluminum lectione dubitarint, hæc illis conferentes, inveniant quod requirunt: maxime quum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria, quot codices; et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit, quod ei visum est: et utique non possit verum esse, quod dissonat. (Venet. 1770, ix. p. 355.)

^u Ibid. Quare Danielelem juxta Theodotionis traditionem ecclesiæ susceperunt? — Id. Comment. in Dan. c. iv. (tom. iv. opp. p. 504, edit. Paris. 1643.) Exceptis lxx. translatoribus, qui hæc omnia, nescio quâ ratione, præterierunt, tres reliqui *collegam* interpretati sunt. Unde judicio magistrorum ecclesiæ, editio eorum in hoc volumine repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur: quæ et Hebræo et ceteris translatoribus congruit. (v. 646.) — Id. Apolog. cont. Ruffin. lib. ii. c. ix. (p. 519, c. edit. Paris.) De Daniele breviter respondebo . . . me docuisse lectorem, ecclesias Christi hunc prophetam juxta Theodotionem legere et non juxta Septuaginta translatore.

^v Ibid. Præfat. in Danielelem, (tom. iii. p. 695.) Danielelem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione: Et cur hoc acciderit, nescio . . . Hoc unum adfirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit.

of the interpreters (who added some things of their own, and left out others, and often changed the sense at pleasure, especially in texts that had any relation to the Holy Trinity, as St. Jerom shews at large in his Preface upon the Pentateuch,^w where he exposes the story of their having distinct cells, and their being esteemed inspired writers); and partly from the great variety of copies, and the great corruptions that were crept into them, by the ignorance or negligence of transcribers; and this both in the Septuagint copies themselves, and the Latin translations that were made from them. Upon this account, St. Jerom, by the instigation of Chromatius and Heliodorus, and other pious bishops of the Latin Church, set about a translation of the Psalms and Old Testament from the original Hebrew: but this met with great opposition for some time: for though many applauded it, and read it in the Churches, yet others opposed it: and Ruffin and others bitterly inveighed against it, as reflecting on the Church, which had used and recommended the Septuagint, and the translations made from it, ever since the time of the apostles. St. Austin himself dissuaded him from the undertaking;^x and when it was finished, he would not suffer it to be read in his diocess, for fear of giving scandal to the people; telling him,^y further, what a tumult had been

^w Hieron. Præfat. in Pentateuch. (tom. iii. p. 625.) Denique, ubicumque sacramentum aliquid Scriptura testatur, de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, aut aliter interpretati sunt, aut omnino tacuerunt; ut et regi satisfacerent et arcanum fidei non vulgarent. Et nescio quis primus auctor, septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo extruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarent. (ix. p. 3.)

^x Aug. Epist. xix. ad Hieron. (tom. ii. opp. p. 84, c. edit. Basil. 1569.) De interpretatione tua jam mihi persuasisti, qua utilitate Scripturas volueris transferre de Hebræis, ut scilicet ea, quæ a Judæis prætermissa, vel corrupta sunt, proferres in medium. . . . Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tanta Latinorum interpretum, qui qualescumque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus: et hi, qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant, propterea me nolle tuam ex Hebræo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra Septuaginta auctoritatem, tamquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quæ etiam ab apostolis approbata est. (ii. p. 153, D.)

^y Ibid. Epist. x. ad Hieron. Quidam frater noster episcopus, quum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia, cui præest, interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter abs te positum apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat omnium sensibus memo-

raised in one of the Churches of Africa, by a bishop's introducing his translation, which he was forced to lay aside again, for fear all his people should have deserted him : but, in other places, he met with a kinder reception : for, by degrees, it came to be used by learned men in their Expositions. Gregory the Great makes use of both translations,* calling St. Jerom's ' the new translation,' and the other ' the old;' which was otherwise called the *Itala*, and *Vulgata*, and *Communis*, because it was the most common and vulgar translation used in all the Latin and Italic Churches. The present vulgar Latin translation is supposed by learned men neither to be the ancient vulgar, nor St. Jerom's new one, but a mixture of both together.* The Psalms in the present vulgar, are not from the Hebrew, but are of St. Jerom's translation from the Septuagint of Lucian's Emendation. The other books come nearer the Hebrew, than they do to the Septuagint, which shews they have something of St. Jerom's translation. But the Psalms were always read at Rome, according to the old version; and continued so to be used till Pope Pius V. ordered St. Jerom's version, with emendations from the Septuagint, to be put in its place. And so the old translation of the Psalms came to be called the ' Roman Psalter;' and St. Jerom's new translation the ' Gallican Psalter,' because it was immediately received in the

riæque inveteratum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe, maxime Græcis arguentibus et inflammantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus (ea quippe civitas erat) Judæorum testimonium flagitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in Hebræis codicibus responderunt, quod et Græci et Latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendositatem corrigere, volens, post magnum periculum, non remanere sine plebe. (P. 121.)

* Gregor. Magnus, Epist. ad Leandr. ante Moral. in Job. in fine. Novam translationem dissero : sed quum probationis causa exigit, nunc novam, nunc veterem per testimonia adsumo; ut quia sedes apostolica, cui Deo auctore præsideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur. (1705, i. 6, E.)

* Walton. Prolegom. x. n. ix. p. 71, circ. med. Certum est, in omnibus vulgatam non esse Hieronymi : nam præter psalmos et ea, quæ ex veteri vulgata, vel ex Theodotione addidit, ut in additionibus ad Estheram et Danielelem est videre, etiam in reliquis libris ubique multa occurrunt, quæ Hieronymi non esse, cuilibet clarum est : nam in multis convenit cum veteri vulg. sive lxx. ubi versio Sept. ab Hebr. differt : sæpe cum Theod. Symm. Aquil : sæpissime etiam aliter habet, quam Hieronymus in operibus suis vertendum censuit : unde puram Hieronymi non esse, sed mixtam, facile est colligere.

Gallican Church. This is observed both by Mabillon^b and Bona^c out of Berno Augiensis and Strabo, who say, "The French and Germans took the new translation of the Psalms, corrected from the Septuagint, by St. Jerom, whilst the Romans continued to use the old vulgar corrupt edition: which is still read in the Vatican Church at Rome, and the Ambrosian Church, at Milan, and St. Mark's, at Venice:" and Bona is so free as to say,^d "He thinks it had been more for the honour and benefit of the Church, to have kept still to the old version of the Psalter, since now there is a great disagreement between the Breviary and the Missal, whilst the same Psalms are sung different ways; in the Missal, according to the old translation; and in the Breviary, according to the new one:" which he speaks of as a mistake, but tenderly; because, though it was a deviation from the old rule observed in Gregory's *Sacramentarium*, and the

^b Mabillon. de Cursu Gallican. pp. 395, 396. In primis Galli antiquitus peculiari Psalterii versione usi sunt, scilicet ea, quæ a sancto Hieronymo emendata est. Audiendus hac de re Walafridus Strabo de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, c. xxv. 'Psalms autem quum secundum lxx. interpretes Romani adhuc habeant; Galli et Germanorum aliqui secundum emendationem, quam Hieronymus pater de lxx. editione composuit, Psalterium cantant: quam Gregorius Turonensis episcopus a partibus Romanis mutuata, in Galliarum dicitur ecclesias transtulisse.' De re ipsa eadem est Bernonis Augiensis abbatis sententia: de tempore vero, quo hæc versio a Gallis recepta est, hic cum Walafrido non consentit. Bernonis verba eo lubentius refero, quod accepta sint ex ejus epistola inedita ad Meginfridum et Bennonem, ubi de Hieronymo agens: 'Inter cetera,' inquit, 'ex emendata lxx. interpretum translatione Psalterium ex Græco in Latinum vertit, illudque cantandum omnibus Galliæ ac quibusdam Germaniæ ecclesiis tradidit. Et ob hoc Gallicanum Psalterium appellavit, Romanis adhuc ex corrupta vulgata editione Psalterium canentibus: ex qua Romani cantum composuerunt, nobisque usum cantandi contradiderunt. Unde accidit, quod verba, quæ in diurnis vel in nocturnis officiis canendi more modulantur, intermisceantur, et confuse nostris psalmis inserantur, ut a minus peritis haud facile possit discerni, quid nostræ vel Romanæ conveniat editioni,' &c.

^c Bona Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. iii. n. iv. Priore editione pura, qualis erat ante S. Hieronymum, utebantur olim omnes ecclesiæ Occidentales; Romana præsertim cum omnibus suburbicariis, ut constat ex antiquorum patrum commentariis in psalmos; donec idem Psalterium ab ipso Hieronymo interpolatum primum quidem in Gallia, nescio quo tempore, unde Gallicanum nuncupatum est; deinde in aliis regionibus introductum fuit. In omnibus autem urbis Romæ ecclesiis vetus illud permansit usque ad Pium V. qui ipsum sustulit, et in sola Basilica Vaticana reliquit, in qua nunc etiam religiosissime recitatur, et novissime sublati mendis, quæ irrepserant, pristinæ integritati restitutum est. (P. 314.)

Missa Mozarabica, and the Ambrosian Liturgy, yet it was Pope Pius's order that made the correction.

I might here have added several other things relating to the ancient way of dividing the several books of Scripture into chapters, and verses, and canons, and sections, and sub-sections, very much differing from the present way of dividing them into chapter and verse. But because observations of this kind are very intricate of themselves, and have no relation to the service of the Church, which is the subject in hand, I shall omit them here, with many other miscellany rites of the same nature, which will be more proper to be explained in a critical discourse by themselves; and now proceed to the next part of the service of the Church, in the *missa catechumenorum*, which was the sermon, or homily, immediately after the reading of the Psalms and other Scriptures, before any prayers were made either for particular orders of men, such as catechumens, energumens, penitents, &c., or for the general state of Christ's Church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF PREACHING, AND THE USAGES RELATING TO IT, IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*All Sermons anciently called Homilies, Disputations, Allocutions, Tractatus, &c.*

IMMEDIATELY after the reading of the Psalms and lessons out of the Scriptures, before the catechumens were dismissed, followed the sermon, which the bishop, or some other appointed by him, made to the people. This being done in the presence of the catechumens, was, therefore, usually reckoned a part of the *missa catechumenorum*, or ‘ ante-

^d Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. iii. n. v. Inconveniens et merito visum est, quod idem psalmus et idem canticum aliis verbis in Missa, aliis in officio, cantaretur. Hæc autem dissonantia, ablato nunc veteri Psalterio, sæpe occurrit. Cæterum ista hoc loco notare libuit, non ut quemquam carperem, sed ne prisca ecclesiæ disciplina ignoraretur.

communion-service.' [Such discourses were commonly termed 'homilies,' from the Greek *ὁμιλῖαι*, which signifies indifferently 'any discourse of instruction to the people, whether composed by the preacher himself, or read out of a book composed by another;,' though we now generally restrain it to the latter sense in our modern way of speaking. Among the Latins they were frequently called *tractatus*, as appears from many passages of Cyprian, Optatus, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, St. Jerom, Gaudentius, Chrysologus, and many others collected by Ferrarius,^a which I think it needless to recite: only I shall observe one thing, that this word signifies any exposition or handling of Scripture, as well by way of writing as preaching; and in both senses the *tractatores*, the 'preachers and expositors of Scripture,' were opposed to the *canonici et authentici*, the 'prophets, evangelists, and apostles,' who wrote by inspiration, and whose authority was absolutely infallible and authentic; which could not be said of any expositors, however excellent or learned, who dictated their thoughts without any such peculiar assistance. This distinction is often inculcated by St. Austin: "I confess," says he, writing to St. Jerom,^b "I have learned to pay this reverence and honour only to those books of Scripture which are called canonical, that I most firmly believe none of the authors of them was guilty of any error in writing; and, if I find any thing in those books which seems contrary to truth, I make no doubt but that it is either a corruption of the copy, or that the translator did not hit the sense, or that I myself do not understand it. But I read all others with this caution and reserve, that however eminent they be for piety and learning, I do not

^a Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. ii. pp. 2-6, edit. Paris. 1664, 8vo.

^b Aug. Epist. xix. ad Hieron. c. i. Ego fateor caritati tuæ, solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam 'canonici' appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero litteris, quod videatur contrarium veritati; nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non adsequutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. (ii. p. 144, A.)

believe what they say to be true, merely because it was their opinion; but because they persuade me, either by those canonical authors, or by probable reason, which carries the appearance of truth. So, again, in his book, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*,^c he distinguishes the inspired writers by the name of 'canonical,' from all others whom he calls 'tractators and expositors of Scripture;' as Claudianus Mamertus speaks of all expositors under the name of 'tractators,' but of the holy penmen themselves under the title of 'authentics.'^d St. Austin^e and St. Jerom^f often speak of preaching under the name of 'disputations;' Tertullian^g calls them 'allocutions,' dividing the whole service into these four parts, — reading the Scriptures, singing the Psalms, making allocutions, and sending up prayers. Among the Greeks they are frequently called λόγοι, which answers to the Latin word *sermones*, and the English 'sermons.' The most ancient name is that of *evangelium*, and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι,

^c Aug. de Catech. Rudibus, c. viii. tom. iv. p. 298, (p. 901, c. edit. Basil.) Nec ipse sane inutiliter interrogatur, quibus rebus motus sit, ut velit esse Christianus: ut si libris ei persuasum esse videris, sive canonicis, sive utilium Tractorum, de his aliquid in principio loquaris, collaudans eos pro diversitate meritum canonicæ auctoritatis et exponentium solertissimæ diligentiae. (vi. 197.)

^d Mamert. de Statu Animæ, lib. ii. c. x. Sed nunc locus et tempus est, ut sicut a philosophis ad tractatores ad authenticos gradum consequar, ita, &c. — Id. lib. i. c. ii. Post authenticorum plurimos tractatores, &c.

^e Aug. Tractat. lxxxix. in Joan. (tom. ix. opp. p. 462, c. edit. Basil.) Quomodo id fieri possit, si adjuvante Domino per nos demonstrari potest; quia hæc disputatio est jam claudenda, nunc non potest. (iii. 524.) — Id. Confess. lib. v. c. xiii. Studiose audiebam disputantem (Ambrosium) in populo, non intentione qua debui, sed quasi explorans ejus facundiam, utrum conveniret famæ suæ, an major minorve profueret, quam prædicabatur; et verbis ejus suspendebar intentus. (i. 85.)

^f Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare. Quo loquente, tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat excreare. Dicentis la s in fletu est audientium, &c. (i. p. 119, D.)

^g Tertul. de Anima, c. ix. Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur. — Ita apud Gregor. Magn. Sermo simpliciter vocatur 'locutio.' — Hom. v. (tom. i. opp. p. 1205, D. edit. Paris. 1705.) In ea locutione, quæ ad vos nudius tertius facta est. — Hom. ix. Caritati vestræ colloquimur, eidem omnipotenti Deo gratias referentes, quia post tot opaca sylvarum, tandem læti ad campos exivimus, in quibus liberis grassibus locutionis nostræ intrepidum pedem ponamus. (P. 1249, B.)

appropriated more peculiarly to the preaching of the apostles, and therefore seldom or never ascribed to any others by ecclesiastical writers. A more general name in Scripture is that of διδασκαλία, 'doctrine and teaching:' whence preachers of the word are called διδάσκαλοι, 'doctors and teachers,' by St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 28, 29), which Vincentius Lirinensis observes to be the same as *tractatores* in after ages.^b St. Paul also uses the word κήρυγμα for 'preaching' (1 Cor. ii. 4), and in many other places of his Epistles;^c and so it is sometimes used by ecclesiastical writers after him. But we must carefully note, that more commonly the words κηρύσσειν and κήρυγμα among the Greeks, as also *prædicatio* and *prædicare* among the Latins, signify a very different thing, viz. that part of the deacon's office, which he performed as the common κήρυξ, or *præco*, of the Church, dictating the usual forms of prayer to the people, in which they were to join; and calling upon them, as their guide and director, in all other parts of Divine service. This I have had occasion to speak more largely of in a former Book,^d where we have particularly considered the ordinary office of deacons, and shewed that they had no authority, in ordinary cases, either to preach, or consecrate the eucharist, or baptize; but whatever they did of this kind, was either in case of great necessity, or by special commission and direction: and, therefore, those ancient canons, which speak of their predication,^e are not to be understood of their preaching sermons, but of their proclaiming to the people such directions in performing Divine offices, as they were concerned to give them by virtue of their office, as the common heralds and criers of the Church.

^b Vincent. Commonitor. c. xl. Doctores, qui Tractatores nunc appellantur.

^c Vid. 1 Cor. i. 21; xiv. 15. 2 Tim. iv. 17. Tit. i. 3.

^d Book ii. chap. xx. sects. x. xi.

^e Conc. Ancyrr. c. ii. Παύσθαι αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῆς τοῦ ἄγρου ἢ πετήριον ἀναφίγειν, ἢ κηρύσσειν. — Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xxxix. al. xl. (tom. v. p. 1716.) Unum orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.

SECT. II.—*Preaching, the proper Office of Bishops and Presbyters, in ordinary Cases, and not of Deacons.*

The deacons indeed, in cases of exigence, were allowed to read the homilies of the fathers, as they did the lessons of Scripture: which is the reason assigned by the Council of Vaison¹ for permitting them so to do, when the presbyter was sick or infirm; for “if deacons were worthy to read what Christ has spoken in the Gospel, why should they be thought unworthy to rehearse publicly the expositions or homilies of the fathers?” But, excepting such cases, we very rarely find any permission, so much as to read a homily, granted them; for preaching, anciently, was one of the chief offices of a bishop: insomuch that in the African Churches a presbyter was never known to preach before a bishop in his cathedral church till St. Austin’s time; but the bishop always discharged this office himself, and St. Austin was the first presbyter, in that part of the world, that ever was allowed to preach in the presence of his bishop, as has been shewed out of Possidius,^m the writer of his life, in a former Book. It is true, in the Eastern Churches, presbyters were sometimes allowed to preach in the great church before the bishop; but that was not to discharge him of the duty, for still he preached a sermon at the same time after them, as we shall see from the practice of Chrysostom and Flavian at Antioch, and other examples hereafter.

In the lesser churches of the city, and country about, this office was devolved upon presbyters, as the bishop’s proper assistants; and the deacons, except in the fore-mentioned cases, were not authorized to perform it: so that this office of preaching the Gospel was then esteemed the proper office of bishops and presbyters, the bishop discharging it personally in his cathedral church, in conjunction with his presbyters, or alone, without them; and vicari-

¹ Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum Patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni sunt diaconi, quæ Christus in evangelio loquutus est, legere; quare indigni judicentur, sanctorum Patrum expositiones publice recitare?

^m Possid. Vit. Aug. c. v. cit. lib. ii. c. iii. sect. iv.

ously, by his presbyters, where he could not be present, in the lesser churches. There are a great many serious passages in the ancient records relating to this matter, as well in the imperial laws as the canons of the Church, and the writings of the most considerable fathers, partly impressing this as a necessary duty of the episcopal and pastoral function, and partly complaining of the neglect of it, and partly threatening censures and punishments to the offenders. St. Chrysostom, on those words to Timothy, "A bishop must be apt to teach," *διδασκικὸν*, says,ⁿ "Other qualifications, such as those, 'He must be sober, vigilant, of good behaviour, given to hospitality,' &c., may be in subjects: but, because a bishop ought to have those qualifications that belong to rulers, the apostle, therefore, added, 'He must be apt to teach;' for this is not required of subjects, but is most especially required of those who have the office of governing committed to them." And, again, on those words to Titus, "Holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught (or, 'which relates to teaching,' *τοῦ κατὰ διδαχὴν λόγου*), that he may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers," he says, St. Paul converted the world, not so much by his miracles as by his continual preaching: and, therefore, a bishop must be able to exhort by sound doctrine; that is, to preserve his flock, and overthrow its enemies. And unless he be such a one, all is lost; for he that knows not how to oppose the enemy, and captivate every thought to the obedience of Christ, and pull down the vain imaginations of men, as he knows not how to teach according to sound doctrine, so 'he ought to be far from the teaching throne,'^o *πύρρῳ ἔστω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ*;

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. x. in 1 Tim. iii. p. 1569, (p. 464, edit. Francof. 1697.) *Σώφρονα, κόσμιον, φιλόξινον ταῦτα ἐπιτιθὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοί, [διὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἴσους εἶναι] διευκνὺς τὸ τῶν πιστοτέρων ἑξαίρετον, ἐπήνεργον διδασκικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀρχόμενος ἀπαταινῆται· μάλιστα γὰρ τοῦτο πάντων προσῆται διὸ τῇ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκυχιρισμῶν.*

^o Ibid. Hom. ii. in Tit. p. 1703, (p. 632, edit. Francof.) *Οὐχ ἱερεῖς Παῦλον περιψάμειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν, καὶ μίζονα ἰσχύσαντα καὶ Πλάτωνος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων; ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων, φησὶν· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων μόνον εἰ γὰρ ἐπίλοιποι τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, πολλαχοῦ αὐτὸν ἐνέησιν ἀπὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας κρατοῦντα καὶ πρὸ τῶν σημείων· ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾗ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ, τουτίστι, πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν οἰκίων, πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν*

where it is observable, that Chrysostom therefore calls the bishop's throne, 'the throne of doctrine,' or 'teaching throne;' because preaching sound doctrine was so necessary a part of the bishop's office, that he could not be without it. St. Ambrose, likewise, describing the office of a bishop, does it chiefly by styling it 'the office of teaching:' complaining modestly of his own hard fate, in being forced against his will to take upon him the office of the priesthood;^p that is, to be made a bishop; which obliged him to teach others before he had well learned himself: for he was made bishop of a catechumen. Sidonius Apollinaris^q makes the same description of the office of a bishop, complaining, in the like modest way, with St. Ambrose, of the weight of the profession that was laid upon his shoulders, when, by being made a bishop against his will, he was forced to teach before he had learned, and preach good to others, before he had done any himself. Like a barren tree, when he had no works to shew for fruit, he was forced to scatter words for leaves: meaning the necessity of preaching, that was laid upon him by taking the office of a bishop. St. Cyril, of Alexandria, in like manner, calls the office of a bishop 'ἀξίωμα διδασκαλικόν,' 'the dignity or honour of teaching.' And in the sixth General Council, where Maximus, bishop of Antioch, was degraded for his heresy, he is said to be removed from the throne of teach-

τῶν ἰχθῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλίγοντας ἐλίγχειν· τοῦτου γὰρ μὴ ὄντος, πάντα οἷχεται· ὁ γὰρ οὐκ εἰδὼς μάχισθαι τοῖς ἰχθῶσι, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζειν πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ λογισμοὺς καθαιρῶν, ὁ οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ ἁγίου διδασκαλικοῦ.

^p Ambros. de Offic. lib. i. c. i. Titul. capitis. Episcopi proprium munus, docere populum. — Cap. ii. Quum jam effugere non possumus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo. . . . Homines discunt prius, quod doceant, et ab illo accipiunt, quod aliis tradant. Quod ne ipsum quidem mihi accidit. Ego enim raptus, de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium docere vos cœpi, quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est, ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere. (Paris. 1836, iii. 137.)

^q Sidon. lib. v. ep. iii. Indignissimo tantæ professionis pondus impactum est, qui miser ante compulsus docere, quam discere, et ante præsumens bonum prædicare, quam facere, tamquam sterilis arbor, quum non habeam opera pro pomis, spargo verba pro foliis. (1609, p. 320.)

^r Cyril. Epist. ad Monachos in Conc. Ephes. part. i. c. xxviii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 423, a.) Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔλαιο ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, ἀλλότριον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ξένον τοῦ χροῦ τῶν ἱεραπόων καὶ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ ἀξιώματος.

ing;^a that is, from the episcopal office, of which preaching was a special ingredient. The rule of the Apostolical Canons is,^t “That a bishop who neglects his clergy or his people, and teaches them not the rules of piety, shall be suspended, and if he persists in his neglect, shall be deposed: for it was his office to teach the clergy as well as the people, and to expound the Scriptures to them; whence St. Jerom gives it as part of the character of Gregory Nazianzen,” “That he was an eloquent teacher, and the master under whom he learned the Scriptures, as he explained them.” Some would have excused themselves by saying, “They would teach the people by their example.” To which St. Jerom replies,^z “That a bishop’s innocent conversation, without preaching, did as much harm by its silence, as it did good by its example; for the barking of the dogs is as necessary as the shepherd’s staff, to terrify and beat off the fury of the wolves.” Athanasius gives a very pathetic exhortation to Dracontius, a bishop newly ordained: ^y “Now that you are made bishop,” says he, “the people expect that you should bring them food from the doctrine of the Scriptures: but if, while they expect it, they suffer want, and you only feed yourself; what excuse will you have, when the Lord Jesus shall come, and find his sheep starving for want of food?”

^a Conc. VI. General. Act. xii. (Conc. tom. vi. p. 937, c.) Οὐδαμῶς ὁ Σὺς παρὼν παραδίχεται τοῦ λαιποῦ εἰς διδασκαλικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον.

^t Can. Apost. c. lviii. Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἀμελῶν τοῦ κλήρου, ἢ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ παιδεύων αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐνσίδειαν, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένειν δὲ τῇ ῥάθυμῃ, καδαιρείσθω.

^z Hieron. de Scriptor. c. cxvii. Vir eloquentissimus, præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici.

^y Ibid. Epist. lxxxiii. ad Oceanum. Sacerdotis innocens, et absque sermone conversatio, quantum exemplo prodest, tantum silentio nocet. Nam et latratu canum, baculoque pastoris, luporum rabies deterrenda est. (i. 423.)—Id. Epist. ii. ad Nepot. Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc episcopum et presbyteros esse, noverimus. . . . Recordemur sæpe, quod apostolus Petrus præcipiat sacerdotibus, ‘Pascite eum, qui in vobis est, gregem Domini,’ &c. (i. 262, D.)

^y Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. tom. i. p. 954, C. (p. 264, edit. Paris. 1698.) Πρὶν μὲν λάβῃς τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χάριν, οὐδεὶς ἔγνωσκέ σε· γινόμενοι δὲ λαιποὶ, οἱ λαοὶ προσδοκῶσι φέροντά σε τροφὴν αὐτοῖς, τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν διδασκαλίαν ὅταν τοῖνοι οἱ προσδοκῶντες λιμῶνται, σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν μόνον τρέφῃς, καὶ ἴδῃς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ἡμῖς τε αὐτῷ παραστώμεν, ποίαν σχοίης ἀπολογίαν, ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα λιμῶντα;

St. Austin, in one of his homilies upon the anniversary of his ordination,^{*} represents this part of a bishop's office with great concern, as a matter in which he was deeply interested, and nearly affected. First, he tells his people what a burthen was laid upon him by God, in the Prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii. which was the lesson appointed for that solemnity, wherein were these words, so full of terror : " I have made thee a watchman. If I say to the sinner, Thou shalt surely die, and thou holdest thy peace, and he die in his sins, he indeed dies justly, and according to his desert, in his sins ; but his blood will I require at thy hands," &c. Upon which he makes this reflection with regard to his own office : " I am a steward : if I lay not out my Lord's money, but keep it by me, the Gospel terrifies me. I might say, indeed, What have I to do to be troublesome unto men, to say to the wicked, Do not thus, do thus, desist from doing evil? What have I to do to be thus troublesome unto men? I have received, how I ought to live myself, as I am enjoined, as I am commanded. I will return what I have received. What have I to do to give account of others? But the Gospel terrifies me. There is nothing more pleasant than to seek after the Divine treasure in quiet. This is sweet and good ; but to preach, to reprove, to correct, to edify, to take the care of every other man upon myself, this is a great burden, a great weight, a great labour. Who would not fly from such a labour? But the Gospel terrifies

^{*} Aug. Serm. xxv. ex l. tom. x. p. 173, (pp. 474, 475, edit. Basil. 1669.) Erogator sum. Si non erogem, et pecuniam servem, terret me evangelium. Possem enim dicere, quid mihi est tædio esse hominibus, dicere iniquis : Inique agere nolite, sic agite, sic agere desistite? quid mihi est oneri esse hominibus? Accepi, quomodo vivam, quomodo jussus sum, quomodo præceptus sum; assignem quomodo accepi; de aliis me reddere rationem quo mihi? Evangelium me terret. Nam ad istam securitatem otiosissimam nemo me vinceret. Nihil est melius, nihil dulcius, quam divinum scrutari, nullo strepente, thesaurum: dulce est, bonum est. Prædicare, arguere, corripere, ædificare, pro uno quoque satagere magnum onus, magnum pondus, magnus labor. Quis non refugiat istum laborem? Sed terret evangelium. Processit quidam servus, et ait Domino suo, ' Sciebam te hominem molestum, metere ubi non seminasti: servavi pecuniam tuam, nolui eam erogare, tolle quod tuum est.' Si aliquid minus est, indica: si integrum est, noli mihi molestus esse. Ait autem ille, ' Serve nequam, ex ore tuo te condemnabo: quare non dedisti pecuniam meam ad mensam, et ego veniens cum usuris utique exegissem illam.' (v. p. 913, C.)

me. There we read of a certain servant, who said to his lord, 'I knew thee to be a hard man, reaping where thou hast not sowed; therefore I kept thy money,' I would not lay it out, 'Take that which is thine.' To whom the Lord answered, 'Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked servant: thou oughtest to have given my money to the bank, that when I came I might have received my own with usury.'" The curious reader may find a great deal more, to the same purpose, in St. Basil's Epistles,^a and Gregory Nazianzen's Complaints,^b and those of Cyprian,^c which I care not here to transcribe. But nothing is more remarkable than what is said by St. Chrysostom,^d in his homily upon the man who was to account to God for ten thousand talents, where he thus represents the account which bishops must make to God:^d "Not only secular

^a Basil. Ep. lxi. . . . ὥστε καὶ ποιμένας ἀναδικυύναι τοὺς τοῖς ἔχουσιν τῶν πατέρων ἀπορροβῶντας, καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου μὴ ἐπιστήμης ποιμαίνοντας . . . —Ep. clxxv. Περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκείνα παραινῶν ἔχομεν, ὅτι προσήκει πᾶσαν ἀσοβειμῶν κατήφειαν, ἑαυτῶν γινίσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν πρόνοιαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαναστέλλειν ὅπως ἂν ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς ἐπιμεληθῇ τοῦ ἰδίου ποιμνίου, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὡς ποιμένα κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θύλημα, ποιμαίνοντα ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐπιστήμης.—Ep. cxcxiii. Οὐχὶ γιγᾶται τὸ μίγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ὥς ἔπιν λαοὺ καὶ κλήρου ἐπισκοπῶν περιερχομένων, καὶ ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιφερόντων, οὐδὲν δὲ κατορθούντων εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ ἐναγγελίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ σωτηρίας;

^b Nazianz. Orat. i. de Fuga, p. 15. D. Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου διανομήν, ἵνα τελευταῖον εἶπω τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἡμετέρων, τοῦ Θεοῦ λίγῃ καὶ ὑψηλῇ, καὶ ὁ οὖν πάντες φιλοσοφῶσιν, εἰ μὴν τις ἄλλος θάρρει, καὶ πάσας διανοίας ὑπολαμβάνει, θαυμάζω τοῦτοι ἐγὼ τῆς συνείσεως, ἵνα μὴ λίγῃ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. —Id. Orat. xxxiii. p. 519. B. Οἱ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐγγυῆς, ἔσοι τὸ μὴ ἀσεβεῖς φεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ εὐσεβεῖς οὐ παρρησιάζονται, εἴτε οἰκονομία τινι χρώμενοι περὶ τὸν λόγον, εἴτε διελίξαι πρὸς τοῦτο καταφεύγουσι. —Id. Tractat. de Episcopis, tom. ii. p. 304, a. Quod ad orationem attinet, pedes esto, rusticoque dicendi et imperito genere utitor, &c.

^c Cyprian. de Lapsis, p. 123, (p. 89, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet ceteris et exemplo, divina procuracione contenta, procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alias provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari.

^d Chrysostom. Hom. i. tom. v. p. 9, D. (edit. ibid. Francof.) Οὐχ οἱ ἔξωθεν δὲ μόνον ἄρχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν περισσώτεροι τῆς οἰκίας ἀρχῆς ὑφίστανται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ μάστιγα αὐτοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ ἐπὶ πλείον τὰς τιμὰς καὶ βαρείας ἐκθύνει ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ λόγου τὴν διακονίαν ἐκτελεστοῦντες ἐξουσιοδοτεῖται μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐκεῖ, εἰ μήτε ὄνομα, μήτε φθόγγος παρ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν δυνάμεων εἶπεν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐκτίθειν, ὅτι πάντα διεστύλατο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔκρυψε τῶν συμφερόντων πάλιν ὁ τὴν ἐκτελεστοῦν λαχὼν, ὅρα πρὸς μίξινον ὄγκον ἀναβίβηκε, τοσούτῃ πλείονα ἀπασηθήσεται λόγῳ, οὐχὶ διδασκαλίας μόνον καὶ πινύτων προστασίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χυροτομιῶν δοκιμασίας, καὶ μυρίαν ἰτίαν.

magistrates," says he, " but ' the rulers of the Church,' τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προσεστῶτες, must render an account of their government and administration ; and they, above all others, shall suffer bitter and grievous punishment : for they, who are intrusted with the ministry of the word, shall be examined most strictly and severely in the next world, whether they have not, through sloth or envy, neglected to speak any thing which they ought to have spoken ; and whether they have demonstrated, by their works and labour, that they have delivered all things faithfully, and concealed nothing that was profitable unto men." Again, " He that has obtained the office of a bishop, by how much he is exalted to greater dignity, so much the more ample account shall he be required to give, not only of his doctrine or teaching, and care of the poor, but also of his examination and trial of those who are ordained, with a thousand other things of the like nature." Where it is evident, that teaching is reckoned as necessary a part of the bishop's function as ordination. And as he proves the one from those words of St. Paul to Timothy, " Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins ;" so he proves the other from those words of the same apostle to the Hebrews,* " Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves unto them : for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account" (Heb. xiii. 17) ; which, as he truly observes, is an argument full of terror. St. Chrysostom has abundance more, to the same purpose, in those excellent books of the priesthood, which were composed on purpose to describe the offices and duties of a bishop : among which he reckons the laborious work of making continual homilies and set discourses to the people.^f And whereas some were ready to

* Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. vi. c. i. Οὐ γὰρ μίχρεις αἰσχύνῃς ἡ ζημία, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰώνιος ἐλπίστις καὶ κόλασις τὸ γὰρ, πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπακούειν· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσουσιν· εἰ καὶ πρῶτοι οὖσαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν σιωπήσομαι· ὁ γὰρ φόβος ταύτης τῆς ἀπειλῆς συνεχῶς κατακαίει μου τὴν ψυχὴν. (P. 89, C.)

^f Ibid. lib. v. c. i. Ἐπεὶ τόγχι πρῶγμα αὐτὸ σωτηρίας τι καὶ πολλῶν γίνονται πρῶξιον ἀγαθῶν, ὅτ' ἂν τοὺς διακονομένους εὖρη σπουδαίους τι ἄνδρας καὶ ἀγαθοὺς· τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν ; ὁ πολλὸς πόνος, ὁ περὶ τὰς διαλίξεις τὰς κοινῇ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν γινόμενης ἀναλισκόμενος. (P. 80, C.)

plead, that a good life was the main thing required, to excuse their want of knowledge, and study, and preaching, and disputing, he answers,^g “That both these qualifications were required: they must not only do, but teach the commands of Christ, and guide others by their word and doctrine, as well as their practice. Each of these had their part in the episcopal office, and were necessary to assist one another, in order to consummate men’s edification.” With much more to the same purpose, which I here omit, because I have more fully represented it in another Book,^h where I had occasion to treat of the general duties of the ecclesiastical function.

What is thus pathetically pressed by private men, is more authoritatively enjoined by the laws of the Church and State, both concurring to enforce this duty. The Council of Laodiceaⁱ speaks of it as a customary thing for the bishop to make always a sermon before the catechumens were dismissed. And the Council of Valentia, in Spain, does the same, when it orders, that catechumens, and penitents, and even heathens, should be allowed to hear the bishop’s sermon,^j because they had experienced how that by this means many infidels had been brought over to the faith. These councils do not so much enjoin bishops to preach, as presuppose it to be their constant and general practice. But the Council of Trullo speaks more expressly by way of in-

^g Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. viii. Οὗτος ὁ τελειώτατος τῆς διδασκαλίας ἥρως, ὅτε ἂν καὶ δι’ ὧν πρᾶττουσι, καὶ δι’ ὧν λόγουσι, τοὺς μαθητευομένους ἐνάγωνσι πρὸς τὸν μακάριον βίον, ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς διατέτακτο· οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸ διδάσκειν· καὶ οὐκ ἱμὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· ὃς γὰρ ἂν, φησι, ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μίγας κληθήσεται· εἰ δὲ τὸ ποιῆσαι, διδάξαι ἤν, περιττῶς τὸ διύστερον ἵκναιο. Καὶ γὰρ ἤρως εἰσὶν, ὃς ἂν ποιήσῃ μόνον· νῦν δὲ τῷ διελίῳ ἀμφοτέρω, δίκνυσιν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἀλλήλων διῴται ἑκάτερον πρὸς τελείαν οἰκοδομήν. (P. 78, C.)

^h Book vi. chap. iii. sect. ii.

ⁱ Conc. Laodic. c. xix. Περὶ τοῦ διὺν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχομένων ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

^j Conc. Valent. c. i. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1617, E.) Quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes, qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant. Sic enim pontificum prædicatione audita, nonnullos ad fidem attractos evidenter scimus.

junction,^k “That the rulers of Churches, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶ-
 τας, ought every day, but especially on the Lord’s day, to
 teach all the clergy and people the words of truth and god-
 liness, gathered out of the Holy Scriptures.” And in the
 imperial laws there are several edicts of the secular power
 to the same purpose. In the Theodosian Code, there is one
 jointly made by the three Emperors Gratian, Valentinian,
 and Theodosius, which bears this title, *De Munere seu Officio*
Episcoporum in Prædicando Verbo Dei, ‘Of the Duty and
 Office of Bishops in Preaching the word of God.’ And the
 body of the edict^l charges all those with sacrilege, who either
 confound the sanctity of the Divine law by ignorance, or
 violate it by neglecting to preach it. And the same law now
 stands inserted into the Justinian Code^m under the charge of
 sacrilege, both in the title and body of it also. In another
 law of Arcadius and Honorius,ⁿ bishops are styled the men
 who in their several districts are to govern the people, by
 instilling into them the doctrines of the Christian religion;
 and more especially the principles of subjection and obedience
 to civil magistrates, which were often violated by the tumult-
 uous practices of the monks, who were under their inspec-
 tion. And in another law^o of Theodosius, all heretics are
 forbidden either to teach or hear their profane doctrines in
 their unlawful assemblies; more particularly they who were
 called bishops among them, should not presume to teach the
 faith which they themselves had not, nor ordain ministers

^k Conc. Trull. c. xix. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1151.) “Οτι διὰ τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν
 προεστῶτας ἐν πάσαις μὲν ἡμέραις, ἱεραρίταις δὲ ταῖς κυριακαῖς, πάντα τὸν κλῆρον
 καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγους, ἐκ τῆς Διᾶς γραφῆς ἀναλεγόμενους
 τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας νοήματα τι καὶ κρίματα.

^l Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcopis, leg. xxv. Qui divinæ legis sanc-
 titatem, aut nesciendo confundunt, aut negligendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium
 committunt.

^m Cod. Justin. lib. ix. tit. xxix. de crimine Sacrilegii, leg. i.

ⁿ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xl. de Pœnis, leg. xvi. Ad episcoporum sane cul-
 pam (ut cetera) redundabit, si quid forte in ea parte regionis, in qua ipsi popu-
 los Christianæ religionis doctrinæ insinuatione moderantur, ex his, quæ fieri hac
 lege jubemus, a monachis perpetratum esse cognoverint, nec vindicaverint.

^o Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæreticis, leg. xxiv. Nusquam profana præcepta
 vel docere vel discere: ne antistites eorumdem audeant fidem insinuare, quam
 non habent, et Ministros creare, quod non sunt.

when they themselves were really none. This supposes that the offices of ordination and preaching were equally the duties of Catholic bishops; and that the pretence in heretical bishops to perform them was mere usurpation. And upon the whole it appears, that as preaching was an office originally invested in bishops, as supreme pastors of the flock of Christ, so, by all the rules and laws of Church and State, and all the ties of religion, they were obliged to perform this duty with all assiduity and diligence, as we find they generally did out of the sense of the great obligation that was laid upon them. And some in the Romish Church (where this part of the episcopal function was for many ages scandalously neglected) have earnestly wished and laboured for the restoration and revival of it. Habertus pleads hard for it, and says one thing particularly remarkable, to excite those to whom he writes,^p “That he could aver, upon certain experience in France, that there was more weight in the words of every bishop to the people, than in six hundred of the most eloquent and elaborate discourses of other men.” But I return to the ancient Church.

SECT. III.—*The singular Practice of the Church of Rome, in having no Sermons for several Ages, noted out of Sozomen and Cassiodore.*

It being thus certain, from what has been related, that the work of preaching was ordinarily performed by bishops themselves in their own church, either in conjunction with their presbyters or without them; it is very wonderfully strange, and even astonishing and surprising, to hear what Sozomen^q relates of the Church of Rome in his time, that they had no sermons either by the bishop or any other; which was contrary to the custom of all other Churches. For at Alexandria, the bishop alone preached without his presbyters

^p Habert. Archieratic. part. vii. Observat. v. p. 91. Id scio expertusque esse, plus esse momenti in unius episcopi verbo ad populum, quam in sexcentis aliorum quantumvis excultis orationibus ac elaboratis.

^q Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. Οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει· παρὰ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείῃ μόνος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος· φασὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρότερον ἰωθῆς ἐπιγινώσκειν, ἀφ’ οὗ Ἀρσένιος, περισσύτερος ἂν, περὶ τοῦ δόγματος διαλεγόμενος ἐνωστίρει. (Cant. p. 307, 19.)

from the time of Arius : and in other Churches it was done by the bishop and presbyters together : but in the Church of Rome by neither the one nor the other. Pagi^r and Quesnel^s think Sozomen must needs be mistaken, and that being a Greek, he took this report up by uncertain rumour ; because Pope Leo, in whose time Sozomen lived, not only preached constantly to the people, but declared it his duty so to do ; professing that he was afraid^t it should be imputed to him as a crime, if he was wanting in this part of his office and ministry. But Valesius,^u on the other hand, is very confident that Sozomen's relation is true, because Cassiodore, who was a senator and consul, and *præfectus prætorio* at Rome, has the same out of Sozomen in his *Historia Tripartita* without any correction : and he says further, that no one can produce any sermons preached to the people by any bishop of Rome before those of Leo, which were not preached till after Sozomen wrote his history. I will not pretend to

^r Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 57, sect. iii.

^s Quesnel. Dissert. vi. de Jejunio Sabbati et Dissert. i. de Vita Leonis.

^t Leo, Serm. iii. de Epiphania, (tom. vii. Bibl. Patr. Max. p. 1005, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Quamvis sciam, dilectissimi, quod sanctitatem vestram hodiernæ festivitatis causa non lateat, eamque secundum consuetudinem evangelicus vobis sermo reseraverit ; tamen ut nostri nihil desit officii, loqui de eadem, quod Dominus donaverit, audebo. (1661, 27.)

^u Vales. in Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cant. p. 307.) Mirum est, quod heic ait Sozomenus, Romæ nec episcopum, nec alium quemquam, in ecclesia sermonem habuisse ad populum. Nec est, quod quis suspicetur, heic Sozomenum falli. Nam Cassiodorus, qui Romæ vixerat, et Romanam ecclesiam frequentaverat, hunc morem ecclesiæ Romanæ retulit in Historia sua Tripartita. Quod procul dubio facturus non erat, si id falsum esse comperisset. Exstant quidem sermones Leonis papæ, quos Romæ habuit ad populum. Verum id recentius est Sozomeno. Nec ante Leonem papam sermones ullius Romani pontificis ad populum habitos proferri posse existimo. Objiciet fortasse aliquis sermonem Liberii papæ, quem habuit Romæ in ecclesia B. Petri, die natalis Dominici, præsent. Bononiensi episcopo, ad Marcellinam sororem Ambrosii et alias virgines, quæ tunc virginitatem in ecclesia profitebantur. Quem tractatum Ambrosius totum descripsit in lib. iii. de Velandis Virginibus. Sed responderi potest, hunc Liberii sermonem non fuisse ad populum, sed exhortationem duntaxat, et allocutionem ad Marcellinam virginem. Atqui Sozomenus hoc loco de sermonibus loquitur, qui fiebant ad populum inter Missarum solemnias, quas Græci 'homilias' vocant. Certe verbum *didascalus* proprie de iis sermonibus dicitur. Præterea etsi concedamus, sermonem tunc a Liberio habitum esse ; nihil hoc facit adversus Sozomenum. Id enim extra ordinem factum est a Liberio in gratiam Marcellinæ. Sozomenus vero loquitur de more recepto atque usitato in ecclesia Romana.

decide this controversy among these learned men, but only say, that however it was in Sozomen's time, it seems to have been otherwise in the days of Justin Martyr, when he presented his apology to Antoninus Pius and the senate of Rome, where he lived and wrote at that time: for there, describing the business of the Christian assemblies on the Lord's day, he expressly says, "That, after the reading of the writings of the apostles and prophets, the *προεστώς*, 'the bishop or president of the assembly' made a sermon to exhort and excite the people to the imitation of the good things they had heard read out of them." Where it must reasonably be supposed that, writing at Rome, and to the Roman senate, he spake at least of the usual custom and practice of the Roman Church. And if it was otherwise in the time of Sozomen, some alteration must have happened in the interval. Perhaps they might have taken up the custom of reading the homilies of famous writers among the lessons, or immediately after, by the deacon (as I have shewed before, they read in some Churches the homilies of Ephraem Syrus, and the books of Clemens Romanus and Hermes Pastor;^w and in the old *Lectionariums* there are frequently lessons appointed out of the homilies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, and others, as it is now in the Roman Breviary): and this might supply the place of a sermon, till Leo brought up the ancient way of preaching in the Roman Church again, which was afterwards discontinued for five hundred years together, till Pius Quintus, like another Leo, revived the practice, as we are told by Surius, one of their own writers.^x

SECT. IV. — *Whether Laymen were ever allowed to preach in the Ancient Church.*

But there is another question must be resolved with relation to the ancient Church, that is, Whether laymen were

^v Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98. *Εἴτα παυσσάμενου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, προϊστῶς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ πρέκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιῆται.*

^w Chap. iii. sect. xiv.

^x Surius Hist. ap. Blondell. Apolog. pro Sentent. Hieronymi, p. 58. Nunc pauciores e Romanæ ecclesiæ communicatoribus præsules, paucissimi vero presbyteri, docendi labore defunguntur: inter urbicos pontifices vix unus ab anno Domini M. aliquoties (si Surio Commentat. Rer. in orbe Gestar., singulari testi, fides) concionatus Pius V. obstupescentem miraculi novitate Romam perculit.

ever allowed, by authority, to make sermons to the people? That they did it in a private way, as catechists, in their catechetical schools at Alexandria, and other places, there is no question. For Origen read lectures in the catechetical school of Alexandria, before he was in orders,^y by the appointment of Demetrius; and St. Jerom says,^z "There was a long succession of famous men in that school, who were called 'ecclesiastical doctors,' upon that account. But this was a different thing from their public preaching in the church. Sometimes the monks, who were only laymen, took upon them to preach publicly in the church: but this was opposed and censured as a usurpation of an office that did not belong to them." All monks, anciently, considered only as monks, were no more than laymen, as I have fully shewed in another place:^a and, therefore, as monks, they had no title to any part of the ecclesiastical office, or function. Particularly St. Jerom says,^b "The office of a monk was not to teach, but to mourn. And, That the case of the monks and clergy was very different from each other:^c the clergy are those that feed the sheep, the monks are among those that are fed." And, therefore, when some monks in the Eastern parts about Antioch, presuming on their own qualifications and knowledge, took upon them to preach publicly in the churches, Pope Leo wrote two letters to Maximus, bishop of Antioch, and Theodoret, to engage them to lay a restraint upon them, telling them,^d "That besides the priests of the Lord, none ought to presume to take upon them the power of teaching or preaching, whether he were monk or layman, whatever knowledge he could pretend to."

^y Euseb. lib. vi. c. iii. "Ετος δ' ἦγεν ἐκτακκαδίκαστον, καθ' ὃ τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως πρότερον διδασκαλίῳ. (Cant. 260, 15.)

^z Hieron. de Scriptor. c. xxxvi.

^a Book vii. chap. ii. sect. vii.

^b Hieron. Epist. lv. ad Riparium. Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis, habet officium.

^c Ibid. Epist. i. ad Heliodor. Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves; ego pascor. (i. 34.)

^d Leo, Epist. lx. al. lxii. ad Maximum Antiochen. — Ibid. Epist. lxi. al. lxiii. ad Theodoricum Episcopum Cyri. Adjicientes et illud, quod nobis propter improbitatem monachorum quorundam regionis vestrae verbo mandastis per vicarios nostros, et hoc specialiter statuentes, ut præter Domini sacerdotes nullus audeat prædicare, seu monachus, sive ille sit laicus, qui cujuslibet scientiæ nomine gloriatur. (iii. 1348, C.)

Yet, in some cases, a special commission was given to a layman to preach, and then he might do it by authority of the bishop's commission for that time. Thus Eusebius says,^e "Origen was approved by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, of Cæsarea, to preach and expound the Scriptures publicly in the church, when he was only a layman. And when Demetrius, of Alexandria, made a remonstrance against this, as an innovation that had never been seen or heard of before, that a layman should preach to the people in the presence of bishops; Alexander replied in a letter, and told him he was much mistaken: for it was a usual thing, in many places, where men were well qualified to edify the brethren, for bishops to entreat them to preach to the people. As Euelpis was requested by Neon, at Laranda; and Paulinus, by Celsus, at Iconium; and Theodorus, by Atticus, at Synada." These had all special directions from their bishops to preach: and, therefore, whatever other irregularity or novelty there might be in the thing, it was not liable to the charge of usurpation. Hallier, a famous Sorbon doctor, is of opinion,^f "That they might do it by permission; and he thinks this may be deduced from that Canon of the fourth Council of Carthage,^g which forbids a layman to teach in the presence of the clergy, except they

^e Euseb. lib. vi. c. xix. (p. 283.) 'Εν Καισαρίᾳ τὰς διατριβὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἵστα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, τὰς τε θείας ἐκκλησιῶν γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ τῆδε ἐπίσκοποι, καίτοι τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τιτυχηκότα αὐτὸν ἤξιον· ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ γίνουσ' ἂν ἐκδηλον, ἀφ' ᾧ περὶ τούτου Δημητρίῳ γράφοντες, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Θιόκτιστος ὁ Καισαρίας, ὡς πως ἀπολογούνται· προσέθηκε δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέποτε ἠκούσθη, οὐδὲ νῦν γιγνέται, τὸ, παρόντων ἐπισκόπων, λαϊκοὺς ἡμιλίῳ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως προφανῶς οὐκ ἄληθ' ἴσμεν· ὅπου γούν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἱερατικοὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠφελῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῇ λαῷ προσομιλῖν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων· ὥσπερ ἐν Λαράνδῃ Εὐέλπις ὑπὸ Νέωνος· καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίᾳ Παυλῖνος ὑπὸ Κέλσου· καὶ ἐν Συναδοῖς Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἀττικαίου.— Epiphanius (Hæres. lxi. n. ii.) seems to say he was then a presbyter; but it must be a mistake. Τὴν Παλαιστίνην, τουτίστι τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατοικίῳ γῆν ἔλιπε. ἀνελθὼν γούν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὡς τοιοῦτος ἐξηγητῆς, καὶ λόγιος, προετρέψατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ πρεσβυτερίου κατηξιώσθαι τὸ πρὶν, πρὶν τῷ δῶσαι. προετρέψαντο [αἱ. προεπισκοπῶν] ὡς ἴφην, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσιῖν, κ. τ. λ. (P. 525, C.)

^f Hallier de Hierarch. Ecclesiast. lib. i. c. vii. p. 67. Laïcis, non nisi ex indulgentia, illud attingere debere.—Id. p. 79, *ibid.*

^g Conc. Carth. IV. c. xcvi. Laicus, presentibus clericis, nisi ipsis rogantibus, docere non audeat.

request him to do it." If this relate to public teaching in the church, it implies, that they might do it by special indulgence and concession. The ancient author of the Comment upon the Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose, says,^b "That, in the beginning of Christianity, for the augmentation and increase of the Church, a general commission was granted unto all, both to preach the Gospel, and baptize, and explain the Scriptures in ecclesiastical assemblies. But when the Church had spread itself into all places, buildings were erected, and rulers and other officers were appointed, that no one among the clergy should presume to meddle with any office, which he knew was not committed to his trust." And hence it was that deacons, in his time, did not preach to the people; nor the inferior clergy or laymen, baptize. What he says of the apostle's days, must rest upon his authority: if he means an unlimited commission to all in general, without previous qualifications, and examination of them, his opinion is certainly singular. But if he means only, that all who had extraordinary measures of spiritual gifts, were allowed to exercise those gifts, sometimes in preaching in public assemblies, without any external ordination, besides the gift of the spirit of prophecy; that is no more than what the best interpreters of those words of St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 31), "Ye may all prophecy one by one," commonly allow: that is, all who had the gift of prophecy, not every Christian, might use the word of exhortation in the church.ⁱ But then, as such extraordinary gifts of the spirit

^b Ambros. Comment. in Ephes. iv. p. 948, edit. Basil. 1567. Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare, et scripturas in ecclesia explanare. At ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores, et cetera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum. Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

ⁱ Estius in 1 Cor. xiv. 31. Non omnes fideles: quia jam dixerat, c. xii. Num quid omnes prophetæ? sed omnes prophetiæ donum habentes, ut sensus sit; 'Quamvis ex spiritu prophetico loquamini, mirari tamen non debetis, quod jubeam priorem tacere, et loquendi vices alteri concedere. Nam in potestate vestra est, eum servare ordinem, ut singulatim, alius post alium, etiam omnes prophetetis.' Certe in eo, quod dicit 'omnes,' permittere videtur, ut aliquando plures tribus in uno conventu prophetent. Vid. et Beza, in h. l.

of prophecy were in a manner peculiar to the apostolical age, this could not be a rule to the following ages of the Church. And, therefore, when once these gifts were ceased, the Church went prudently by another rule, to allow none but such as were called by an ordinary commission, to perform this office, except where some extraordinary natural endowments (such as were in Origen) answering in some measure to those spiritual gifts, made it proper to grant a license to laymen to exercise their talents for the benefit of the Church. Or else when necessity imposed the duty on deacons to perform the office of preaching, when the bishop and presbyters were, by sickness or other means debarred from it. For the foresaid author plainly says, “That deacons, in his time, did not ordinarily *prædicare in populo*, ‘preach to the people;’” as being an office to which they had no ordinary commission. And the same is said by the author of the Constitutions,^j and many others. Therefore, since deacons were not allowed this power, but only in some special cases, it is the less to be wondered, that, after the ceasing of spiritual gifts, it should generally be denied to laymen.

SECT. V.—*Women never allowed to Preach.*

As to women, whatever gifts they could pretend to, they were never allowed to preach publicly in the church, either by the apostle’s rules, or those of succeeding ages. The apostle says expressly, “Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak: but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law” (1 Cor. xiv. 34); and, “If they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.” And again (1 Tim. ii. 11), “Let the women also learn in silence with all subjection.

^j Constitut. lib. iii. c. xx. Ἄλλα μόνον τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον διδάσκειν, ἀναφέρειν, βαπτίζειν, εὐλογεῖν τὸν λαόν· τὸν δὲ διάκονον ἔξυπηρετεῖσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· τουτίστι, διακονεῖν οὐ μὴν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διενεργεῖν.—Vigil. Epist. ad Rustic. Conc. tom. v. p. 554, d. Adjecistis etiam execranda superbia, quæ nec leguntur, nec sine sui pontificis jussione aliquando ordinis vestri homines præsumserunt, auctoritatem vobis prædicationis contra omnem consuetudinem vel canones vindicare.

But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." And this rule was always strictly observed in the ancient Church. The same Council of Carthage, which allows laymen to teach by permission, expressly forbids women to do it in any case:^k "Let not a woman, however learned or holy, presume to teach men in a public assembly." But they might teach women in private, as private catechists, to prepare catechumens for baptism. For the same Council of Carthage^l requires this as one qualification in deaconesses when they were ordained, that they should be so well instructed and expert in their office as to be able to teach the ignorant and rustic women how to make their responses to the interrogatories which the minister should put to them in baptism, and how to order their conversation afterward. And the author of the Short Notes upon St. Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Jerom, says,^m "That deaconesses were thus employed in all the Eastern Churches, both to minister to their own sex in baptism, and in the ministry of the word to teach women privately, but not in public." This matter was carried much further in many heretical assemblies; for they ordained women priests, which the author of the Constitutionsⁿ calls a heathenish practice; for the Christian law allowed of no such custom. Tertullian says,^o "They allowed women to teach and dispute in their assemblies, and to exorcize demoniacs, and administer

^k Conc. Carth. IV. c. xcix. (Conc. tom. ii. p. 1207.) *Mulier, quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere non præsumat.*

^l Ibid. c. xii. *Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptismate, vivant* (P. 1201.)

^m Hieron. Comment. in Rom. xvi. 1. *Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus diaconissæ mulieres in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimus, &c.*

ⁿ Constitut. lib. iii. c. ix. (Conc. i. p. 316, C.) *Εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς προλαβοῦσι διδάσκουσιν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαμιν, πῶς ἱερατεύσαι ταύταις παρὰ φύσιν τις συγχωρήσει; τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θιαῖς ἱερέας χειροτονεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς Χριστοῦ διατάξεως.*

^o Tertul. de Præscript. c. xli. p. (217, C.) *Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ, quam procaces! quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes re-promittere forsitan et tingere.*

baptism; all which was expressly," he says,^r "against the rule of the apostle (1 Cor. xiv. 35), which is so far from allowing them to teach, that it does not allow them to ask questions or dispute publicly in the church." And whereas some pretended the authority of St. Paul for this, from a book called the Acts of Paul and Thecla, he says, "That was a spurious book, and the author of it was convict, and confessed the forgery, and was censured for it by the Church." The Montanists were a noted sect for giving this liberty to women, under pretence of inspiration by the Spirit; so that they had not only their prophetesses, such as Prisca and Maximilla, the first followers of Montanus, but also their women-bishops and women-presbyters, as Quintilla and Priscilla, who, as Epiphanius^q and St. Austin^r inform us, were dignified among the Pepuzians (a sub-division of the Montanists) with the highest offices of the priesthood. Epiphanius^s brings the same charge against the Collyridians (so called from their offering *collyria*, or 'cakes,' in sacrifice to the Virgin Mary), against whom he disputes at large, not only for their idolatry in offering sacrifice to her, but also

^p Tertul. de Baptismo, c. xvii. (231, B.) Petulantior mulierum, quæ usurpavit docere, utique non etiam tinguendi jus sibi pariet: nisi si quæ nova bestia evenerit similis pristinæ: ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat. Quod si quæ Paulo perperam adscripta sunt, [exemplum Teclæ] ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt; sciant, in Asia presbyterum, qui eam Scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. Quam enim fidei proximum videretur, ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminæ potestatem, qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? 'Taceant,' inquit, 'et domi maritos suos consulant.' —Id. de Veland. Virgin. c. ix. Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tinguere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii, sortem sibi vindicare. (178, A.)

^q Epiphani. Hæres. xlix. Pepuz. n. ii. 'Επίσκοποι τι παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες.

^r Aug. Hæres. xxviii. Pepuzian. Tantum dantes mulieribus principatum, ut sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur.

^s Epiphani. Hæres. lxxviii. Antidicomar. n. xxiii. (1054, D.) 'Οι εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἀνιπαρθένου κολλυρίδια τιὰ ἐκτιλεῖν, καὶ συνάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τι πυρεῖσθαι ἀνέμια, καὶ βλασφῆμῳ ἐκχυρίων πράγματα, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἱερουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν ὅτι τὸ πᾶν ἴστιν ἀσιεῖς, καὶ ἀβήμτοι, ἡλλοιωμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνιύματος. —Id. Hæres. Collyridan. nn. ii. iii. Καὶ οὐδαμοῦ γυνὴ ἱεράτευσιν ἑλίσσεται διὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην· εἰ ἱερατεύον γυναῖκες Θεῷ προστάσσοντο ἢ καινικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἴδου μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατεῖαν ἐκτιλεῖσθαι ἐν Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ. (1059.)

for their presumption in putting women into the priest's office; which was a thing never done among the people of God from the beginning of the world: and if it had been allowed to any, would doubtless have been granted to the Virgin Mary. Firmilian, in his letter to Cyprian,¹ mentions another such woman among the Cataphrygians, "Who pretended, by the spirit of prophecy, to preach, and pray, and baptize, and offer the eucharist in their public assemblies:" so that this was a common practice among the heretics, but always refuted and opposed by the Church of God, which always kept strictly to the apostle's rule, not to suffer a woman to teach publicly in the church, whatever sanctity or learning she could pretend to; but to reserve this office to men, for whom it was originally appointed.

SECT. VI.—*Two or three Sermons sometimes in the same Assembly.*

Having thus examined what persons were allowed to execute this office, we are next to inquire after what manner it was performed. And here we may observe, that they had sometimes two or three sermons preached in the same assembly; first, by the presbyters and then by the bishop, who usually, when present, closed up this part of the service with his paternal exhortation. The author of the Constitutions gives this rule about it:^u "When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters, one by one, but not all, speak the word of exhortation to the people, and last of all the bishop, who is the governor or pilot of the ship." And that thus it was in the

¹ Firmil. Epist. lxxv. ad Cyprian. p. 222, (p. 323, edit. Amstelod.) Emersit subito quædam mulier, quæ in exstasi constituta, propheten se præferret, et quasi Sancto Spiritu plena, sic ageret. . . . Atqui illa mulier, quæ prius per præstigiis et fallacias dæmonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cetera quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemtibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino, non sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis offerret; baptizaret quoque multos usitata et legitima verba interregationis usurpans, ut nihil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur.

^u Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. "Ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενοι ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκίτωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας . . . καὶ ἔξῃ παρακαλίτῳσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαόν, ὁ καθὼς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅπαντες· καὶ τελευταῖος πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς ἵσκει κυβερνήτη. (P. 295, A.)

Eastern Churches, whose customs that author chiefly represents, appears evidently from St. Chrysostom's sermons, which he preached when he was presbyter at Antioch. For in these he plainly speaks of Flavian the bishop, as designing to preach after him, whom he usually complimented in some such form as this:^v "It is now time for me to keep silence, that our master may have time to speak." And again,^w "Let us remember these things, and now attend to the more perfect admonition of our good master." It would be as endless, as it is needless, to relate all the passages that occur in Chrysostom^x or other writers, such as St. Basil,^y Gregory Nyssen, Theodoret, St. Austin, and St. Je-

^v Chrysostom. Hom. ii. de Verbis Iesaiæ, tom. iii. p. 853, (p. 740, c. edit. Francof.) Γενίσθω οὖν ἡμῖν καιρὸς τοῦ σιγῆσαι, ἵνα γίνηται καιρὸς τῷ διδασκάλῳ τοῦ λαλῆσαι.

^w Ibid. Hom. iii. ibid. p. 864, (p. 749, a. edit. cit.) Ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες, ἀναχωρήσαμεν οἰκαδε· μᾶλλον δὲ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες, διζώμεθα καὶ τὴν τελειωτέραν τοῦ καλοῦ διδασκάλου παραίνεσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα, οἷα ἂν εἴη, ἔχει τὰ τῆς νήστης δειγматы· τὰ δὲ τούτου, οἷα ἂν ᾖ, πλείονα κινέσμεναι τῷ φρονήματι.

^x Ibid. Hom. xxxi. de Philogonio, tom. i. p. 399, D. (p. 353, c. edit. cit.) 'Αλλ' ὅμως ἐφ' ἰτίραν ἀναγκαίαν ὑποβῆσιν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐπιίγεται· διὰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ζηλωτῇ τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλογονίου ταῦτα καταλιπόντες εἰπῶν, ἅτι ἀκριβίστην ἡμῶν εἶδότες τὰ ἀρχαῖα πάντα, πρὸς ἰτίραν δημογραφίας ὁδὸν βαδισόμεθα. — Hom. xlviii. de Romano, tom. i. p. 621, C. (p. 549, edit. cit.) Ἐβουλόμην ἄχρ' ἑλίουσιν ἐγχορεύσαι τῇ τοῦ μέγτερος ὑποβῆσιν· ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς συμμιτρίας ἐπίσταται καιρὸς, καὶ μοι σιωπᾶν ἐγκλιύεται· ὑμῖν τι γὰρ πρὸς ὠφελίαν ἱκανὰ τὰ ρηθέντα, καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ διδάγματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν ρηθέντων ἀπαρτισμόν. — Hom. liii. de Pœnit. tom. i. p. 662, B. (p. 585.) Ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ πρὸς διόρθωσιν· δίοτιρ ἀνάγκη καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φωνῆς ἐπιθυμῶ ἀκοῦσαι. — Vid. Hom. lix. de Babyla, p. 721. Hom. xxxi. (al. xxxiii.) de Natali Christi, tom. v. p. 476. Hom. xlvii. et lxi. ibid. Hom. in Psalm. xlviii. p. 813. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 652.

^y Basil. Hom. xviii. in Barlaam. tom. i. p. 443. Ἀλλὰ τί παιδικαῖς ἐλαττώ τὸν ἀριστὸν ψιλλίσμασι· ταῖς μεγαλοπεριπιστῆραις τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕμνων παραχρησάμεν γλώτταις· τὰς μεγαλοφρονετέρας τῶν διδασκάλων ἐφ' αὐτῇ καλίσσωμεν σάλπιγγας· ἀνάστητί μοι νῦν ὧ λαμπροὶ τῶν ἀθλητικῶν κατορθωμάτων ζωγράφου, τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κολοθευῖσαν εἰκόνα ταῖς ὑμετέραις μεγαλύναι τέχναις, κ. τ. λ. Gregor. Nyssen. in sui Ordinatio. tom. ii. pp. 40, 41. (i. 872.) Οὐκ οὖν μακρύναμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ προεῖμιον, ἵνα σχολούμενοι τῷ θαύματι τῶν προλαβόντων· ἦδη κειρομενίστοι· ἦδη ἐπλουτήσατε· ὁ δὲ κόρος ἀπὸ γλυκασμάτων ἰστί· τούτοις γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὁ προλαβὼν λόγος ἐτιθήνατο. — Theodoret. in 1 Cor. xiv. p. 31. Δύτη μίχρη τοῦ παρόντος ἡ τάξις ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μεμίνηκε, καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανηγύρει, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῃ τῇ λαῷ διαλέγονται. — Aug. Sermon. in Psalm. xciv. Ego vellem, fratres, ut patrem nostrum potius audiremus: sed et hoc bonum est, ut patri obediamus. — Id. in Psalm. xcv. Dominus et frater meus Severus adhuc differt lætitiā nostrā de sermone, quem nobis debet. — Id. in

rom,* who particularly reflects upon the contrary practice in some Churches (meaning Egypt and Africa), where the bishops allowed none to preach but themselves; which he thought was an indecent contempt of their presbyters, as if they either envied or disdained to hear them, when yet the apostolical rule was, "If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all prophecy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted (1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31). When two or more bishops happened to be present in the same assembly, it was usual for several of them to preach one after another, reserving the last place for the most honourable person; as St. Jerom^a tells us, that Epiphanius and John, bishop of Jerusalem, preached together in the church of Jerusalem. And nothing was more common than this practice at Constantinople, where a multitude of bishops were often present to attend the court, or advise with the patriarch about the affairs of the Church.

SECT. VII. — *Sermons every Day in some Times and Places.*

In some places they had sermons every day, especially in Lent, and the festival days of Easter. St. Chrysostom's homilies upon Genesis were preached in a running course of two Lents, one day after another, as any one may perceive that peruses them. His famous homilies *De Statuis* were

Psalm. cxxxi. Justum quidem erat, carissimi, ut fratrem potius audiremus collegam meum, præsentem omnibus nobis. Et modo non negavit, sed distulit. Et ideo hoc indico caritati vestræ, ut prior obtemperarem jubenti. Extorsit enim mihi, ut esset modo auditor meus, eo sane pacto, ut et ego sim ipsius.

* Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepot. p. 11, f. Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis, tacere presbyteros, et præsentibus episcopis non loqui quasi aut invideant, aut non dignentur audire, &c. (i. 262, E.)

* Ibid. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. c. iv. Recordare, quæso, illius diei, quando ad horam septimam invitatus populus spe sola, quasi postea auditorus Epiphanium esset, detinebatur, quid tunc concionatus sis, nempe contra Anthropomorphitas, qui simplicitate rustica Deum habere membra, quæ in divinis libris scripta sunt, arbitrantur, furens et indignans loquebaris: oculos et manus et totius corporis truncum, in senem dirigebas, volens illum suspectum facere stultissimæ hæreseos. Postquam lassus ore arido, resupinaque cervice ac trementibus labiis conticuisti; et tandem totius populi vota completa sunt; quid tibi fecit delirus et fatuus senex? surrexit, ut se indicaret pauca dicturum esse, salutataque et voce et manu ecclesia, 'Cuncta,' inquit, 'quæ loquutus est collegio frater, ætate filius, contra Anthropomorphitarum hæresin bene et fideliter loquutus est,' &c.

preached in Lent, after the same manner; and it were easy to note some scores of passages in his other sermons, especially in his first, third, and fifth volumes,^b which make mention of their being preached successively one day after another. St. Jerom observes the same practice among the monks of Egypt,^c where it was customary every day, after the singing of the Psalms, and reading of the Scriptures, and repeating of their prayers, for the father (that was the title of the presbyter that presided over them) to make them a sermon, to elevate their minds to the contemplation of the glory of the next world, which made every one of them, with a gentle sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, to say within himself, "O that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away and be at rest!" Pamphilus, in his Apology for Origen, relates the same thing of him,^d "That he was used to make sermons extempore almost every day to the people." And a man cannot look into St. Austin's Homilies, but he will find references made almost everywhere to the sermon made *heri, et hesterno die*, 'the day before;' which either denotes some day in the weekly course, or, at least, some festival of a martyr. For the festivals of the martyrs were always kept with great solemnity, and they never omitted to

^b Chrysostom. tom. i. hom. ix. xxv. xxxii. xl. xlii. xlv. xlix. lxxi.—Tom. iii. in Psalm. xlv. et l. hom. i. ii. iv. v. de Verbis Esaia. — Tom. v. hom. ii. de Lazaro, hom. xxx. xxxiv. lxviii. lvi. lxii. lxiii. &c.

^c Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xxv. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c.

^d Pamphil. Apol. pro Origen. inter opera Origen. tom. i. p. 756. Tractatus pene quotidie habebat in ecclesia, &c.

^e Aug. Sermon. ii. in Psalm. lviii. (tom. viii. opp. p. 594.) Hesternus sermo protractus debitorem me in hodiernum reliquit.—Serm. in Psalm. lxiii. Hesterno die multa audivit caritas vestra, nec hodie tamen huic festivitati negare potuimus nostram servitutem.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. lxviii. Posterior pars psalmi, de quo hesterno die loquuti sumus caritati vestræ, hodie nobis explicanda remanserunt.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. lxx. Commendavimus hesterno die titulum ejus, &c.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. xc. Sicut non dubito meminisse caritatem vestram, qui hesterno die sermoni adfuistis, psalmum, quem cœperamus exponere, ne ad terminum perveniret, angustia temporis impedivit. Hoc, qui heri adfuistis, recordamini: qui non adfuistis, agnoscite.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. ci. Hesterno die audivimus cujusdam pauperis gemitum in oratione, &c. Et passim in sermonibus de Tempore et de Sanctis.

make a panegyrical homily upon those days, to excite the people to imitate the virtue of the martyrs: as appears from St. Austin's sermons *De Sanctis*, and abundance throughout St. Chrysostom's works upon such occasions.^f In France, also, Cæsarius, the famous bishop of Arles, preached almost every day; for he is said, by the writer of his Life,^g to have made homilies to the people, frequently, both at morning and evening-prayer, that none of them might have the excuse of ignorance to plead in their behalf; and the Council of Trullo^h has a canon to promote this practice.

SECT. VIII. — *Sermons twice a-Day in many Places.*

And this leads us to another observation proper to be made in this matter: which is, that in many places they had sermons twice a-day, for the better edification of the people. Mr. Thorndikeⁱ and Hamon L'Estrange^j make a little question of this, as to the extent of the practice. The former says, "There are examples of preaching, as well evening as morning, in the ancient Church, but only at particular times, and on particular occasions, and therefore he is not satisfied of any rule or custom of the Church." The other says, "The custom only prevailed at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, where St. Basil lived, and at Cyprus." St. Basil preached some of his homilies upon the *Hexameron*, at evening-prayer.^k But, he thinks, Socrates^l confines the custom to those places,

^f Chrysostom. tom. i. serm. xxxi. de Philogonio, serm. xl. de Juventio. Et sequentes de Pelagia, Ignatio, Romano, Metitio, Juliano, Luciano, Bernice, Eustathio, &c. — Aug. Sermon in Psalm. lxxxi. See also what has been observed before of their preaching on Saturdays and the stationary days, in the former Book.

^g Cyprian. Tolonensis Vit. Cæsarii, c. iv. ap. Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 404. Frequenter etiam ad Matutinos et Lucernarium propter advenientes recitabat homilias, ut nullus esset, qui se de ignorantia excusaret.

^h Conc. Trul. c. xix. cit. supra, sect. ii. litt. (*).

ⁱ Thorndike, of Religious Assemblies, chap. x. p. 405.

^j L'Estrange, of Divine Offices, chap. iv. p. 98.

^k Vid. Basil. in Hexameron. hom. ii. Μικροῖς ἡμερῶν ἡμετέρας ἡμέρας, τοσοῦτον ἀποικικυμνῶν τὸ βάθος τῆς διανοίας εὐρομν, ὥστε τῶν ἡμετέρας παντὶ ἀπογοῦναι.—Hom. vii. Γίνονται δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐν τῇ μεταλήψει τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιτετακίδια διηγήματα, ὅσα τι ἡμετέρας ὑμῖν καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπηλθὲν ὁ λόγος.—Hom. ix. Πῶς ὑμῖν ἡ ἡμετέρας τῶν λόγων τράπεζα κατεφάνη;

^l Socrat. lib. vi. c. xxi.

because he speaks of it as a peculiar usage of those places to have sermons made by bishops and presbyters on Saturdays and Sundays, at candle-light, in the evening. Bishop Wettenhal was of a different judgment:^m he thinks that in cities, and greater churches, it was usual for the pastors to preach on Sundays, but morning and afternoon; and he supports his opinion from several testimonies of Chrysostom, who entitles one of his homilies,ⁿ 'An exhortation to those who were ashamed to come to sermon after dinner.' And, in another,^o he inveighs against them, who condemned his usage of preaching after dinner, as a new and strange custom, telling them that he had much more reason to condemn that wicked custom then prevailing among some, to rise from table to sleep. In another place he defends his practice from our Saviour's long sermon to his disciples after his last supper.^p And in another homily, preached to the people of Antioch,^q he highly commends them for coming to church in the afternoon in a full audience. All these are cited by Wettenhal; to which may be added what he says in his homily of Satan's Temptations,^r that the bishop attended

^m Wettenhal, Duty of Preaching, chap. iii. p. 779.

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. x. in Genes. Προτροπή πρὸς τοὺς ἐνυβριῶντας μετὰ τὴν ἱστίαν παραβαλὼν τῇ συνάξει κατὰ τὴν ἰστίαν. (P. 90.)

^o Ibid. Hom. i. de Lazaro, (tom. v. p. 33, edit. Francof.) Οἶδα, ὅτι πολλοὶ καταγινώσκονται τῶν λιγομένων, ὡς καινὴν τινα καὶ παράδοξον συνήθειαν εἰσαγόντων τῇ βίῳ· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μισθύνω τῆς ποιητῆς καταγινώσκειν συνήθειαν, τῆς νῦν κατεχούσης ἡμᾶς· ὅτι γὰρ μετὰ τροφὴν καὶ τράπεζαν, οὐχ ὕπνον, οὐδὲ ἐνὴν, ἀλλ' εὐχὰς καὶ θείων γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσιν διαδίδχισθαι χρὴ. (P. 35, D.)

^p Ibid. Hom. ix. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 121, D. (p. 108, edit. cit.) 'Ὁ τραπέζης, ὡς ἔοικε, μετασχὼν αἰσθητῆς, ἐνόμισεν ἀνάξιον εἶναι, μετὰ τροφὴν αἰσθητὴν ἐπὶ θείων λογίων ἀκρόασιν ἰλθεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐ δικαίως τοῦτο νομίζουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν, εἰ τοῦτο ἦν ἄτοπον, τοὺς μακροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνήλωσιν ὁ Χριστὸς λόγους, μετὰ τὸ δειπνῶν ἐκὺνο τὸ μυστικόν.

^q Ibid. Hom. x. ibid. p. 131, (p. 116, fin. edit. cit.) Χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι τὴν παραινέσιν ἡμῶν, ἣν ὑπερ τῶν μὴ νηστεούντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολιμπανόμενων ἰποισάμεθα πρῶην, εἰς ἔργον ὑμῖς ἔξηνίκατε· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς ὅμαι τῶν ἡριστηκότων παρίναι τήμερον, καὶ τὸν καλὸν ἡμῖν σύλλογον τοῦτον πληρεῦν.

^r Ibid. Hom. xxv. de Diabolo Tentatore, tom. i. pp. 318, 319, (p. 284, edit. cit.) 'Ὁ μὲν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπιθυμήσας ποτὶ ἄριστον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πατρὸς φαγεῖν, τὸν πατέρα εἰς τὴν θῆραν ἐξέπιμψεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπιθυμήσας ἄριστον ἐκ τῶν ἡμιστέρων χειρῶν λαβεῖν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐξέπιμψεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν ἡμιστίαν ἰδραμι τράπεζαν· τί τούτου φιλοστοργιότερον γίνουσι ἂν; τί δὲ

his sermons, which he preached both morning and afternoon; for that sermon was preached in the afternoon, the same day that he had preached his twenty-first sermon to the newly baptized, as he there expressly tells us. So, again, it appears, that the fifteenth and nineteenth homilies to the people of Antioch against oaths, were preached on the same day.⁵ And his homily, of bearing reproof patiently, was an evening-sermon; for there he thus addresses himself to the people: "Be not weary, though the evening now be come upon us: for all our discourse is in defence of Paul; that Paul, who taught his disciples three years, night and day." In his homily upon Elias and the widow, he says, "One of his Lent discourses was broken off by the evening coming upon them." And in one of his homilies upon Genesis,⁶ he as plainly intimates, that he was then preaching an evening-sermon, for he makes this apostrophe to the people: "I am expounding the Scriptures, and ye all turn your eyes from me to the lamps, and him that is lighting the lamps. What negligence is this, so to forsake me, and set your minds on him? For I am lighting a fire from the Holy Scriptures; and in my tongue is a burning lamp of doctrine. This is a greater and a better light than that; for we do not

ταπεινότερον; ὅς οὕτω θιγγὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἀγάπην κατηξίωσιν, καὶ τοσοῦτοι καταβῆναι ἡνίοχιο; διάτοι τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸν τόνον τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πολλῶν κατακαλόντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἰωβιῆς διαλίξωμεν, ἰδόντες τὴν πατρικὴν ὄψιν, ὑθίως ἐπιλαβόμεθα τῆς ἀσθηνίας, ἀπείμεθα τὸν ἔκνον" κ. τ. λ.

⁵ Chrysostom. Hom. xv. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. i. p. 198.

⁶ Ibid. Hom. xiii. de Ferendis Reprehen. tom. v. p. 194, A. (p. 176, edit. Francof.) 'Γμῖς δὲ μὴ ἀποκάμῃσι, καὶ ἰσπία καταλάβοι ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ Παύλου πᾶς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, Παύλου τοῦ τριστίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τοὺς μαθητὰς διδάσκοντες.

⁷ Ibid. Hom. liv. in Heliam et Viduam. tom. v. p. 722, C. (hom. lviii. p. 645, edit. cit.) 'Εν ταῖς ἡμέραις, αἷς ἰησοτιόμιν ἅπαντες, τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἐλπιουμένης πελάγης ἰλόμινος κινήσαι λόγους, ἐξικρουμένην, τῆς ἰσπίας καταλαμβαίνουσης, καὶ τοῦ λόγου διακοπτοῦσης τὸν δρόμον.

⁸ Ibid. Sermon. iv. in Gueses. tom. ii. p. 902, B. (p. 745, edit. cit.) Περὶ γραφῶν ὑμῖν δηγούμεθα, ὑμῖς δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀποστήσαντες ἡμῶν, πρὸς τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ τὸν τὰς λαμπάδας ἄπτοντα μιτιστήσατε· καὶ πόσης τοῦτο βραθυμίας, ἡμεῖς ἀφίντας τοῦτῃ προσέχουν; πῦρ ἀνάπτω καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης τῆς ἡμετέρας λαμπάδιον καίεται, τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας· τοῦτο μῖζον καὶ βίλτιον τὸ φῶς ἐκίνου τοῦ φωτός· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θρυαλλίδα διάδροχον ἰλαίῃ, καθάπερ οὗτος, ἐξάπτομεν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς ἐν ἐντερίῃ ἀρδομένας τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνάπτοντες ἰκθυμῖα.

set up a light like that moistened with oil, but we inflame souls, that are watered with piety, with a desire of hearing." The whole allusion and similitude shews, that he was preaching an evening-sermon when candles were lighting, which gave him the hint to draw the comparison between the material light of the lamps, and the spiritual light of the Scriptures. And in his third homily, of repentance, to name no more, he says,^y "He would continue his discourse 'to the evening, ἕως ἑσπέρας, that he might finish the subject he was then handling." From all which it is apparent, this was no occasional usage in St. Chrysostom's Church, but his constant and ordinary practice. And in the Latin Church we sometimes meet with examples of this kind, though not so frequent. St. Austin not only preached every day, but sometimes twice on the same day: as is evident from the two sermons on Psalm lxxxviii.; in the latter of which he says,^z "He had preached before in the morning, and remained in their debt for the afternoon." Gaudentius, also bishop of Brixia, speaks of his having preached twice on the vigil before Easter.^a And, it is probable, the same solemnity was observed, in like manner, in other places: for at this solemnity, especially, they made a distinction in their sermons, preaching one to the catechumens, and another to the neophytes, or 'persons newly baptized;' as Gaudentius says, in the same place, that his second sermon was preached to the neophytes. The like is said by St. Ambrose,^b and Theo-

^y Chrysostom. Hom. iii. de Pœnit. tom. iv. p. 559, (p. 489, edit. Francof.)
Ὅν ἀφίσταμαι ἕως ἑσπέρας, ἕως οὗ αὐτὸ λύσω.

^z Aug. Sermon. ii. in Psalm. lxxxviii. Ad reliqua psalmi, de quo in matutino loquuti sumus, animum intendite, et pium debitum exigite.

^a Gaudent. Tractat. iv. Carnalem Judaicæ Paschæ observantiam, spiritualibus typis refertam, trino jam tractatu docuimus; semel hesterno die et bis in vigiliis. — Id. Tract. v. Oportebat in illa nocte vigiliarum, secundo tractatu . . . congrua neophytis explanari.

^b Ambros. de mysteriis, c. i. De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus, quum vel patriarcharum gesta, vel proverbiorum legerentur præcepta; ut his informati atque instituti adsuesceretis majorum ingredi vias, eorumque iter carpere, ac Divinis obedire oraculis; quo renovati per baptismum, ejus vitæ usum teneretis, quæ ablutos deceret. Nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere: quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse æstimaremur. (Paris. 1836, vol. iii. p. 332.)

doret,^c and St. Austin,^d as I have had occasion to shew in another place, in speaking of the distinction that was made between the catechumens and the faithful.^e To the former they preached upon moral subjects; to the latter, upon mystical points of religion, and abstruser articles of faith; therefore St. Austin says, in another place,^f “There were some points which required more intent auditors, and, therefore, the preacher was not to hasten them, but defer them to another opportunity. And in another homily, upon Easter-day,^g he excuses the shortness of it, because he was to preach again to ‘the infants,’ as they then called all persons newly baptized. Cyril’s Mystical Catechisms were of this kind; and, probably, those mystical homilies of Origen, whereof he wrote two books, mentioned by Ruffin^h and St. Jerom, were of the same nature. However, we have seen sufficient evidence otherwise for more sermons than one upon the same day, upon many occasions.

SECT. IX.—*Not so frequent in Country Villages.*

But this is chiefly to be understood of cities and large churches. For in the country parishes there was not such frequent preaching. St. Chrysostom says,ⁱ “They that lived in the city, enjoyed continual teaching; but they that dwelt in the country, had not such plenty: therefore God compensated this want of teachers with a greater abundance of martyrs; and so ordered it, that more martyrs lay buried in the

^c Theodoret. Quæst. xv. in Num. (Hal. 1769, vol. i. p. 230.) ‘*Ἀσήμες διὰ τοὺς ἀμνηστους περὶ τῶν θείων διαλεγόμεθα μυστηρίων· τούτων δὲ χωριζόμεναι, σαφῶς τοὺς μεμνημένους διδάσκομεν.*

^d Aug. Serm. i. ad Neophyt. in Append. tom. x. p. 842. *Dimissis jam catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinuimus, &c.*

^e Book i. chap. iv. sect. viii.

^f Aug. Tractat. lxii. in Joan. *Intentior flagitur auditor: et ideo eum præcipitare non debet, sed differre potius disputator.*

^g Ibid. Hom. lxxxii. de Diversis. *Satis sint vobis pauca ista, quoniam et post laboraturi sumus, et de sacramentis altaris hodie infantibus disputandum est.*

^h Ruffin. Invect. ii. cont. Hieron. citat. a Valesio Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxiv. *Scriptis in Genesin, libros xiii. Mysticarum homiliarum libros duos.*

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. lxxv. de Martyribus, tom. v. p. 973, A. (hom. lxxviii. p. 872, edit. Francof.) *Οἱ μὲν τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες συνεχοῦς ἀπολαύουσι διδασκαλίας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀγροικίᾳ ζῶντες, οὐ τοσαύτης μετίχουσι ἀφθονίας· τὴν πνίαν τοίνυν τῶν διδασκόντων ἐν τῇ θαψιλίᾳ τῶν μαρτύρων παραμυθεύμενος ὁ Θεὸς, ὡκονόμησε πλείους*

country than in the city : where, though they could not hear the tongues of their teachers continually, yet they always heard the voice of the martyrs speaking to them from their graves, and that with greater force of eloquence and persuasion, than living teachers could do, as he there goes on after his manner to describe it." There were sometimes great assemblies held at these monuments of the martyrs : for, on their anniversary festivals, the whole city went forth to celebrate their memorials in the churches where they lay buried ; as Chrysostom tells us both here and in other places :^j but, at other times, their chief resort for preaching was to the city-churches. It was not till the beginning of the sixth century that preaching was generally set up throughout the country-parishes in the French Church : but about that time, an order was made in the Council of Vaison (an. 529),^k " That, for the edification of all the Churches, and the greater benefit of the whole body of the people, presbyters should have power to preach, not only in the cities, but in all the country-parishes : and if the presbyter was infirm, a deacon should read one of the homilies of the holy fathers." So that, in this respect, the state of the present Church may be reckoned happier than that of the ancient Church ; since there is scarce a country-parish among us but has a sermon preached every Lord's day throughout the year, by a presbyter, or deacon.

παρ' ἐκείνοις ταφῆναι μάρτυρας· οὐκ ἀκούουσι διδασκάλων γλώττης ἐκείνοι διηλεκῶς, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων φωνῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου διαλιγομένης αὐτοῖς καὶ μίζονα ἰσχύον ἰχούσης.

^j Chrysostom. Hom. lxxii. de S. Droside, tom. v. p. 990, C. (hom. lxx. p. 885, edit. Francof.) " Ἐνδον μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἰδιατερίζοντας οὐ σφόδρα εἰκὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα μελετᾶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐξιελθόντας ἔξω τυχῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάφους τούτους ἰδόντας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατοικομένων διασαμένους, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ ἰκόντας καὶ ἀκούοντας τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς ὀφίως διέξασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς, καὶ διεξαμένους ὑψηλοτέρους γινίσθαι, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ βιωτικὰ πράγματα συμπαθείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. — Id. p. 991. B. Διὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν γενναῖον τοῦτον θαυμάζω πατέρα, ὅτι γαληνῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβόμενος ἰσταῦθα ἡμᾶς ἐξήγαγε, προηγουμένης δὲ καὶ ὀδηγούσης τῆς μακαρίας Δροσίδος, ἧς τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτιλοῦμεν.

^k Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. Hoc etiam pro ædificatione omnium ecclesiarum, et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem : ita ut si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur. (vol. iv. p. 1680, A.)

SECT. X.— *Of their different Ways of Preaching.*

The next thing to be observed is, their different sorts of sermons, and different ways of preaching. I have already noted some difference to have been made between sermons to the catechumens and sermons to the faithful;¹ but that was chiefly in the matter and subject of them. What I observe here, relates more to the manner and method of preaching, in which respect they were distinguished into four kinds. 1. Exposition of Scripture. 2. Panegyric discourses upon the saints and martyrs. 3. Sermons upon particular times, occasions, and festivals. 4. Sermons upon particular doctrines, and moral subjects, to illustrate the truth against heresy; and recommended the practice of virtue, in opposition to immorality and ungodliness. There are examples of all these kinds in St. Chrysostom's and St. Austin's homilies, the two great standards and patterns of preaching, in the Greek and Latin Church. St. Austin has some homilies upon whole books of Scripture, as those upon the Psalms, and St. John's Gospel. He has others styled *De Sanctis*, which are panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs: others, styled *De Tempore*, which are upon the festivals and great solemnities of the Church, such as the Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Passion, Easter, Pentecost, and the Lord's days throughout the year; others, styled *De Diversis*, which are a miscellany upon doctrinal points and moral subjects. So, likewise, in Chrysostom, we have his homilies, by way of exposition, on the whole Book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and all St. Paul's Epistles. Then, again, his panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs; his homilies upon the noted festivals, Easter, Pentecost, &c.; and, lastly, his moral and doctrinal discourses upon various subjects, repentance, faith, charity, humility, the truth of the Christian religion, the Divinity of Christ, and such important subjects, as the occasion of the times, and the opposition of Jews, Gentiles, and heretics, required him to discourse upon, in a plain and familiar way to the people. His homilies, by way of exposition of any

¹ See sect. viii.

book of Scripture, usually consist but of two parts. An exposition of some portion of a chapter, and an *ethicon*, or 'moral conclusion,' upon some useful subject, which the last part of the words expounded gave him the hint or occasion to discourse upon. But his other homilies are commonly introduced with a useful preface, not relating always to the subject that was to follow, but such as the occasional necessities of his auditory, either in matters of reproof or commendation, seemed to require. But, in both these ways, he excelled in this, that he always expounded the Scripture in its most natural and genuine sense (not giving way to tropological descants, as too many others did) and made such useful observations and reflections upon it, as were pertinent and proper, which he applied to his hearers with the strongest reasoning, and utmost force of Divine eloquence, becoming the seriousness and gravity of a Christian orator. It is a just character which a late learned critic gives him ;^m and, therefore, I think it not improper here to

^m Du Pin. Biblioth. vol. iii. p. 38, edit. Paris. 1693. Ce père est un des plus éloquens orateurs Chrétiens, et son éloquence est d'autant plus estimable, qu'elle est sans affectation et sans contrainte. Il a une fertilité et une abondance de paroles et de pensées qui lui est tout à fait naturelle : quoi qu'il ne se soit pas attaché, comme St. Gregoire de Nazianze et St. Basile, à une pureté Attique, il y a néanmoins beaucoup d'élévation et de grandeur dans son stile. Sa diction est pure et agréable, son discours est orné d'une variété admirable de pensées et de figures, il amplifie sa matière par un nombre infini de tours différens ; il est ingénieux à trouver des convenances, et fertile en exemples et en comparaisons ; son éloquence est populaire et très-propre à la prédication ; son stile est naturel, facile, et grave ; il évite également et la négligence et la trop grande affectation ; il n'est ni trop simple ni trop fleuri ; il est poli sans être efféminé ; il emploie fort à propos toutes les figures dont les bons orateurs ont coutume de se servir : mais il ne s'étudie point à faire de fausses pointes, ni à faire entrer dans son discours des pensées des poètes et des auteurs prophanes, ni à divertir par des railleries. Sa composition est noble, ses expressions élevées, sa méthode juste, ses pensées sublimes ; il parle en bon père et en bon pasteur ; il adresse souvent la parole à son peuple, et lui parle avec une bonté et une charité dignes d'un saint évêque. Il enseigne les principales veritez du Christianisme avec une clarté admirable ; il divertit par l'artifice merveilleux et la disposition agréable de ses pensées, et il persuade par la force et par la solidité de ses raisonnemens. Ses instructions sont faciles, ses descriptions et ses narrations agréables, ses mouvemens si doux et si insinuans, que l'on prend plaisir à se laisser persuader. Ses discours, quelques longs qu'ils soient, n'ennuyent jamais, on y trouve toujours de nouveaux agrémens qui réveillent l'esprit du lecteur. Il n'a point néanmoins de faux brillant, ni de figures inutiles ; son unique but est de convertir ses auditeurs, ou de les instruire des veritez qui leur sont nécessaires. Il néglige

transcribe it for the encouragement of all young students to read him. "His eloquence is popular, and very proper for preaching; his style is natural, easy, and grave; he equally avoids negligence and affectation; he is neither too plain, nor too florid; he is smooth, yet not effeminate; he uses all the figures that are usual to good orators very properly, without employing false strokes of wit; and he never introduces into his discourses any notions of poets or profane authors; neither does he divert his auditory with jests. His composition is noble, his expressions elegant, his method just, and his thoughts sublime. He speaks like a good father and a good pastor; he often directs his words to the people, and expresses them with a tenderness and charity becoming a holy bishop. He teaches the principal truths of Christianity with a wonderful clearness, and diverts with a marvellous art, and an agreeable way of ranging his notions, and persuades by the strength and solidity of his reasons. His instructions are easy; his descriptions and relations pleasant; his inducements so meek and insinuating, that one is pleased to be so persuaded. His discourses, how long soever, are not tedious: there are still some new things that keep the reader awake, and yet he hath no false beauties nor useless figures. His only aim is to convert his auditors, or to instruct them in necessary truths; he neglects all reflections that have more of subtilty than profit; he never busies himself to resolve hard questions, nor to give mystical senses, to make a shew of his wit or eloquence; he searches not into mysteries, neither endeavours to comprehend them; he is contented to propose, after an easy way, palpable and sensible truths, which none can be ignorant of without danger of

toutes les réflexions qui ont plus de subtilité que d'utilité; il ne s'engage point à résoudre des questions difficiles, ni à donner des sens mystiques pour faire montre de son esprit et de son éloquence; il n'approfondit point les mystères, et ne s'efforce point de les pénétrer: il se contente de proposer d'une manière aisée des veritez palpables et sensibles, qu'on ne peut ignorer sans courir risque de son salut. Il s'attache particulièrement aux points de morale; il est rare qu'il s'arrête à considérer des veritez spéculatives; il n'affecte point de paroître sçavant, il ne fait point valoir son érudition: et cependant de quelque chose qu'il parle, il en parle en des termes si forts, si propres, et si choisis, qu'il est aisé de voir qu'il a une érudition consommée dans toutes sortes de matières, mais principalement dans la véritable théologie.

failing of salvation. He particularly applies himself to moral heads, and very seldom handleth speculative truths; he affects not to appear learned, and never boasts of his erudition; and yet, whatever the subject be, he speaks with terms so strong, so proper, and so well chosen, that one may easily perceive he had a profound knowledge of all sorts of matters, and particularly of true divinity." This is the character which that judicious critic gives that famous and eloquent preacher: and he that will diligently pursue his homilies (especially those of his first and fifth volumes, which contain his most elaborate discourses, as also those on St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Paul's Epistles, where he excels in his moral applications) will find his sermons to answer the character that is given of them, only making some allowances for the different way and method then used, not so agreeable to the model of sermons in the present age. I had once some thoughts of publishing a volume of his select discourses, which I translated for my own entertainment, when I was unfortunately cut off from other studies for a whole year: but because they are not altogether of the present stamp, and many men have a different taste and relish of things, I choose rather to encourage men to read them in the original, where they may select what they find proper for their use, or imitation. As for those who can endure to read nothing but what is either modern, or dressed up in the modern dress, I neither court them to read Chrysostom, nor any other ancient father: but to others, who can be at pains to peruse, and judiciously select, the beauties of style, the strains of piety, and the flights of Divine and manly eloquence, that almost every where display themselves in this author, I dare venture to say, they will never think their time lost, nor find themselves wholly disappointed in their expectation. St. Basil's homilies come the nearest to St. Chrysostom's in solidity of matter, beauty of style, ingenuity of thought, and sharpness and vivacity of expression. A vein of piety runs equally through them both; and, by some, St. Basil's are reckoned to come nearer to the Attic purity and perfection. Next after these, the two Gregories, Nyssen and Nazianzen, are esteemed the greatest masters of

Divine eloquence ; though the latter is rather luxuriant and tedious by his too frequent, and long similitudes and digressions. Those of Ephraem Syrus were also of great repute in the ancient Church, having the honour to be read as lessons after the reading of the Scriptures, in many churches, as has been noted before, out of St. Jerom.^a They are highly commended by Sozomen^o and Photius,^p for the beauty of their style, and sublime thoughts, which were not wholly lost by being translated out of Syriac into Greek. Gregory Nyssen is more copious in his praise;^q and he more particularly observes, that his discourses of morality were so full of compassionate and affecting expressions, that they were able to move the hardest heart. “For who that is proud,” says he, “would not become the humblest of men, by reading his discourse of humility? Who would not be inflamed with a Divine fire by reading his treatise of charity? Who would not wish to be chaste in heart and spirit, by reading the praises he has given

^a Hieron. de Scriptor. c. cxv. cit. supra, c. iii. sect. xiv. sub litt. (r), p. 499.

^o Sozom. lib. iii. c. xvi. Οὕτω γοῦν τῶν μὲν, εἴ τις πρὸς τὴν Σύρον ἢ ἰτίραν γλῶτταν μιτατέλλῃ τὰ γράμματα, καὶ τὴν καρυκίαν, ὡς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, ἀφίλειτο τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γλωττισμάτων, αὐτίκα φωρᾶται, καὶ τῆς προτίρας ἀπορῶν χάριτος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφραὴμ λόγων οὐχ οὕτως· περιόντες τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰσὶτι νῦν, ἀ συνιγράψατο πρὸς Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν ἱερμηνεύουσι· καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀποδίδει τῆς ἐν ᾗ σίφικειν ἀρετῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήν ἀναγινωσκόμενοι, πίσις τῇ Σύρος εἶναι θαυμάζονται. (119, 13.)

^p Phot. Cod. cxcvi. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς παλαινοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ἁγίου, θαυμάσιον ἔν τις, ὅσον μὲν ἰμειβόμενοι τὸ πῖθον, ὅσον δ’ αὐτῶν ἀποσταῆσαι τὸ ἡδύον, καὶ ὅλος εἰς ὅσον βρούμι τὸ ἥθος· ἡ γὰρ λίξις καὶ τὰ σχήματα, οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ πρὸς τὸ ποιητικόν τῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ ἡμιλημένοι ἐνενικῶν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν γεννιήτορα τῶν νοημάτων, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸν ταῦτα μιταφρασάμενοι, ἡ αἰτία διαβαίνει· ἐπεὶ οἷον τῆς Σύρος φωνῆς τὴν ἀκριβείαν ἡσκημένοι, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ταῖς λίξιν καὶ τοῖς σχήμασιν αὐτὸν ἴσασιν ὑδοκιμῆσαι, ὡς ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι, πότιρον διὰ ταῦτα, ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦν, ἡ τοσαύτη χάρις καὶ δύναμις τῶν ἐκείνου πρὸς λόγων. οὐ θαυμαστὸν οὖν ἡ τῆς φράσεως ταπεινότης· ἀλλ’ ἐκείνο θαυμαστὸν, ὡς καὶ διὰ χυδαίωτος τοιαύτης ῥημάτων τηλικαύτη σωτηρία καὶ ὠφίλια τῶς προσέχουσι προχέεται.

^q Nyssen. Vit. Ephraem Syri, tom. iii. p. 603, d. Τίς ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῦ τῇ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης λόγῳ, οὐ πᾶσαν μὲν εὐθὺς οἴσιν ἱκεμένην· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ παντὸς ταπεινότερον ἑαυτὸν ἐκκηρύξει; τίς τοῖς περὶ ἀγάπης ἱσχυρὰν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης προκινδυνεύσαι σπουδαίει; τίς τοῖς περὶ παρθενίας προσομιλήσας, οὐχ ἄγρον ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι θιγῶ ἀγωνίσεται παραστήσαι; τίς τοῖς περὶ κρίσεως, ἥτοι διουτίρας Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσεως ἰγνύψας, οὐ παρίστασθαι τῇ ἐκείνου κριτηρίῳ νομίσει; καὶ σύντρομος γινόμενος τὴν τιλιωταίαν ἡδὴ ἀπόφασιν κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξευχθήσθαι δοκῆσαι; οὕτως γὰρ παρίσσει τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ Θεοῦ διδασκλήριον ὁ αἰδοίμος καὶ προφητικώτατος οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὡς μηδὲν μὲν ἔτιρον ὑπολείπεται γνώσεως, μόνον δὲ τῇ ἔργῳ τοῦτῃ, καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ καταμαθεῖν. (Vol. ii. p. 1035, C.)

to virginity? Who would not be frightened to hear the discourse he has made upon the last judgment, wherein he has represented it so lively, that nothing can be added to it but the real appearance of judgment itself?" This is a character that would tempt any man to look into them: it is disputed now among the critics, whether these homilies that go under his name, be his genuine offspring? Some utterly reject them; and they who say most in their defence, own that they may have lost something of their native beauty and majesty, by being translated, first out of Syriac into Greek, and then out of Greek into Latin. And, therefore, I will not so confidently assert, they deserve the character which Gregory Nyssen gives of those that were so much admired in his time. As for those of Origen, and others who followed him, though they have some flights of rhetoric, and a vein of piety in them, yet they are so full of allegorical and tropological interpretations, that they are neither good expositions, nor good homilies, and fall far short of the majesty and simplicity of those of Chrysostom. Among the Latins, those few moral discourses we have of Cyprian's, whether homilies or treatises, are excellent in their kind. And so are many of St. Austin's and St. Ambrose, and Leo the Great, and Petrus Ravennas, who, for his eloquence, had the name of Chrysologus, or the Latin Chrysostom; though his eloquence is of a different kind, being more like that of Seneca, than of Tully or Demosthenes, whom Chrysostom copied after.

SECT. XI.—*Of Extempore Discourses frequent among the Ancients.*

But of all these we must observe another distinction, that though many of them were studied and elaborate discourses, penned and composed beforehand; yet some were also extempore, spoken without any previous composition, and taken from their mouths by the *ταχυγράφοι*, or 'men who understood the art of writing short-hand in the Church.' Origen was the first that began this way of preaching in the church. But Eusebius says,^r "He did it not till he was

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxxvi. 'Τὰς τὰ ἐξήκοντα φασὶν ἴση τὸν Ὀριγίνην γινόμενον· ὅτε μεγίστην ἥδη συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς παρασκευῆς ἔξιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κινήτου

above sixty years old ; at which age, having got a confirmed habit of preaching by continual use and exercise, he suffered the *ταχυγράφοι*, or ‘notaries,’ to take down his sermons which he made to the people, which he never would allow before.” Pamphilus, in his apology for Origen,¹ speaks the matter a little more plainly ; for he makes it an instance of his sedulity in studying and preaching the word of God, that he not only composed a great number of laborious treatises upon it, but preached almost every day extempore sermons in the church, which were taken from his mouth by the notaries, and so conveyed to posterity by that means only. The catechetical discourses of St. Cyril are supposed to be of this kind ; for at the beginning of every one almost, it is said in the title to be *σχεδιασθεῖσα*, which Suidas and other critics expound ‘an extempore discourse.’ St. Jerom says, Pierius thus expounded the Scripture.² St. Chrysostom also sometimes used this way of preaching, being of a ready invention and fluent tongue. Sozomen says,³ “After his return from banishment, the people were so desirous to hear him, that he was forced to go up into the episcopal throne, and make an

λογούμενος αὐτῷ διαλίξας ταχυγράφους μεταλαβὼν ἰππεύειν· οὐ πρότερόν ποτε τοῦτο γινέσθαι συνηχουρήματα. (P. 299.)

¹ Pamphil. Apol. pro Origen. inter opera Origen. tom. i. p. 756. Quod præ ceteris Verbo Dei et doctrinæ operam dederit, dubium non est ex his, quæ ad nos laboris et studii ejus certissima designantur indicia : præcipue vero per eos tractatus, quos pene quotidie in ecclesia habebat extempore, quos et describentes notarii ad monumenta posteritatis tradebant. Dr. Cave reckons his homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, to be all extempore. Vid. Histor. Litter. vol. i. p. 78, (p. 57, b. edit. Genev.) Alias homilias meditate conscriptas edidit : alias ex tempore recitatas ab actuariis excipi permisit. Prioris variis temporibus elucubravit : extemporales vero omnes (quæ litteris mandatæ sunt) post lx. ætatis annum pronuntiatæ sunt. Ex utroque genere multæ exstant. Homiliarum mysticarum in Genesin, libri ii. Commentariorum in Genesin, libri xiii. . . . Exstant Latine (a Rufino versæ) homiliæ xvii., diversæ a mysticis. Extemporales fuisse videntur. . . . Homiliæ in Exodum xii., a Rufino versæ. Extemporales videntur. . . . Homiliæ in Leviticum xvi. exstant ex Rufini versione. Extemporales videntur. . . . Homiliæ in Numeros xxviii. exstant ex Rufini versione, et extemporales fuisse videntur. (Basil. 1741, i. 116.)

² Hieron. Proœm. in Hosea. Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus prophetæ, die vigiliarum Dominicæ passionis, extemporaliter et disertò sermone profudit. (vi. xxiii.)

³ Sozom. lib. viii. c. xviii. *Ἀναγκασθεὶς δὲ, καὶ σχιδὸν εἰσα διέβηλες λόγον.* (349, 37.)

extempore discourse to them," which is now extant^v in his second tome in Latin. Suidas also gives him this character,^w "That he had a tongue flowing like the cataracts of Nile, whereby he spake many of his panegyrics upon the martyrs extempore, without any hesitation." And it appears, from several of his sermons, that he often took occasion in the middle of his discourse, from some accidental hint that was casually given, to turn his eloquence from the subject in hand, and make some extempore apostrophe to the people, either of praise and commendation, or of reproof and correction, as the occasion of the thing required, as in that sermon we have already mentioned, sect. viii., where he takes occasion, from the people's turning their eyes to see the lighting of the candles, to reprove their negligence^y in turning away their attention from him, who was holding forth to them a greater light from the Holy Scriptures. And there are many other such apostrophes and occasional reflections throughout his homilies, which must needs be extempore, because the occasion of them could not be foreseen, being they were pure contingencies, and things altogether accidental. But Chrysostom was not the only man whose fluency enabled him to make extempore discourses. For Ruffin, speaking in praise of Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, says,^z "There were several of their sermons extant which they spake extempore in the church, twenty of which he himself had translated into Latin." Socrates gives the same account of Atticus, "That though, whilst he was a presbyter, he was used to preach composed and studied sermons, yet afterwards, by industry and continued exercise, having gained confidence and a freedom or fluency of speaking, he preached extempore to the people;"^a and his sermons were so well re-

^v Chrysostom. Sermo post Reditum, tom. ii. p. 49, in appendice, (tom. v. p. 912, seq. edit. Francof. 1698.)

^w Suidas, voce 'Ιωάννης, tom. i. p. 1258, (tom. ii. p. 130, edit. Kusteri, Cant. 1705.) Τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων δὲ πανηγύρεις ἐπαύξησεν ἐν τῇ σχιδιάζῃ ἀνιμποδίστως, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ καταβῆναι ὡς τοὺς Νεῖλους καταβήκοντας.

^x Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 902, cit. sect. viii. litt. (*), p. 540.

^y Ruffin. Histor. lib. ii. c. ix.

^z Socrat. lib. vii. c. ii. Πρώτῳ μὲν ἦν ἵνα ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτερίᾳ ἐτάττετο, ἐκμαθὼν οὖς καὶ ἐπὶ λόγους, ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἰδίδασκε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὖν ἐν τῇ φιλοποσίᾳ

ceived by his auditors, that they took them down in writing.^a Sozomen, indeed, gives a different account of them; for he says,^b “His performances were so mean, that though they had a mixture of heathen learning in them, yet his auditors did not think them worth writing.” However, they both seem to agree in this; that whatever characters they bare, they were extempore discourses.^c Sidonius Apollinaris seems to give the like account of Faustus, bishop of Riez, in France; for he says,^d “Some of his discourses were *repentinæ*, and others, *elucubratae*,” that is, the one spoken off hand; and the others, elaborate and studied. And there is nothing more certain, than that St. Austin did often use the extempore way; for he sometimes preached upon places of Scripture that were accidentally read in the church, and which he knew nothing of before he came thither; of which we have an undeniable instance in one of his homilies, where he tells us,^e “He was determined to preach upon a certain psalm about repentance, which he thought nothing of, before the reader chanced to read it of his own accord in the church.” And in another place he tells us,^f “When he had appointed the reader to read a certain psalm upon which he intended to preach, the reader in some hurry read another in its room; and this obliged him to preach an extempore sermon upon that psalm, that was so accidentally read in the church.”

καὶ παρήσαν κησάμενος, ἐξ αὐτοσχιδίου καὶ πατηγυρικωτέρῃ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἱσοῦντο. (348, 20.)

^a Not. Cl. Binghamus heic Socratem non inspexisse videtur: nam prorsus contrarium dicit, et idem ac Sozomenus: statim enim addit: Οὐ μὴν τοι τοιούτοι ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι, ὥς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀκροατῶν σπουδάζεσθαι ἢ γραφῇ παραδίδεσθαι. (Grisch.)

^b Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxvi. Μίτριος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λόγους, ὥς μὴτι γραφῇ ἀξίους νομίζεσθαι τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, μὴτι παιδείας παντὶ ὡς ἀμείρους. (362, 35.)

^c Not. nihil hac de re dicit Sozomenus. (Grisch.)

^d Sidon. lib. ix. Epist. iii. ad Faustum Regiensem. Licet prædicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, cum ratio poposcisset, elucubratas, raucus plausor audierim, &c. (p. 563.) — Gennadius (de Scriptor. c. xl.) gives the same account of Maximus Taurinensis.

^e Aug. Sermon. xxvii. ex l. tom. x. p. 175, (p. 477, edit. Basil. 1569), cit. supra, c. i. sect. vi. litt. (ε), p. 426.

^f Ibid. in Psalm. cxxxviii. p. 650, (p. 1569, edit. Basil. 1569.) Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore: sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito. (iv. 1146, B.)

Possidius also, in his Life, mentions a sermon wherein he left his subject that he was discoursing upon, to dispute against the Manichees,^g which he had no thoughts to have done when he first began to preach; but he reckoned it was the providence of God that directed him so to do, to cure the error of some latent Manichee in the congregation. And it is very probable, that many of his sermons upon the Psalms were extempore, because he so often uses the phrase, *Quantum Deus donaverit*, ‘as God should enable him to speak;’ which seems to imply, that he spake without any previous study or composition. It is evident his sermon on Psalm lxxxvi. was of this kind; for he says,^h “He would explain it as God should enable him, seeing it was appointed by his holy father the bishop then present. But such a sudden appointment would have been an oppression, were it not that the prayers of the proponent gave him continual assistance.” For, indeed, they looked upon it as so necessary a work to preach continually, that when they had not time to compose beforehand, they doubted not but that the grace of God, and a peculiar assistance of the Spirit, would concur with their honest endeavours in such sudden undertakings. Nay, Gregory the Great, who also used this way in explaining some of the most difficult books of Scripture, as particularly Ezekiel, scruples not to say,ⁱ “That he often found those obscure

^g Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xv. Scio non solus ipse [Possidius] verum etiam alii fratres et conservi, qui nobiscum tunc intra Hipponensem ecclesiam cum eodem sancto viro vivebant, nobis pariter ad mensam constitutis eum dixisse, ‘Advertistis hodie in ecclesia meum sermonem, ejusque initium et finem contra meam consuetudinem processisse, quoniam non eam rem terminatam explicuerim, quam proposueram, sed pendentem reliquerim?’ Cui respondimus: ‘Ita nos in tempore miratos fuisse scimus et recognoscimus.’ At ille, ‘Credo, ait, quod forte aliquem errantem in populo Dominus per nostram oblivionem et errorem doceri et curari voluerit, in cujus manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri. Nam quum propositæ quæstionis lutebras pertractarem, in alio sermonis excursu perrexi; atque ita non conclusa vel explicata quæstione, disputationem terminavi magis adversum Manichæorum errorem, unde nihil dicere decreveram, disputans, quam de iis quæ asserere proposueram. (x. 179, E.)

^h Aug. in Psalm. lxxxvi. Hic psalmus, quantum Dominus donare dignatur, cum vestra Caritate tractandus, modo est propositus a beatissimo præsentē Patre nostro. Repentina propositio me gravaret, nisi me continuo proponentis oratio sublevaret. (v. 690, E.)

ⁱ Gregor. Mag. Hom. xix. in Ezech. p. 1144, (Paris, 1705, vol. i. p. 1319.) Non hoc temeritate adgredior, sed humilitate. Scio enim, quia plerumque multa

places of Scripture, which he could not comprehend in his private study, to flow in upon his understanding, when he was preaching in public to his brethren."

SECT. XII. — *What meant by Preaching by the Spirit.*

And in regard to this, they are wont frequently to mention the assistance of the Spirit, both in composing and preaching their sermons. Thus Chrysostom says in one of his sermons,^j "When he had the happiness to see a large auditory and a table well furnished with guests, that then he expected the grace of the Spirit to sound in his mind." In another,^k "I do not think that I spake those words of myself; but God that foresaw what would happen, put those words into my mind." And again, speaking of the preaching of Flavian his bishop, he says,^l "It was not human thought that poured forth his discourse, but the grace of the Holy Spirit; as it was not the nature of the vine, but the power of Christ that made the water wine." St. Austin also often speaks of such illapses and assistances of the Spirit in preaching; which he sometimes calls 'the gift of God,'^m sometimes 'the revelation of the Spirit,'ⁿ and sometimes 'the help

in sacro eloquio, quæ solus intelligere non potui, coram fratribus meis positus intellexi.

^j Chrysostom. Hom. xxiii. de Verbis Apostol. Habentes eandem fidem, &c. tom. v. p. 331, (p. 297, edit. Francof.) 'Ἐπὶ οὖν πλήρης ἡμῖν ἡ τράπεζα, προσδοκῶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριν ἰνυχῆσαι ἡμῶν διανοίας.

^k Ibid. Hom. ii. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. i. p. 30, B. (p. 25, edit. cit.) Οὐκ ἔμει ταῦτα ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ ἐρηκίνας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα προειδὼς εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐμβυβληκίνας τὰ ῥήματα.

^l Ibid. Hom. ii. de Verbis Iesaiæ, tom. iii. p. 331, (p. 740, edit. cit.) Τὸ τοῦ ἐναγγελίου ἐκείνο γίγνοι σήμερον μετὰ τὸν ἰλάττονα γὰρ οἶνον ὁ βελτίων εἰσπομίζεται. καὶ καθάπερ ἐκείνον οὐκ ἔμπιστος ἔτι καὶ τότε, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις ἰσότης τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὗτος καὶ τούτου τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη προχέει διάνοια, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις. (853, C.)

^m Aug. Serm. xvii. de Verbis Apost. tom. x. p. 132, (p. 343, edit. Basil. 1569.) Hesterno die de justificatione nostra, quæ nobis est a Domino Deo nostro, sermo productus est, ministrantibus nobis, donante illo, audientibus vobis. (v. 533, A.)

ⁿ Ibid. Serm. xv. de Verb. Apost. Ad apostolicam lectionem aures et animum attendat Sanctitas vestra, adjuvando nos adfectu vestro apud Dominum Deum nostrum, ut ea quæ ille nobis revelare dignatur, ad vos apte atque salubriter proferre possimus. (Antwerp. 1700, v. 562, F.)

of God,' and 'his Divine assistance.'^o In one place more particularly, speaking of his unwillingness to preach before certain bishops when he was but young, he brings them in making this answer :^p " If thou art in want of words, ask and it shall be given thee ; for it is not ye that speak, but ye minister what is given unto you." If a man would disingenuously interpret these and the like expressions of the ancients, he might make them seem to countenance that preaching by the Spirit, which some so vainly boast of, as if they spake nothing but what the Spirit immediately dictated to them, as it did to the apostles, by extraordinary inspiration ; which were to set every extempore as well as composed discourse upon the same level of infallibility with the Gospel : which sort of enthusiasm the ancients never dreamed of : for, notwithstanding the assistance of the Spirit they speak of, they always put a wide difference between the apostle's preaching and their own, styling the one infallible and authentic, as we have heard before,^q out of St. Austin and others, and themselves only fallible expositors of the Scripture. All therefore they pretended to from the assistance of the Spirit, was only that ordinary assistance which men may expect from the concurrence of the Spirit with their honest endeavours, as a blessing upon their studies and labours ; that whilst they were piously engaged in his service, God would not be wanting to them in such assistance as was proper for their work ; especially if they humbly asked it with sincerity by fervent supplication and prayer.

SECT. XIII.—*What Sort of Prayers were used before Sermons, and in, and after them.*

And upon this account it was usual for the preacher many times to usher in his discourse with a short prayer for such Divine assistance, and also to move the people to pray for him. St. Austin, in the aforesaid homily, having men-

^o Aug. Serm. xiv. Hodie, adjuvante Domino, placuit nobis hinc eloqui.

^p Ibid. Serm. xlv. de Tempore, tom. x. p. 240, (tom. ix. p. 1042, edit. Basil. 1569.) Si sermo deest, pete et accipies. Non enim vos estis, qui loquimini : sed quod donatur vobis, hoc ministratis nobis. (v. App. 133, C.) — It. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. iv. c. xv., he has more to the same purpose. Vid. sub litt. (*) seq.

^q Ibid. Epist. xix. ad Hieron. cit. supra, sect. i. bujus capit. sub litt. (b), p. 513.

tioned the assistance of the Spirit, immediately adds,^r “Whither shall I betake myself, thus violently pressed in these straits, but to the footstool of charity, or grace of the Holy Spirit? And to that I make now my supplication, that he would grant me ability to speak something worthy of him, whereby I may at once fulfil my ministry, and satisfy your desire.” And in his book of Instructions of the Christian Orator,^s where he prescribes many excellent rules for preaching, he lays down this, among others, “That the Christian orator should pray both for himself, and others, before he begins to teach; that he may be able to speak those things that are holy, just, and good; and that his auditors may hear him with understanding, with willingness, and with an obedient heart. To this end, before he looses his tongue to speak, he should lift up his thirsting soul to God, that he may be able to discharge what he has imbibed, and pour forth to others that wherewith he has filled himself: and this, the rather, because both we, and all our words, are in the hand of God, who teaches us both what to speak, and after what manner to speak; and, therefore, though ecclesiastical men ought to learn what they are to teach, and to get the faculty of speaking, yet, when the hour of speaking comes, they should imagine that what our Lord says, belongs to every good soul;’ ‘Take no thought how or what ye

^r Aug. Hom. xlv. de Tempore. His coartatus angustiis, quo me conferam, nisi ad sancta vestigia caritatis? Eamque deprecor, ut donet mihi aliquid dignum de se dicere, quod et meum suppleat ministerium, et vestrum satiet desiderium.

^s Ibid. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. iv. c. xv. (tom. iii. opp. p. 81, edit. Basil.) Noster eloquens, orando pro se, ac pro illis, quos est adloquuturus, sit orator, antequam dictor (al. doctor). Ipsa hora jam ut dicat accedens, priusquam exserat proferentem linguam, ad Deum levet animam sitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat. Quum enim de unaquaque re, quæ secundum fidem dilectionemque tractanda sunt, multa sint quæ dicantur, et multi modi quibus dicantur ab eis, qui hæc sciunt; quis novit, quid ad præsens tempus, vel nobis dicere, vel per nos expediat audiri, nisi qui corda omnium videt? Et quis facit, ut quod oportet, et quemadmodum oportet, dicatur a nobis, nisi in cujus manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri? (v. App. 58.)

^t Ibid. Ad horam vero ipsius dictionis, illud potius bonæ menti cogitet convenire, quod Dominus ait, ‘Nolite cogitare, quomodo aut quid loquamini: dabitur enim vobis in illa hora, quid loquamini: non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis.’ Si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus Sanctus, qui persequentibus traduntur pro Christo, cur non in eis, qui tradunt discentibus Christum?

shall speak, for it shall be given to you in that hour what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.' If, therefore, the Holy Spirit speak in them, who are delivered up to persecutors for the name of Christ, why should he not also speak in those who preach Christ to them that are disposed to learn him?" I have related this passage at length, both because it shews us to what degree they depended on the Spirit's assistance in preaching, and also what sort of prayers those were which they commonly made before sermon, viz. not the common prayers of the Church (as some mistake, who measure all usages of the ancient Church by the customs of the present), but these short prayers for the assistance and conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the people in speaking and hearing. And wherever we meet with any mention of prayer before sermon, it is to be understood only of this short sort of prayers in ancient writers; such as that of St. Austin's, in one of his homilies upon the Psalms, which begins with these words: "Attend to the Psalm, and the Lord grant us ability to open the mysteries that are contained in it." He begins another thus: "My lords and brethren (meaning the bishops then present), and the Lord of all by them, have commanded me to discourse upon this Psalm, that you may understand it, so far as the Lord shall grant us understanding; and may he, by your prayers, assist me, that I may speak such things as I ought to speak, and such as ye ought to hear, that the word of God may be profitable to us all." In this sense we are to understand St. Chrysostom, when he says, "We must first pray, and then preach." So St. Paul does, praying, in the prefaces of

^u Aug. in Psalm. xci. Attendite ad psalmum: det nobis Dominus aperire mysteria, quæ heic continentur. (v. 737, A.)

^v Ibid. in Psalm. cxxxix. Jusserunt domini fratres, et in ipsis Dominus omnium, ut istum psalmum adferam ad vos intelligendum, quantum Dominus donat. Adjuvet orationibus vestris, ut ea dicam quæ oportet me dicere, et vos audire: uti omnibus nobis sit utilis sermo divinus. (v. 1158, C.)

^w Chrysostom. Hom. xxviii. de Incomprehens. Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 363, C. (p. 321, fin. edit. Froncof.) *Πρότερον εὐχὴ καὶ τότε λόγος· οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι φασίν· "ἡμῖς δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ λόγου προσκαρτερήσομεν"* οὕτω καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ποιεῖ ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἐπιστολῶν εὐχόμενος, ἵν' ὡς αἰετὶ λύχνου φῶς, οὕτω τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς φῶς προοδοποιήσῃ τῷ λόγῳ.

his epistles, "That the light of prayer, as the light of a candle, may lead the way to his discourses." Such is that prayer, which St. Ambrose is said to use before his sermons: * "I beseech thee, O Lord, and earnestly entreat thee, give me an humble knowledge, which may edify; give me a meek and prudent eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt itself upon its own worth and endowments above its brethren. Put into my mouth, I beseech thee, the word of consolation, and edification, and exhortation, that I may be able to exhort those that are good, to go on to greater perfection; and reduce those that walk perversely, to the rule of thy righteousness, both by my word and by my example. Let the words which thou givest to thy servant, be as the sharpest darts and burning arrows, which may penetrate and inflame the minds of my hearers to thy fear and love." But this seems rather to have been a private prayer of St. Ambrose between God and himself, as Bishop Wettenhal[†] and Mr. Thorndike[‡] understand it; who yet are mistaken in one thing, when they suppose that the common prayers of the Church came before the sermon, and that there were no other prayers before sermon but those: for nothing is more certain, than that the common prayers did not begin till the sermon was ended; and yet there were such short prayers for grace and assistance, as we are speaking of, peculiarly adapted to the business of preaching and hearing, and not respecting any other subject. And sometimes the people's prayers were required to be joined with them: as appears from that of St. Austin, in one of his homilies upon the Psalms,[§] where he desires the people to assist

* Ambros. Orat. ap. Ferrarium de Concionibus Veter. lib. i. c. viii. Obsecro, Domine, et suppliciter rogo, da mihi semper humilem scientiam, quæ ædificet; da mitissimam et sapientem eloquentiam, quæ nesciat inflari, et de suis bonis super fratres extolli. Pone, quæso, in ore meo verbum consolationis, et ædificationis, et exhortationis, per Spiritum Sanctum tuum, ut bonos ad meliora valeam exhortari, et eos, qui perverse gradiuntur, ad tuæ rectitudinis lineam revocare verbo et exemplo. Sint verba, quæ dederis servo tuo, tamquam acutissima jacula, et ardentes sagittæ, quæ penetrent et incendant mentes audientium ad timorem et amorem tuum.

† Wettenhal's Gift of Prayer, chap. iv. p. 116.

‡ Thorndike's Just Weights and Measures, chap. xvi.

§ Aug. in Psalm. cxlvii. p. 699, (p. 1707, edit. Basil. 1569.) Adsit nobis

him with their prayers to the Lord, that he would grant him ability to explain the latent mysteries and difficulties of the Psalms, as well for their sakes as his own. In Origen's homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and St. Luke, there are abundance of such short prayers, not only in the beginning of his discourses, but sometimes also in the middle of them, when any more abstruse passage of Scripture presented itself to consideration: and, generally in the close, he makes another such short prayer, in a few words, suitable to the subject: sometimes praying for himself and the people, and sometimes exhorting them to pray for themselves and him; all which being produced at large in a noted book of Mr. Daillé's,^b I shall not think it needful to transcribe them in this place. But I cannot omit to observe, that as St. Austin often began his sermon with a short prayer, so he usually ended it with another of the like nature: the forms of which are, some of them, now to be found at the end of several of his homilies. In some of them, we have this form at length: "Let us now turn to the Lord God, our Father Almighty, with a pure heart, and give him thanks with all our might, beseeching his singular clemency with our whole soul, that of his good pleasure he would vouchsafe to hear our prayers; that he would drive away the enemy from all our thoughts and actions by his power; that he would increase our faith, govern our minds, grant us spiritual thoughts, and conduct us to everlasting happiness, through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen." And

apud Dominum Deum nostrum iste adfectus precum vestrarum: etsi non propter nos, certe propter vos donare dignetur, quod heic absconditum latet. — (v. 1231, D.) Vid. Hom. l. de Diversis: Orate, ut possimus, &c.

^b Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. iii. c. xiii. tot. 412-417.

^c Aug. Sermon. xxx. de Verbis Dom. tom. x. (p. 122, edit. Basil.) Conversi ad Dominum Patrem Omnipotentem puro corde, et quantum potest parvitas nostra, maximas atque uberes gratias agamus, precantes toto animo singularem mansuetudinem ejus, ut preces nostras, in beneplacito suo, exaudire dignetur; inimicum quoque a nostris actibus et cogitationibus sua virtute expellat; nobis multiplicet fidem, mentem gubernet, spirituales cogitationes concedat, et ad beatitudinem suam perducat, per Jesum Christum Filium suum. — Vid. Sermon. cii. de Diversis, et cxx. et Sermon. xviii. ex editis a Sirmondo.

in many other homilies this prayer is referred to, as a known form, used frequently by him in the close of his sermons,^d *Conversi ad Dominum*, &c.; but he sometimes varied and shortened this form, as the matter of his sermon required. Thus, in his long sermon upon the resurrection, having said, "That the saints, in the next world, will keep a perpetual Sabbath, and have nothing to do but to sing Allelujah;" and applying the words of the psalmist to this purpose, "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, for they will be always praising thee," he concludes his sermon with this prayer:^e "Let us turn to the Lord, and beseech him for ourselves, and all the people that stand with us in the courts of his house: which house may he vouchsafe to preserve and protect, through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him, world without end. Amen." In another of his homilies (a fragment of which is cited by Sirmond,^f as it is preserved in Eugypius's Collections out of St. Austin's Works), he has another form, in these words: "Let us turn to the Lord, and bless his name, that we may have grace to persevere in his Commandments, to walk in the way of his instructions, and please him in every good work," &c. From all which it is manifest, they used such short prayers, both in the beginning and conclusion of their sermons; and sometimes, as occasion required, in the middle of them also; and that these were distinct from the common prayers of the Church.

^d Aug. de Verbis Dom. Serm. vii. in fine. *Conversi ad Dominum*. Serm. xiii.; Serm. xxxii.; Serm. xl.; Serm. xlii.; et passim in homiliis de Diversis.

^e De Diversis, Serm. cxxi. *Conversi ad Dominum*, ipsum deprecemur pro nobis et pro omni plebe sua, adstante nobiscum in atriis domus suæ: quam custodire protegereque dignetur: per Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum, Amen. (v. 1002, E.)

^f Fragment. Hom. ex Eugypii Thesaurο, lib. ii. c. cclxxxviii. ap. Sirmond. not. in Aug. Hom. xviii. a se edit. (tom. x. opp. p. 1671, a. edit. Basil. 1569.) *Conversi ad Dominum*, benedicamus nomen ejus, det nobis perseverare in mandatis suis, ambulare in via recta eruditionis suæ, placere illi in omni opere bono. (v. 1058, E.)

SECT. XIV. — *The Salutation, Pax vobis, 'The Lord be with you,' commonly used before Sermons.*

Before they began to preach, it was usual also, in many places, to use the common salutation, *Pax vobis*, 'Peace be unto you,' or "The Lord be with you," which was the usual preface and introduction to all holy offices; to which the people answered, "And with thy spirit." This the author of the Constitutions calls, *πρόσρησιν*, 'the salutation,' giving this rule to the bishop newly ordained:^s "After the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels, let him salute the Church, saying, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all:' and let all the people answer, 'And with thy spirit:;' and, 'after this salutation,' μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν, let him speak to the people the words of exhortation." And that this author did not impose any new custom upon the Church, appears from Chrysostom, who, in several of his homilies, makes mention of it. In his third homily upon the Colossians, he says,^b "The bishop, when he first entered the Church, said, 'Peace be unto you all;:' and when he began to preach, 'Peace be unto you all.'" And, a little before, he says, the bishops used it, ἐν ταῖς πρόσρησεσι, by which he means their 'sermons,' or, at least, 'the form of salutation' itself ushering in the sermon, as we have seen the author of the Constitutions understand it. Chrysostom adds,ⁱ "That the people returned the salutation of peace to him that gave it, saying, 'And with thy spirit.'" In another place, he says,^k "Nothing is comparable to peace

^s Constitut. lib. viii. c. v. (i. 464, A.) Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πράξεων, καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χριστοποιητὴς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, λέγων· "ὦ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν;" καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος σου· καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν, προσελαλήσεται τῷ λαῷ λόγους παρακλήσεως.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. p. 1338, (p. 173, sub fin. edit. Francof.) "Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάς, εὐθὺς λέγει, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ἰμολῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 1339. Ἀντιδίδόντις τῷ δίδοντι τὴν εἰρήνην, πολιμοῦνται, λέγουσι, Καὶ τῷ Πνεύματί σου, κ. τ. λ.

^k Ibid. Hom. lii. in eos qui Pascha jejunant, tom. v. p. 713, B. (hom. lv. p. 637, edit. cit.) Οὐδὲν εἰρήνης ἴσον καὶ συμφωνίας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰσὼν ὁ Πατὴρ, οὐ

and unity ; and, for this reason, the father, the bishop, when he enters the church, before he goes up to his throne, prays for ‘peace to all;’ and when he rises up to preach, he does not begin to discourse before he has given the ‘Peace to all.’” In other places, he opens the reason of this practice, by declaring the original intent and design of it. “For,” he says,^l “it was an ancient custom in the apostles’ days, when the rulers of the Church had the gift of inspiration, and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, for the people to say to the preacher, ‘Peace be with thy spirit:’ therefore, now, when we begin to preach, the people answer, ‘And with thy spirit:’ shewing that, heretofore, they spoke not by their own wisdom, but as they were moved by the Spirit.” And though this gift of extraordinary inspiration was ceased, yet all preachers still were presumed to be under the conduct and assistance of the Spirit, in a lower degree : and, therefore, he says, in another place,^m “That the Holy Ghost was in their common father and teacher” (meaning the bishop), “when he went up into the episcopal throne, and gave ‘the peace’ to them all, and they, with one voice, answered, ‘And with thy spirit.’ And this, not only when he went into his throne, but also when he preached to them, when he prayed, and when he stood by the holy table to offer the oblation.” And, by this, we may understand what Sozomenⁿ and others say of Chrysostom, after his return from banish-

πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἀναβαίνει τοῦτον, ὥς ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπιῴηται· καὶ ἀναστὰς οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ὥς ἂν ἅπασι δῶ τὴν εἰρήνην.

^l Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 652, (p. 405, c. edit. Francof.) Ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, Τῷ Πνεύματι σου, δυνάς ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ἔλεγον, οὐκ οἰκίᾳ σοφίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνεύματι κινούμενοι.

^m Ibid. Hom. xxxvi. de Pentecost. tom. v. p. 553, A. (serm. xxxix. p. 493, fin. edit. cit.) Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ Πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλῳ, οὐκ ἂν ὅτι πρὸ μικροῦ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἴδομαι εἰρήνην, καὶ ἐπιφθέγγασθαι αὐτῷ κοινῇ πάντες, Καὶ τῷ Πνεύματί σου· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναβαίνειν μόνον, οὐδὲ διαλιγμένῳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ ἐνχομένῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ταύτην ἐπιφθέγγασθαι τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἐστῆκεν στέπνιζαν· ὅταν τὴν φρεσὶν ἐκίστην θυσίαν ἀναφέρειν μίλλῃ.

ⁿ Sozom. lib. viii. c. xviii. (349, 32.) Ἀγούσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· παραιτούμενόν τι, καὶ πολλάκις ἰσχυριζόμενοι, χρεῖναι πρότερον τοὺς καταψήφισαμένους αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι, ὥς ἱερῶσι θύμῃς, ἠνάγκασαν τὴν εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ προσεπιῶν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον· ἀναγκασθεὶς δὲ, καὶ σχιδόν σινα διαῆλθε λόγῳ.

ment, that the people forced him, against his will, before he was synodically reinstated, to go up into the throne, and give them 'the peace,' in the usual form, and preach to them. Optatus speaks of the same custom in Afric, both in the beginning and end of their sermons. "For," he says, "they used a double salutation: the bishop never began to speak to the people, before he had first saluted them in the name of God. Every sermon in the church began in the name of God, and ended in the name of the same God." And, by this, he proves, that Macarius, the emperor's officer, did not take upon him the office of a bishop among the Catholics, as the Donatists falsely objected against them. For though he spake to the people in the church, yet it was upon some other business, and not by way of preaching, which was the office of bishops, which they always began and ended with this salutation: but Macarius used no such salutation: and from thence he argues that he did not preach. Bona^p cites also Athanasius's epistle to Eustathius, where he inveighs against the Arian bishops, who, in the beginning of their sermons, used that kind word, "Peace be with you," and yet were always harassing others, and tragically engaged in war. But as there is no epistle under that title among Athanasius's works, I let it rest upon the credit of our author.

SECT. XV. — *But the Use of Ave Maries before Sermons, unknown to the Ancients.*

But I cannot but observe, that among all the short prayers used by the ancients before their sermons, there is

° Optat. lib. iii. ad calc. lib. vii. p. 112, (pp. 83, 84, edit. 1679.) *Episcopalis tractatus probatur salutatione geminata. Non enim aliquid incipit episcopus ad populum dicere, nisi primo in nomine Dei populum salutaverit. Similes sunt exitus initiis. Omnis tractatus in ecclesia a nomine Dei incipitur, et ejusdem Dei nomine terminatur. Quis vestrum audet dicere episcoporum more Macarium populum salutare? Igitur quum nec salutaverit, antequam aliquid loqueretur, nec salutare ausus sit, postquam loquutus sit, nec manum imposuerit, nec sacrificium Deo ritu episcopali obtulerit: quid est, quod dicitis pollui potuisse episcopale collegium, quum ab omni episcoporum officio Macarium videatis alienum?*

p Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. v. n. i. Athanasius tandem epistola ad Eustathium invehitur in quosdam episcopos, qui, quum initio, &c. (P. 319.)

never any mention of an *Ave Mary*, now so common in the Romish Church. Their addresses were all to God; and the invocation of the Holy Virgin, for grace and assistance, before sermons, was a thing not thought of. They who are most concerned to prove its use, can derive its original no higher than the beginning of the fifteenth century. For Ferrarius ingenuously confesses,^a that Vincentius Ferrerius was the first ecclesiastical writer that ever used it before his sermons. Baronius has not a syllable of its antiquity in all his twelve centuries; there being a perfect silence both among the ancients and all the ritualists about it, till that Dominican preacher, in his abundant zeal for the worship of the Holy Virgin, began to use it before his sermons; from whose example (for he was a celebrated preacher in the age he lived) it gained such reputation and authority, as not only to be prefixed before all their sermons, but to be adapted and joined with the Lord's Prayer, in the Roman Breviary. Ferrarius says all he can to justify a novelty; but nothing can clear this *hyperdulia* of idolatry: and he might have spared his censure of Erasmus, who says a witty thing upon it: "That their preachers were used to invoke the Virgin Mother in the beginning of their discourses, as the heathen poets were used to do their muses:" for Epiphanius would have said much severer things against it, had he had the like occasion given him to inveigh against this idolatry, as he had to censure that of the Collyridians: but then this idolatry was confined to the weaker sex, and had not yet made its way into the pulpits, or any part of the liturgy of the ancient Church, when preachers were used to pray for grace and assistance only from Him, who is the proper donor of it.

^a Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xi. p. 30, (p. 42, edit. Paris. 1664, 8vo.) Non ita vetus esse laudabile hoc ecclesiæ institutum, ex eo facile crediderim, quod Beatus Vincentius Ferrerius, qui floruit anno Domini 1410, primus ex omnibus scriptoribus ecclesiasticis illius meminerit, dum singulis sermonibus suis præmittit ea verba, 'Salutetur Beata Virgo.' Fatendum ut ait, illud vel a Beato Vincentio initium habuisse, vel certe ipsius Vincentii temporibus cœpisse frequentari.

SECT. XVI.—*Sometimes their Sermons were prefaced with a Benediction.*

I observe, further, that as their sermons were thus usually prefaced with a short prayer, so they were sometimes introduced with a short form of benediction. This seems to have been peculiar to times of calamity and distress, or to happy deliverances out of them. There are instances of both kinds in Chrysostom's sermons to the people of Antioch, when they were under apprehensions of being destroyed by the emperor's displeasure. His fourth sermon begins thus :^r "Blessed be God, who hath comforted your sorrowful souls, and comforted your wavering minds." His eleventh,^s twelfth,^t thirteenth,^u and twentieth homilies,^v begin much after the same manner. And his homily, after his return from banishment, is thus prefaced :^w "What shall I say? What shall I speak? 'Blessed be God.' This was the word which I spake when I went away; and this I repeat now, at my return." And this, he tells them, he did after the example of Job, who, in adversity, as well as prosperity, said always, "Blessed be the name of the Lord."

^r Chrysostom. Hom. iv. ad Popul. Antioch. Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παρακαλίσας τὰς ὀδυνομένης ὑμῶν ψυχὰς, ὁ σπρηίζας δονουμένας ὑμῶν τὰς διανοίας. (1609, p. 60, C.)

^s Ibid. Hom. xi. (143.) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ ποιῶν πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζων αὐτά.

^t Ibid. Hom. xii. Καὶ χθὲς εἶπον, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, καὶ σήμερον τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάλιν λέγω. (P. 153.)

^u Ibid. Hom. xiii. Ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προοιμίων, ὧν χθὲς καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνης ἠρξάμεν, καὶ ἔρῳ νῦν, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός. (166.)

^v Ibid. Hom. xx. Ἀπὸ τῆς βήσεως, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὴ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν κινδύνων πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἰσθύνει ἀγάπην προοιμιάζεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καὶ σήμερον ἀρξομαι τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγου, καὶ ἔρῳ μὲν ὑμῶν, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἱστορὴν μὲν χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης πολλῆς καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελίσας σήμερον, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποδοὺς τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν ποιμένα τοῖς προβάτοις, τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις, τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ ποιῶν ὑπερῶς ἐκπερισσοῦ ὧν αἰτούμεθα, ἢ νοῦμιν. (249.)

^w Ibid. Hom. post Reditum, tom. ii. in appendice, (tom. v. p. 912, edit. Francof.) Τί εἶπων; ἢ τί λαλήσω; Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός· τοῦτο εἶπον ἔξιν τὸ βῆμα, τοῦτο πάλιν ἱππαναλαμβάνω.

SECT. XVII. — *Sometimes preached without any Text : and sometimes upon more texts than one.*

It appears, further, from those homilies,* and several others, both in him and other writers, that they sometimes preached without any text ; only treating of such matters as they thought most proper for the occasion. But most commonly they took their text out of some paragraph of the Psalms or lessons, as they were read. And sometimes they so ordered the matter, as to preach upon the Psalm, the Epistle, and Gospel all together, when they were either accidentally, or by their own appointment, upon the same subject. Thus St. Austin preached upon the subject of praise and thanksgiving, out of the Epistle, the Psalm, and the Gospel together,† because they had all something relating to his subject. But they never shewed so little reverence for Scripture, as to choose their text out of Aristotle's Ethics, as Sixtinus Amama‡ tells us one of the Romish preachers did at Paris, in the hearing of Melancthon.

SECT. XVIII. — *Their Sermons always upon Important Subjects.*

Neither did they entertain their auditory with light and ludicrous matters, or fabulous and romantic stories, such as those with which preaching so much abounded in the age before the Reformation, of which Erasmus,§ and Fa-

* Chrysostom. Hom. iii.—vi. ad Popul. Antiochenum.

† Aug. de Verbis Apostol. Serm. x. tom. x. p. 112. Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis ; et quantum conari possumus, adjuvante Domino, non in aliqua earum immorantes, &c. (v. 584, B.)

‡ Sixtin. Amama Orat. de Barbaric. In nonnullis quoque locis eo devenit, ut textus ex Ethica Aristotelis pro concione proposuerint et interpretati sint ; id quod dominus Melancthon suis se auribus audivisse testatur.

§ Erasm. Encom. Moriae, p. 176, (p. 378, tom. iv. opp. edit. Froben. 1540, folio.) Audivi quendam eximie stultum, erravi, doctum volebam dicere, qui in concione celeberrima Divinæ Triadis mysterium explicaturus, quo et doctrinam suam non vulgarem ostentaret, et theologicis satis faceret auribus, nova prorsus ingressus est via, nimirum a litteris, syllabis et oratione, tum a concordia nominis et verbi, adjectivi nominis et substantivi, mirantibus jam plerisque, ac nonnullis Horatianum illud apud se mussitantibus, Quorsum hæc tam putida tendunt ? Tandem huc rem deduxit, ut in grammaticorum rudimentis sic expressum ostenderet

ber,^b and Hottinger,^c and many other learned men, have made so great and so just complaints. There is one instance given

totius triadis simulacrum, ut nemo mathematicorum in pulvere posset evidentius depingere. Atque in hac oratione *Σιολογώτατος* ille totos octo menses ita desudarat, ut hodie quoque magis cæcutiat, quam talpæ, nimirum tota luminum acie ad ingenii cuspidem advocata. Verum haud pœnitet hominem cæcitatibus, ac parvo quoque putat emptam eam gloriam. Auditus est nobis alius quidam octogenarius, adeo theologus, ut in hoc Scotum ipsum renatum putes. Is explicaturus mysterium nominis Jesu, mira subtilitate demonstravit, in ipsis litteris latere, quidquid de illo dici possit. Etenim quod tribus duntaxat inflectitur casibus, id manifestum esse simulacrum Divini ternionis. Deinde quod prima vox Jesus desinat in s, secunda Jesum, in m, tertia Jesu, in u, in hoc *ἑξήκοντα* subesse mysterium: nempe tribus litteris indicantibus, eum esse summum, medium, et ultimum. Restabat mysterium his quoque retrusius, mathematica ratione. Jesus sic in duas æquales diffidit portiones, ut scilicet penthemimeres in medio resideret. Deinde docuit, eam litteram apud Hebræos esse *ω*, quam illi Syn appellant; porro Syn, Scotorum opinor lingua, peccatum sonat: atque hinc palam declarari, Jesum esse, qui peccata tolleret mundi. Hoc tam novum exordium sic inbiantes admirati sunt omnes, præcipue theologi, ut parum abfuerit, quin illis acciderit, quod olim Niobæ, quum mihi propemodum eveniret, quod ficulno illi Priapo, qui magno suo malo Canidiæ Saganæque nocturna sacra spectavit, &c.

^b Joan. Faber Declamat. de Humanæ Vitæ Miseria, ap. Hottinger. *Histor. Eccles. Sæcul. xvi. part. iv. p. 1271.* Concionatorum vicem persæpe vehementer indolui, quibus nescio quæ putida commentaria revolvenda sunt, quoties ad populum declamandum est. Aucupantur nonnulli sedulo quidem, sed parum scite, ut Meffret. Quædam non usquequaque recepta, sed propemodum anilia referunt aliqui, ut discipulus. Multi nimium secure dormiunt. Quæ, malum, insania est, Divinum oratorem pro evangelica veritate somnia quædam et anicularum visiones et terribilissima referre? Miserebat me eorum, quibus illa deliria facessebant negotia. . . . Sola Divini verbi declamandi facultas rudior, quam hæc ætas docta ferat, atque impurior videbatur. Non enim sine magno meo vel stomacho legi vulgus sermologorum, ut vocant. Nam occurrerunt pleraque barbara et indigniora, quæ vel doctus homo legeret, vel imbiberet auris Christiana, quæ conatus sum, &c.

^c Hotting. *xvi. Sæcul. part. iii. p. 263.* In cærimoniis plerique exponendis, quam fidei articulis tradendis erant occupationes. Habeo hac de re Beati Rhenani judicium, epistola perquam familiari a. C. 1518. Basilea ad Zuinglium, in Helvetiorum eremo adhuc commorantem, perscripta, quod ex ipso autographo in lucem producemus: 'Nihil est, quod magis doleat, quam quod video, Christianum populum passim cærimoniis nihil ad rem pertinentibus onerari, immo meris nœniis. Et causam non aliam reperio, quam quod sacerdotes, per summularios istos et sophisticos theologos decepti, ethnicam aut Judaicam doctrinam docent. De vulgo sacerdotum loquor. Neque enim me latet, te tuique similes purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus populo proponere, non Scoticis aut Gabrielicis interpretationibus depravatam; sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano, Hieronymo, germane et sincere expositam. Deblaterant illi nugæ in eo loco stantes, ubi, quidquid dicitur, populus verissimum esse putat, de pontificia

by Hottinger, out of one of their authentic books of homilies, which for its singular vanity, and to shew the difference between the ancient and the modern way of edifying a popular auditory, I shall here transcribe out of him, as he relates it in his history. He says, in a book of sermons,^d composed by the Theological Faculty of Vienna (an. 1430), which was read in their monasteries and their churches, this ridiculous story is told, to recommend their relics to the people: "That the thirty pieces of gold (though the Scripture calls them silver) which Judas had for betraying his master, were coined by Terah, Abraham's father, who was a famous artificer under King Nimrod; that he gave them to his son Abraham; that Abraham therewith purchased the field of Ephron the Hittite, from whence they came into the hands of the Ishmaelites, who therewith bought Joseph, when his brethren sold him into Egypt; that Joseph's brethren paid them to Joseph, when they went to buy corn in Egypt, and so they came into the King of Egypt's treasury; that hence they were given to Moses, when the King of

potestate, de condonationibus, de purgatorio, de fictis divorum miraculis, de restitutione, de contractibus, de votis, de pœnis inferorum, de Antichristo,' &c. Vid. pp. 264, 265, seq.

^d Hottin. Sæcul. xv. p. 63, 64. Pagina 456, ex apocryphis quibusdam deliramentis refert, triginta aureos, quibus Servatorem prodidit Judas, cusos esse ab Abrahami parente Tharacho, fabro peritissimo, a quo, auctoritate et jussu regis Nimrodi, primum nummum signatum orbis terrarum habuerit. Hæreditario jure hos triginta nummos cessisse Abrahamo, quibus ab Ephrone sepulchrum emerit. Inde ad Ismaëlitas devenisse, qui Josephum eodem pretiosum fecerint. Josepho autem in Ægypto, fratribus frumentum vendenti, fuisse redditos, et thesauro regio additos. Ex thesauro paullo post Mosem obtinuisse, quum a rege ad subigendam Æthiopiam mitteretur. Ea occasione reginæ Sabæ a Mose fuisse oblatos, dotis loco. Postea vero, quum Æthiopum regina Salomonem salutasset, argenteos illam nummos eidem donasse. Qui iterum gazophylacio regio addicti, Nebucadnezaris tandem urbem occupantis prædæ cesserint. Quumque regem quemdam Arabiæ haberet in comitatu suo, ex cujus posteris unus eorum fuerit regum, qui Christum Bethlehemi honoribus et muneribus adfecerint, hoc ei Nebucadnezarem munus sponte destinasse. Atque sic a rege illo Orientali tam splendidum donum B. Virgini fuisse consecratum. Mariam vero, Filium suum sistentem, munus hoc sacrum templo esse voluisse. Atque hoc ipsum tandem argentum pretium proditionis fuisse. Addit etiam argenteos istos (quos aureos ante vocaverat) post Christi passionem toto orbe dispersos et sanctis adnumeratos reliquiis esse. Unum quidem ostendi Romæ, ad introitum basilicæ Petri: sed aureum esse, et nummo Anglico majorem. — Bernard. de Consider. lib. ii. c. xiii. De istis nugis hoc est judicium: Inter sæculares nugæ, nugæ sunt: in ore sacerdotis, blasphemiæ.

Egypt sent him with an army to subdue Ethiopia; that Moses, upon this occasion, gave them as a dowry to the Queen of Sheba; and the Ethiopian queen afterward made a present of them to King Solomon; who put them into the treasury, where they continued till Nebuchadnezzar, among the spoil, seized them in the devastation of Jerusalem; Nebuchadnezzar having an Arabian king among his auxiliaries, made a present of them unto him; and of him sprang one of those Eastern kings, who came to worship Christ at his birth, and made a present of them to the Virgin Mary; and the Virgin, when she presented her Son in the Temple, made them an offering for her purification. So this very silver (which was gold before) was the price which Judas had for betraying his Master. And these silver pieces are there said to be dispersed over all the world, and kept as sacred relics; one of which, in gold, as big as an English noble, is shewed at Rome, in the entrance of St. Peter's Church." One would hardly believe, that such absurd and ridiculous fictions should have been authorized from the pulpit among the rules of eternal life, had not undeniable proof been often made, that their breviaries and legends, as well as sermons, before the Reformation, were stuffed with such fables;* though, I believe, this story outdoes any in the Golden Legend (of which Ludovicus Vives^f and Melchior Canus^g so much complain), and Jacobus de Voragine was

* See Patrick's Devotions of the Roman Church, London. 1674, 8vo.

^f Lud. Vives de Tradend. Disciplinis, lib. v. p. 360. [Not. Hunc librum non habeo, neque locum describere possum. Inveni autem fortuito, ap. Hotting. Histor. Eccles. Sæcul. xvi. sect. iii. p. 260, alium locum, ex lib. ii. p. 28, citat. ejusdem argumenti: 'Indigna est,' inquit Vives, 'divis et hominibus Christianis illa sanctorum historia, quæ Legenda aurea nominetur, quam nescio cur auream appellant, quum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis. Quid fœdus est libro? O quam pudendum est nobis Christianis, non esse præstantissimos nostrorum divorum actus verius et accuratius memoriæ mandatos, sive ad cognitionem, sive ad imitationem tantæ virtutis, quam de suis ducibus, de philosophis et sapientibus hominibus, tanta cura Græci et Romani perscripserint?']

^g Can. Loci Theolog. lib. xi. c. vi. p. 553, (p. 333, cit. Hotting. l. c. p. 753.) Dolenter hoc dico potius quam contumeliose, multo a Laërtio severius vitas philosophorum scriptas, quam a Christianis sanctorum; longeque incorruptius et integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res dico imperatorum, sed martyrum, virginum, et confessorum. Illi enim in probis, aut philosophis, aut principibus, nec vitis, nec suspensiones vitiorum

but an ass to these men for invention. Now let us see how the ancient way of preaching differed from this. Justin Martyr makes it a plain, but a very edifying way of instruction; for, he says, "When the writings of the apostles and prophets were read, the bishop made a discourse to exhort and excite the people to imitate and transcribe into their practice the good things they had heard read out of them.^h Their subjects, as Gregory Nazianzen describes the choice of them, were commonly such as these: of the world's creation, and the soul of man; of angels, as well those that kept as those that lost, their first integrity; of Providence, and its wise laws and constitutions; of the formation of man, and his restoration; of the two covenants—the types of the old, and the antitypes of the new; of Christ's first and second coming; of his incarnation and passion; of the general resurrection and end of the world; of the day of judgment, and the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the wicked; and, above all, of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was the principal article of the Christian faith. In like manner, Chrysostom puts his auditors in mind of what mat-

tacent, in improbis vero etiam colores virtutum produnt. Nostri autem plerique vel adfectibus inserviunt, vel de industria, quoque ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum non solum pudeat, sed etiam tædeat. Hos enim intelligo ecclesiæ Christi cum nihil utilitatis attulisse, tum incommodationis plurimum. Nominibus parco, quoniam hujus loci judicium morum etiam est, et non eruditionis tantum, in qua liberior potest esse censura. Nam quæ morum est, hæc debet profecto esse et in vivos cautior, et in mortuos reverentior. Certum est autem, qui fecte et fallaciter historiam ecclesiasticam scribunt, eos viros bonos atque sinceros esse non posse, totamque eorum narrationem inventam esse aut ad quæstum, aut errorem, quorum alterum fædum est, alterum perniciosum.

^h Justin. Apolog. ii. p. 98. Vid. Græc. cit. sect. iii. sub. litt. (γ), p. 527.

ⁱ Nazianz. Orat. i. de Fuga, p. 15. D. Ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν πρῶτον φαίνεται, οὐ τῶν φαυλοτάτων, οὐδὲ ὀλίγου τοῦ πνεύματος, δίδοναι κατὰ καιρὸν ἵκαστῶ τοῦ λόγου τὸ σιτομέτριον, καὶ οἰκονομῶν ἐν κρίσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἡμετέρων δογμάτων, ὅσα περὶ κόσμον ἢ κόσμου πεφιλοσόφηται, περὶ ὕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ νοῦ καὶ τῶν νοερῶν φύσεων, βελτιόνων τι καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ τῆς τὰ πάντα συνδιούσης τι καὶ διεξαγούσης προνοίας, ὅσατε κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντῶν δοκιῇ, καὶ ὅσα παρὰ λόγον τὸν κάτω καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἴσται τι ὅσα περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν συστάσεως καὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀναπλάσεως, τύπων τι καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ διαθηκῶν, καὶ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πρώτης τι καὶ διυτίρας, σαρκώσεώς τι, καὶ παθημάτων, καὶ ἀναλύσεως, ὅσα τι περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ τίλους, περὶ κρίσεως, καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως σκυθρωποτίρας τι καὶ ἰνδοξοτίρας· τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅσα περὶ τῆς ἀρχικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς καὶ μακρῆς Τριᾶδος ὑποληπτόν.

ters he had used to preach to them :^j of the nature of the soul; of the fabric of the body; of the state of immortality; of the kingdom of heaven, and the torments of hell; of the long suffering of God, and the methods of pardon; of the powers of repentance; of baptism, and the forgiveness of sins; of the creation of the superior and inferior world; of the nature of men and angels; of the subtilty of Satan, and his methods and policies; of the different opinions of the Christian world; of the true faith, and the gangrene of heresies, and other such mysteries, which it behoves a Christian to be acquainted with.

SECT. XIX.—*And delivered in a Way most affecting and suitable to the Capacities of their Hearers, with Perspicuity, Pleasure, and Force of Argument.*

And as they were thus careful in the choice of their subjects, so they were no less careful to put their well-chosen matter into the most useful and pleasing dress, that they might answer the true ends of Christian oratory; and, as the Wise man words it, make their apples of gold appear the more beautiful by being set in pictures of silver. “The design of Christian oratory,” as St. Austin observes,^k “is, either

^j Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. de Baptism. Christi, tom. i. p. 309, C. (p. 276, edit. Francof. 1698.) Τί γάρ, ἐπί μοι, διδάξαι σι τῶν ἀναγκαίων δυνησόμεθα, ἀπαξ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἡ διούτερον παρ’ ἡμῖν φοιτῶντα, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ σώματος, περὶ ἀθανασίας, περὶ βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, περὶ κολάσεως, περὶ γέννησις, περὶ μακροθυμίας Θεοῦ, περὶ συγγνώμης, περὶ μετανοίας, περὶ βαπτίσματος, περὶ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐφίσις, περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ταύτης τῆς ἄνω καὶ τῆς κάτω, περὶ ἀνθρώπων φύσεως, περὶ ἀγγέλων, περὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων κακουργίας, περὶ τῶν μεθοδιῶν τοῦ διαβόλου, περὶ πολιτείας, περὶ δογμάτων, περὶ τῆς ὁρθῆς πίστεως, περὶ τῶν διεφθαρμένων αἰρίσεων; ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ πολλὰ πλείονα τούτων τὸν Χριστιανὸν εἰδέναι χρὴ, καὶ τούτων πάντων ἀποδιδόναι λόγον τοῖς ἰρωτῶσιν. (Paris. 1609.)

^k Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. C. iv. Debet Divinarum Scripturarum tractor et doctor, defensor rectæ fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere, et mala dedocere: atque in hoc opere sermonis conciliare adversos, remissos erigere, nescientibus quid agatur, quid exspectare debeant intimare. . . . Si docendi sunt qui audiunt, narratione faciendum est, si tamen indigeat, ut res de qua agitur, innotescat. Ut autem quæ dubia sunt certa fiant, documentis adhibitis ratiocinandum est. Si vero, qui audiunt, movendi sunt potius quam docendi, ut in eo quod jam sciunt, agendo non torpeant, et rebus adsensum, quas veras esse fatentur, accommodent, majoribus dicendi viribus opus est. Ibi obsecrationes et increpationes, concitationes et coercitiones, et quæcumque alia valent ad commovendos animos, sunt necessaria. (Antuerp. 1700, iii. p. 50, D.)

to instruct men in the truth, or to refute their errors, or to persuade them to the practice of holiness and virtue, and dissuade them from the contrary vices. The first of these requires plain narration; the second, strength of argument and ratiocination; and the third, the art and power of moving the mind and affections. And in doing each of these, the Christian orator, as he never speaks any thing but what is holy, just, and good, so he endeavours to speak these in such a manner, as that he may be heard with understanding, with pleasure, and with obedience,¹ as the chief thing of all. That he may be heard with understanding, he speaks every thing with a natural plainness and perspicuity, and also a regard to men's capacities and apprehensions. He reckons the greatest oratory of no use, if it cannot be understood; for what signifies a golden key, if it cannot open what we intend?^m A wooden key is of more use, if it will answer the true design of a key, which is only to open what is locked up and shut before: therefore the Christian orator labours chiefly at perspicuity in his speech, never thinking he has done justice to any truth by his eloquence, unless he has also delivered it with a sufficient evidence to men of reasonable capacities and comprehensions. There are some things which are unintelligible in their own nature, or not to be understood by the ordinary sort of men, though they be spoken with never so much plainness of the orator; and, therefore, such things are seldom or never, without great necessity, to be handled in a popular audience.ⁿ For the same reason, he that studies perspicuity and evidence, will sometimes neglect rhetorical expressions, and not regard how sonorous, but how significant his words are, to

¹ Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xv. Agit noster iste eloquens, quum et justa, et sancta, et bona dicit: neque enim alia debet dicere: agit ergo, quantum potest, cum ista dicit, ut intelligenter, ut libenter, ut obedienter audiatur. (58, C.)

^m Ibid. c. xi. Quid enim prodest clavis aurea, si aperire, quod volumus, non potest? Aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest? quando nihil quærimus, nisi patere quod clausum est?

ⁿ Ibid. c. ix. Sunt quædam, quæ sua vi non intelliguntur, aut vix intelliguntur, quantolibet et quantumlibet, quamvis planissime dicentis versentur eloquio, quæ in populi audientiam, vel raro, si aliquid urget, vel numquam omnino mittenda sunt. (55, E.)

intimate and declare his sense to the minds of his hearers; for there is a *diligens negligentia*, 'an useful negligence,' proper in this case to ecclesiastical teachers, who must sometimes condescend to improprieties of speech, when they cannot speak otherwise to the apprehensions of the vulgar: as, he notes, that they were used to say *ossum*, instead of *os*, to distinguish a mouth from a bone in Afric, to comply with the understandings of their hearers.^o For what advantage is there in purity of speech, when the hearer understands it not, seeing there is no occasion at all of speaking, if they, for whose sake we speak to be understood, apprehend not what we say?" And for this reason, I doubt not, there are so many Africanisms, or idioms of the African tongue, in St. Austin, because he thought it more commendable sometimes to deviate a little from the strict grammatical purity and propriety of the Latin tongue, than not be understood by his hearers. This was a laudable condescension in every respect, and much valued by the ancients, who thought it the first office of a preacher to speak always to the capacity and understanding of his hearers. It is this which Nazianzen^p so highly commends in Athanasius, that he tempered his style according to the difference of his auditory; he condescended to speak to mean capacities in a lower way; whilst to the acute, his words and notions were more sublime. And there was but one case in which they affected to speak any thing darkly and obscurely, and that was when they preached in a mixed auditory, where the catechumens were present, from whom they purposely intended to conceal some of the profounder knowledge of the Christian mysteries for a time; and, therefore, they usually spake of them in a covert way,

^o Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. x. Si non piguit dicere interpretes nostros, 'Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus,' quoniam senserunt ad rem pertinere, ut eo loco pluraliter enuntiaretur hoc nomen, quod in Latina lingua tantummodo singulariter dicitur; cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem, 'ossum' potius quam 'os' dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo quod sunt ossa, sed ab eo quod sunt ora intelligatur, ubi Afræ aures de correptione vocalium vel productione non judicant? Quid enim prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis, quum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos ut intelligant loquimur? (iii. 56, A.)

^p Nazianz. Orat. xxi. de Laud. Athan. p. 396. Πρὸς τοῖς κατηχημένοις.
ὑψηλότερος τοῖς μυστηριοῖς.

with an ἵσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, ‘the initiated know what we mean,’ as being well understood by them, though they spake only by hints and dark terms, upon the account of the catechumens. Of the reasons of which discipline and practice I have spoken largely heretofore,^q and, therefore, need say no more of it in this place.

The next thing which St. Austin commends in his Christian Orator is, that he labours to be heard with pleasure. *Ut intelligenter, ut libenter.* For though a plain declaration of truth may satisfy those who regard nothing but truth; yet, the greater part of men love sweetness and ornament of speech; and, therefore, if it be unpleasant, the benefit of it will reach but very few who are desirous to hear what they ought to learn, though it be in a mean and uncomely dress:† but the generality of men are not pleased with this: some similitude between eating and speaking: and, therefore, because weak stomachs cannot relish their most necessary food, without which they cannot live, their food is to be seasoned to make it pleasant for them. Upon this account he commends the saying of an ancient orator, who said truly,[‡] “That an orator ought so to speak, as not only to teach and instruct, but also to delight and move.” And some hearers are to be induced to hear by the pleasure of a discourse, which arises from the sweetness, and beauties, and ornaments of it. St. Chrysostom inculcates the same rule in describing the office of a bishop, “Whose task,” he says,[†] “was something the more difficult upon this account; because men had gene-

^q Book x. chap. v.

^r Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xi. Si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suos pervenit fructus, qui ea quæ discenda sunt, quamvis abjecte inculteque dicantur, scire desiderant.—Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum, etiam ipsa, sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condienda sunt. (iii. 56, E.)

^s Ibid. c. xii. Dixit ergo quidam eloquens, et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat.—Ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus est auditor: et delectatur, si suaviter loquaris.

^t Chrysostom. de Sacerdotio, lib. v. c. i. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ὀφίλιον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τίρψιν, ἀκούειν εἰσίστησαν οἱ πολλοί. . . . γυναικίας οὖν δι’ ἁνταῦθα ψυχῆς, καὶ πολὺ ἡμῶν ὑπερβαίνουσας σμικρότητα ἵνα τὴν ἄτακτον καὶ ἀνωφελῆ τοῦ πλήθους ἡδονὴν κολλάζῃ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὀφελιμώτερον μιστάγειν δύνηται τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὡς αὐτῶ τὸν λαὸν ἵπιστα καὶ εἴπειν. (81, B.)

rally nice and delicate palates, and were inclined to hear sermons as they heard plays, rather for pleasure than profit;" which, added to the preacher's study and labour; who, though he was to condemn both popular applause and censure, yet was he also to have such a regard to his auditory, as that they might hear him with pleasure to their edification and advantage. "It was not required, indeed, that every preacher should speak with the smoothness of Isocrates, or the loftiness of Demosthenes, or the majesty of Thucydides, or the sublimity of Plato," as the same St. Chrysostom^u words it. "Lower degrees of eloquence," says St. Austin, "would please a Christian auditory, provided he had a decent regard to the common rules of eloquence, to say nothing *obtuse, deformiter, frigide*, nothing that was 'blunt,' nothing that was 'indecent or unbecoming,' nothing that was 'cold or languid,' but every thing *acute, ornate, vehementer*, with 'sharpness,' and 'handsomeness,' and 'force:.'" which are St. Austin's rules in this very case." Or if men could not attain to this perfection of exotic eloquence, yet there was a manly and majestic eloquence, an art of speaking wisely, which no one could fail of, that would diligently study the Holy Scriptures; for there the subject is not only great and divine, but the diction also eloquent and beautiful, as St. Austin^w shews in several instances out of the apostles and prophets; the style not glittering with sallies, and flashes of juvenile wit (which would not become a manly eloquence), but altogether agreeable to the dignity and authority of the persons who were the inspired authors of it: who spake with an eloquence becoming both themselves and their subjects; such as is noways inferior to the eloquence many times of the greatest masters and pretenders to it, and for its wisdom

^u Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. vi. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὴν τὴν λειότητα Ἰσοκράτους ἀπῆλθον, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένους ὄγκον, καὶ τὴν Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητα, καὶ Πλάτωνος ὕψος, κ. τ. λ. (P. 75, D.)

^v Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. v. Quum alii faciant obtuse, deformiter, frigide; alii acute, ornate, vehementer; illum ad hoc opus jam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare, vel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest eloquenter. . . . Sapienter autem dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit. (50, E.)

^w Aug. ibid. chap. vi. and vii. tot.

(which is the most true divine eloquence) far exceeds them. They, therefore, who were well versed both in the phrase and sense of the Scriptures, and knew how to make a proper use and application of them, could never want true eloquence to recommend their discourses with pleasure to their hearers. And, indeed, the very custom of applauding the preachers publicly in the church (of which more by and by), is a certain evidence that they were commonly heard with pleasure.

The last thing which St. Austin commends in the Christian orator is, "That he endeavours to be heard *obedienter*, that is, speaks to the conviction and persuasion of his hearers; convincing their judgments by sound and solid reasonings; and raising the affections, and drawing them into compliance by such motives, and methods, and addresses, as are proper to work upon the several passions of human nature, and bend and subdue the will, and lead it captive into the obedience of faith." When the sacred orator has done this he is at his utmost height; then he leads his hearers, as it were, willingly in triumph, having gained a complete and pleasing victory over them. "For," as St. Austin again observes,* "till men are wrought into compliance and obedience by the orator, they are not properly conquered by him." For they may be taught and pleased, and yet yield no compliance or practical assent; without which the two former are of no advantage: but when his oratory has gained their wills, it has then subdued all opposition, and gotten a complete victory. "Now this is done," as St. Austin there goes on to intimate, "when the orator can bring men to love what he promises, to fear what he threatens, to hate what he rebukes, to embrace what he commends, to sorrow for what he aggravates as sorrowful, to rejoice at what he amplifies as matter of rejoicing, to commiserate those whom he represents before their eyes as objects of compassion, to avoid and fly from those whom he brands and stigmatizes as dangerous persons, and gives them terrible apprehensions of, as men with whom it is not safe to converse; and whatever else may be done by

* Aug. *ibid.* c. xii. Ideo autem victoriæ est flectere, quia fieri potest, ut doceatur, et delectetur, et non adsentiat. Quid autem illa duo proderunt, si desit hoc tertium? (57, C.)

force of grand eloquence, to move the minds of the hearers, not to know what they are to do, but to do what they already know to be their duty to do." This he calls¹ by the name of *grandis eloquentia, et gravis*, 'grand and grave eloquence,' and opposes it to what he calls *spumeus verborum ambitus*, that 'light and frothy sort of eloquence' which consists only in a jingling multiplicity of words; which does not become any subject, much less the gravity of a Christian discourse upon the weightiest and most serious of all subjects; where nothing is said but what is great, as having no regard to the affairs of this temporal life, but to the things of eternal happiness and eternal misery. For, if a Christian orator speaks of temporal things, though they be small in themselves, yet they are great in his way of handling them; because he treats of them with respect to justice, and charity, and piety in the use of them, which are great things in the smallest matters. As when the apostle speaks of going to law for pecuniary matters (1 Cor. vi. 1), &c. he uses all the force of grand eloquence; raising his indignation, correcting, upbraiding, rebuking, threatening, and shewing the concern of his soul by sharpening his style into the utmost keenness and quickness of expression; not because secular affairs deserved all this, but for the sake of justice, charity, and piety, that were so deeply concerned in them. Thus he observes again,² "That a cup of cold water is but a small thing in itself; but it was great in our Lord's mouth, when he said, 'He that gives it to a disciple, shall not lose his reward.'" He adds, "That he himself once spake so movingly and affectionately, by the help of God, upon that subject to the people, that out of that cold water there arose a flame, which warmed the cold hearts of men, and inflamed them to do works of mercy in hopes of a heavenly reward." But he observes further, "That although a preacher upon this account ought never to speak but of great things, yet he is not always obliged to do this

¹ Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xiii. Ipse jam remanet ad consensionem flectendus eloquentiæ granditate, &c.—Cap. xiv. Nec illa suavitas delectabilis est, qua non quidem iniqua dicuntur, sed exigua et fragilia bona spumæo verborum ambitu ornantur, quali nec magna atque stabilia decenter et graviter ornarentur.

² Ibid. c. xviii.

granditer, in the way of vehement and grand eloquence, or the elated and lofty style; but when he speaks only to inform the judgment,^a the submiss, or low style is to be used, as more proper for doctrinal instruction; and the temperate or middle style, when he speaks to praise or dispraise: but when any thing is to be done, and they to whom he speaks are unwilling to do it, when they ought to do it, then those things which are great in themselves, are to be spoken *granditer*, 'in a grand and vehement style,' or in such a way as is proper to incline and bend the wills of the hearers. And sometimes every one of these three ways is used about the same subject: the submiss style, when any doctrine is delivered about it; the temperate style, when any commendation is to be given to it; and the grand style, when the mind that is averse from its duty, is to be converted and forcibly induced to practise it. Thus, if a man is discoursing concerning God; to shew the unity of the Trinity, he ought only to reason in the submiss and plain way, that what is difficult to be conceived may be understood, as far as men are capable of understanding it. Here is no ornament required, but only plain documents and instruction. But when God is to be praised, either in himself or his works, then there is a fair occasion for beautiful and splendid oratory, to extol him whom no man can sufficiently praise. And again, if his worship be neglected, or other things be taken in to rival him in his worship, whether they be idols, or devils, or any other creature, then the evil of the practice is to be aggravated with all the grandeur and vehemence of oratory, to dissuade and turn men from it." And he gives us several instances of all the three kinds, both out of Scripture and the ancient writers, Cyprian and Ambrose, assuring us in the end,^b "That what he had said of those

^a Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xix. Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictor esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere; sed submisso, cum aliquid docetur; temperate, cum aliquid vituperatur sive laudatur. Cum vero aliquid agendum est, et ad eos loquimur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen volunt, tunc ea quæ magna sunt, dicenda sunt granditer, et ad flectendos animos congruenter. (3, 60.)

^b Ibid. c. xxi. In his, quos duos ex omnibus proponere volui, et in aliis ecclesiasticis viris, et bona et bene, id est, sicut res postulat, acute, ornate, ardentique dicentibus, per multa eorum scripta vel dicta possunt hæc tria genera

two, might be found in the writings and discourses of other ecclesiastical men, who treated always of weighty subjects in a proper manner; that is, as the matter required, with perspicuity and acuteness, with ornament and beauty, with ardency and grandeur in their applications." So that if we will take St. Austin's character of the ancient preachers, it was in short this; "That their discourses were always upon weighty and heavenly matters, and their style answerable to the subject; that is, plain, elegant, majestic, and nervous; fitly adapted to instruct, to delight and charm, and to convince and persuade their hearers." And if their method was different from ours, and not so exact and visible to the hearers, that must be imputed to custom and the times they lived in; for every age has its peculiarities and proper taste of things: and though I believe the modern way of methodizing sermons to be most useful to the hearers, yet, if the question were to be determined by the rules and practice of the most famous orators, whether an open or a concealed method were fittest to be chosen, the judgment and decision would fall upon the side of the ancients. However, if they failed in this, they made it up in other excellencies, by their perspicuity and clearness, their elegance and fineness, their sublimity of thought and expression; and, above all, by the flaming piety of their lives, corresponding to their doctrine, and giving the greatest force and energy to all their discourses. For, as St. Austin truly observes in the last place,^c "The life of the

reperiri, et adsidua lectione vel auditione, admixta etiam exercitatione, studentibus inolescere. (65, E.)

^c Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. c. xxxvii. Habet, ut obedienter audiatur, quantumque granditate dictionis majus pondus vita dicentis: nam qui sapienter et eloquenter dicit, vivit autem nequiter, erudit quidem multos studiosos, quamvis animæ suæ sit inutilis, sicut scriptum est, [^f Scribæ et Pharisei in cathedra Moysis sederunt; quæ dicunt, facite:] quæ autem faciunt, facere nolite: dicunt enim, et non faciunt,' &c. Multis itaque prosunt dicendo, quæ non faciunt: sed longe pluribus prodesse faciendo, quæ dicunt. Abundant enim, qui malæ vitæ suæ defensionem ex ipsis suis præpositis et doctoribus querant, respondentes corde suo, aut etiam si ad hoc erumpunt, ore suo, atque dicentes, 'Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis?' Ita fit, ut eum non obedienter audiant, qui se ipse non audit, et Dei verbum, quod eis prædicatur, simul cum ipso prædicatore contemnant; cujus autem vita inculpata est, ejus ipsam exemplum est grandis eloquentia, et est ei quasi copia dicendi forma vivendi. (68, A.)

preacher has more weight in it than the greatest grandeur and force of eloquence, to induce his hearers to obedience; for he that preaches wisely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may edify some who are desirous to learn and observe the commands of Christ; as many will learn from the Scribes and the Pharisees, who sit in Moses's chair, and say and do not; but he that lives as he speaks, will advantage abundance more. For men are very apt to ask this question; *Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis?* 'Why dost not thou do that which thou commandest me to do?' And so it comes to pass, that they will not obediently hear him who does not hear himself, but contemn both the word of God and the preacher together. But he whose life is unblamable, his very example is grand oratory, and 'his form of living an eloquent discourse.'—*Copia dicendi forma vivendi.*^d And by these methods, what by their oratory, what by their example, the ancients gained so much upon their hearers, as often to receive their public acclamations, and hear their groanings, and see their tears; and what was most delightful of all, found the happy effects of their labour in their holy obedience and sincere conversion. But of these more presently, when we come to the hearers, having made two or three remarks more concerning the preachers.

SECT. XX.—*That it was no Part of the Ancient Oratory to move the Passions by Gesticulations and vain Images of Things.*

And among these I must observe one thing negatively, that it was no part of the ancient oratory to raise the affections of their hearers, either by gesticulations, or the use of external shows and representations of things, in their sermons, as is now very common in the Romish Church, especially when they preach upon our Saviour's Passion, to produce a cross, and the image of Christ bound to a pillar, and whip it to death, and shew the nails, and tear a veil; and many other the like things, to create sorrow in their hearers.

^d Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xxviii. Si autem ne hoc quidem potest, ita conversetur, ut non solum præmium sibi comparet, sed etiam præbeat aliis exemplum, et sit ejus quasi copia dicendi forma vivendi. (69, A.)

Ferrarius^e owns there was no such practice among the ancients ; and confesses, that except it be done very appositely and prudently, it is more apt to excite laughter than sorrow. And which of the two it oftener produces is easy to guess, as well from the nature of the thing, as the complaints of wise men against it. What Ferrarius produces out of Chrysostom,^f bidding the people take St. John Baptist's head into their hands, and carry it home with them, and hear it speak, is nothing to the purpose : for this is only a rhetorical scheme, made up of two usual figures among orators, a *hypotyposis* and *prosopopœia* ; that is, ' a lively description of a thing,' and ' an introduction of a person speaking ;' which are figures that have a mighty influence upon the mind to raise in it a just concern, but are no precedents for such practices as rather incline men to ridicule and laughter ; of which there is no footstep in the ancient oratory of the Church.

^e Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xxxi. Soio, permultis non admodum probari concionatores illos, qui ad excitandos affectus animosque permovendos, externa signa, fictasque personas, ac corporeas quasdam imagines, producunt nonnumquam in auditorum prospectum. Quibus ego, ut id, quid sentio, dicam, haud repugnanter adsentior ; ob eam potissimum causam, quod in iis producendis, quædam sæpe occurrunt, quæ risum magis excitent, quam moveant dolorem. Quoniam tamen oculorum sensus omnium acerrimus est, validiusque irritant animos, quæ oculis subjiciuntur, quam quæ demissa per aures influunt ; non gravate concesserim, posse non nunquam, præsertim in concionibus de venerandis Christi Domini cruciatibus, ad multitudinis animos sollicitandos et commovendos (si modo prudenter istud et opportune, non frigide et affectate procedat) signa quædam externa proferri, nec non et suppliciorum instrumenta in auditorum conspectu poni.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xiv. ad Populum Antiochen. p. 177, B. (p. 157, edit. Francof.) Παρεκάλιστα πρῶν ὑμᾶς τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου λαβόντας ἀποστιγμημένην, καὶ θυροῦ τοῦ αἵματος ἵτι ἀποστᾶζουσιν, οὕτως ἀπειθεῖν οἴκαδ' ἵκαστον, καὶ νομίζειν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁρᾶν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἀφιεῖσαν καὶ λίγουςαι, "Μισήσατί μου τὸν σφαγία τὸν ἕρκον" ὅτι ἢ λιγχοῦς οὐκ ἰποιήσει, τοῦτο ἕρκος ἰποιήσιν· ὅτι θυροῦ τυραννικῶς οὐκ ἴσχυται, τοῦτο ἰσχυρίας ἀνάγκη παρισκιάσει· καὶ ὅτι μὴν ἡλίγχιτο δημοσίᾳ πάντων ἀκουόντων, ἤνιγκι γυναικίως τὴν ἰσιτίμησιν ὁ τύραννος· ὅτι δὲ εἰς ἕρκον ἀνάγκην ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλε, τότε τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην ἀπίτουμε κεφαλὴν· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τούτο καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ, καὶ παρακαλῶν οὐ παύομαι, ὥστε ὅπου περ εἴ ἀπίωμεν, ταύτην βαστάζοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπίναι, καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὴν ἐπιδικυνάα βοῶσαν, καὶ τῶν ἕρκων κατηγοροῦσαν· πᾶν γὰρ σφόδρα ὧμεν ῥάθυμοι καὶ ὀλίγωροι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνης ὁρῶντες φερέον εἰς ἡμᾶς βλίσποντας, καὶ ἀπειλοῦντας ἰμνίουσι, χαλινοῦ παντὸς ἰσχυρότερον τῷ φόβῳ τούτῳ σωφρονισθέντες, ἄγχι καὶ ἀποστρέφειν δυνησόμεθα ῥῥιδίως τὴν γλῶτταν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἕρκους ἐρμῆς.

SECT. XXI.—*Of the Length of their Sermons.*

Next to the matter and style of their sermons, the question may be asked concerning the length of them. Ferrarius^g and some others are very positive, that they were generally an hour long: but Ferrarius is at a loss to tell by what instrument they measure their hour; for he will not venture to affirm, that they preached as the old Greek and Roman orators^h declaimed, by an hourglass; which yet he might have said with as much truth, as that all their sermons were an hour long, from no better proof, than their mentioning, sometimes, the hour of preaching, which signifies no more than the time in general, as, “The hour of temptation,” and “the hour cometh,” and “my hour is not yet come,” are often used in Scripture. It is a more just and pertinent observation of Bishop Wettenhal’s,^h “That their sermons were often very short: there are many in St. Austin’s tenth tome, which a man may pronounce distinctly, and deliver decently in eight minutes, and some almost in half the time: and such are many of those of Leo, Chrysologus, Maximus, Cæsarius Arelatensis, and other Latin fathers. Some of St. Austin’s are much longer, and so are the greater part of Chrysostom’s, Nazianzen’s, Nyssen’s, and Basil’s; but scarce any of them would last an hour, and many not half the time. And when it is considered, that they had many times two or three sermons at once, as I have shewed it was very usual in Chrysostom’s church, it would be absurd to think that each of them was an hour long, when the whole service lasted not above two hours in the whole; as Chrysostom often declares in his sermons,ⁱ

^g Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xxxiv. Prolixiori dicentis oratione auditorum animos abalienari potius ac debilitari, quam erigi ac conciliari, fatentur omnes. Huic igitur certo ac communi malo ut medicinam facerent ecclesiæ patres in concionando, determinatum dicendi tempus, fereque unius horæ spatio conclusum, aut ipsi sibi præscribebant, aut ab aliis præfinitum religiose observabant.

^h Wettenhal’s Gift of Preaching, chap. ii. p. 666.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xlviii. de Inscript. Altaris, tom. v. p. 648, C. (hom. li. tom. v. p. 580, edit. Francof. 1698.) Ἐγὼ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγω, ὅτι ἰσπὰς ἡμέρας ἀργήσων, οὐδὲ δίκαια ἡμέρας· ἀλλὰ δύο μοι δάνεισον ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτὸς ἔχῃ. — Hom. l. de Utilit. Lection. Script. ibid. p. 676, D. 1, (hom. liii. p. 605.)

making that an argument to the people, why they should cheerfully attend Divine service, since, of seven days in the week, God had only reserved one to himself; and, on that day, exacted no more than two hours, like the widow's two mites, to be spent on his service.

SECT. XXII. — *Whether every Man was obliged to preach his own Composition, or the Homilies and Sermons composed by others.*

It may be inquired further, whether all preachers were obliged to deliver their own compositions, or were at liberty to use the compositions of others? To this, it has been already answered in some measure, that the homilies of famous preachers, such as Chrysostom, and Ephraem Syrus, were often read instead of other sermons from the pulpit, in many Churches. And Mabillon says,^j “Those of Cæsarius Arelatensis were read in the French Churches;” where also deacons were authorized, by the Council of Vaison,^k in cases of necessity, when the preaching-presbyter was disabled, to read the homilies of the ancient fathers, in country churches. Neither was this only the practice of deacons; but bishops sometimes also did the same. For Gennadius says,^l “Cyril of Alexandria composed many homilies, which the Grecian

Προσέχωμεν τοίνυν τῇ ἀναγνώσει, μὴ τὰς δύο μόνον ταύτας ἄρας, [οὐ γὰρ ἀρεκὶ ἡμῖν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἡ ψιλὴ αὕτη ἀπρόσωπος] ἀλλὰ διηκτικῶς.—Hom. xxiv. de Baptismo Christi, tom. i. p. 309, A. (p. 273, edit. cit.) Τί δὲ λίγα περὶ ἡμέρας ἐλοκλήρου; ἔπειρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλισμεσούνης ἐποίησιν ἡ χήρα, τοῦτο ποιήσων ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ σὺ τῆς ἡμέρας καθάπερ ἐποίησε δύο κατέβαλεν ὀβολούς, καὶ πολλὰν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπισπάσατο τὴν εὐνοίαν· οὕτω καὶ σὺ δύο δάνυσον ἄρας τῇ Θεῷ, καὶ μυρίων ἡμερῶν κέρδος εἰς τὴν εἰκίαν ἐσάξεις τὴν σὴν.

^j Mabillon, de Liturg. Gallican. lib. ii. p. 99. In homiliario Sancti-Gallensi, litteris majusculis ab annis mille scripto, duo sermones habentur pro die Dominica ante natale Domini, sed inscripti hoc modo: ‘Dicendum’ seu ‘dictum ante natale Domini,’ sine ulla mentione Adventus per totum illud corpus homiliarum, quæ per annum tunc legebantur, ‘pleræque ex Cæsario episcopo Arelatensi.’

^k Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. (apud Labb. est Conc. III. tom. iv. p. 1680.) Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, SS. patrum homiliæ a diaconis recitentur.

^l Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lvii. Cyrillus, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ episcopus, homilias composuit plurimas, quæ ad declamandum a Græcis episcopis memoriæ commendantur.

bishops committed to memory, in order to preach them." He says the same of Salvian,^m the eloquent presbyter of Marseilles, 'that he wrote many homilies for bishops,' *homilias episcopis factas multas*; which Ferrariusⁿ and Dr. Cave understand not of homilies made before bishops, but for their use; whence he is also styled, by Gennadius, in the same place, *episcoporum magister*, 'the teacher,' or 'master of bishops,' because they preached the eloquent homilies which he composed. Ferrarius and Sirmondus^o observe the same of some of the *dictiones sacræ*, or 'sermons' of Ennodius, which are said to be written by him, and spoken by others: Honoratus, bishop of Novaria, is named for one. St. Austin more particularly considers this question, and makes a case of conscience of it. For, having laid down all the rules of Christian oratory for those who had ability to compose, he at last confesses, there were some, who, though they could speak well, were not able to invent and compose a handsome discourse of their own: and he does not severely condemn them, or, with a magisterial air, debar them from preaching, but, with a great deal of tenderness says, favourably in their case,^p "That if they take that which was ele-

^m Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lxvii. Salvianus, Massiliensis ecclesiæ presbyter, scripsit scholastico et aperto sermone multa, e quibus ista legi, de virginitatis bono, &c. homilias episcopis factas multas.

ⁿ Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. ii. c. xiv. Aliquos consuevisse aliquando, ut suas, pronuntiare aliorum homilias, facile credet, quicumque eorum meminerit, quæ et de Cyrillo Alexandrino episcopo et de Salviano Massiliensi prodidit Gennadius; . . . 'Salvianus scripsit . . . multa ex quibus legi . . . homilias episcopis factas.' — Cave, Histor. Litterar. vol. i. p. 346, (p. 245, edit. Genevens.) Homiliæ multæ, coram episcopis vel in usum episcoporum, factæ.

^o Ibid. Ennodius (id quod etiam ab eruditissimo viro Jacobo Sirmondo adnotatum fuit) Sacram secundam scripsit ipse quidem, sed ut gratiam iniret ab Honorato, Novariæ episcopo, qui eam pronuntiavit ut suam. Tertia etiam ab Ennodio composita est, sed a Stephano Vicario recitata. Ipsamet autem earumdem Sacrarum inscriptio hoc idem haud obscure indicat: etenim secundæ titulus is est, 'Dictio missa Honorato episcopo Novariensi in dedicatione Basilicæ apostolorum, ubi templum fuit idolorum.' Tertia vero ita inscribitur, 'Dictio data Stephano V. S. Vicario, dicenda Maximo episcopo.' Verba enim illa, 'Missæ, Data, Dicenda,' satis revincunt, scriptas quidem illas ab Ennodio, sed ab aliis deinde dictas. Exstant aliæ id genus nonnullæ dictiones apud eundem Ennodium; quas qui leget, fatebitur procul dubio, ab ipso fuisse certe elucubratas, sed ab aliis omnino pronuntiatas.

^p Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xxix. Quod si ab aliis sumant elo-

gantly and wisely written by others, and commit it to memory, and preach it to the people, if they are called to that office, they are not to be blamed as doing an ill thing. For, by this means, there are many preachers of truth, which is very useful, and not many masters, whilst they all speak things of the one true master; and there are no schisms among them. Neither ought such men to be deterred by the words of the prophet Jeremy (xxiii. 30), by whom God rebukes those who steal his words every one from his neighbour. For they which steal, take away that which they have no right or property in : which cannot be said of those who obey the word of God, but rather belongs to those who speak well, and live ill." From whence he concludes, it is very lawful for a man to preach the composition of other more eloquent men, provided he compose his own life answerable to God's word, and earnestly pray to God, that he would make his word in his mouth edifying to others.

SECT. XXIII.—*Their Sermons always concluded with a Doxology to the Holy Trinity.*

I must note also, that they always concluded their sermons, as we now do, with a doxology to the Holy Trinity, as may be seen not only in the sermons of St. Austin, Chrysostom, Basil, Leo, Fulgentius, and others who lived after Arius broached his heresy against the Divinity of our Saviour; but also in those of Origen, and others who lived before, such as Dionysius of Alexandria, and the rest that are mentioned by St. Basil,¹ who had seen their homilies, out of which he wrote a vindication of that ancient form against some, who pretended to charge him with innovation for using a form, which, he says, the ancients had always used before him.

quenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant; si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. Sic enim, quod profecto utile est, multi prædicatores veritatis fiunt, nec multi magistri, si unus veri magistri ad ipsum dicant omnes, et non sint in eis schismata. Nec deterrendi sunt isti voce Hieremiæ prophetæ, per quem Deus arguit eos, qui furantur verba ejus, unusquisque a proximo suo. Qui enim furantur, alienum auferunt: verbum autem Dei non est ab eis alienum, qui obtemperant ei: potiusque ille dicit aliena, qui quum dicat bene, vivit male.

¹ Baail. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. tom. ii. opp. p. 358–360.

SECT. XXIV.—*Sermons delivered by the Preacher sitting, for the most Part.*

There are some other incidental things taken notice of by Ferrarius, which are either very minute in themselves, or are more proper to be spoken of in other places; such as the deacon's causing silence to be made before sermons; and the preacher's reading his text over again after the readers; and his appointing lessons to be read, agreeable to his subject; and giving notice of them the week before to the people; as also the reading of the Acts of the Martyrs before sermon upon their proper festivals; the giving notice of Easter and Lent on the day of Epiphany in their sermons; the notification of vigils, and fasts, and festivals, and appointing collections for the poor; preaching covertly of the mysteries of religion before the catechumens; complimenting the bishops that were present, in their sermons; the distinction of places for the hearers; the usual appellations of love and respect that were given them; the usual place of the sermon some eminency in the church, the *ambo*, or 'reading-desk,' or else the bishop's throne, or the steps of the altar; the usual days of preaching, the Lord's day, the Saturday, or Sabbath, the vigils and festivals, the anniversaries of bishops' consecrations and dedications of churches; with some other things of the like nature, some of which are so minute, that they are scarce worth the reader's notice; and others, that are more material, are accounted for and explained in other parts of this work. I shall, therefore, speak of one thing more relating to the preachers, which is, of the posture in which their sermons were delivered. The general received custom now is for the preacher to stand, and the people to sit: but the ancient custom was, usually, the reverse of this; for the preacher commonly delivered his sermon sitting, and the people heard it standing; though there was no certain rule about this, but the custom varied in several Churches. In Afric, the preacher commonly sat,^r

^r Optat. lib. iv. p. 78, (p. 91, edit. Paris. 1679.) Dum peccatorem arguit, et sedentem increpat Deus, specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat, non ad populum, qui in ecclesia non habet sedendi licentiam.

as appears from that of Optatus to the Donatist bishops: "When God reproves a sinner, and rebukes him that sits, the admonition is specially directed unto you, for the people have not liberty to sit in the church." He says this upon occasion of those words of the psalmist, "Thou sattest and spakest against thine own mother's son." St. Austin, in like manner, speaks of his own preaching sitting: "Why do I sit here? Why do I live, but with this intention, that I may live with Christ?" And, again, "That I may not detain you, especially considering that I speak sitting, and ye labour standing." And he intimates, that in some Churches, sitting was allowed both to the preacher and the people." St. Chrysostom also speaks of his own sitting when he preached; and this he did usually in the *ambo*, or 'reading-desk,' where he sat when he preached that famous sermon upon Eutropius, when he fled to take sanctuary in the church, and lay trembling before the altar,* as all the

* Aug. Hom. xxviii. ex l. tom. x. opp. p. 179, (edit. Basil. p. 485.) Quid volo? Quid desidero? Quid cupio? Quare loquor? Quare heic sedeo? Quare vivo, nisi hac intentione, ut cum Christo simul vivamus?

† Ibid. Hom. xlix. de Diversis. Ut ergo vos non diu teneam, præsertim quia ego sedens loquor, vos stando laboratis.

‡ Ibid. de Catechizandis Rudibus, c. xiii. Longe consultius in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis non solum antistites sedentes loquuntur ad populum, sed ipsi etiam populo sedilia subjacent, ne quispiam infirmior stando lassatus a saluberrima intentione avertatur, aut etiam cogatur abscedere. (vi. 201, D 2.)

§ Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Pœnitent. tom. i. p. 662, B. (p. 585, edit. Francof.) Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ πλείονα τούτων εἰσιῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σωφρονοῦσι καὶ ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ πρὸς διόρθωσιν· διότι ἀνάγκη καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιθυμῶ ἀκούσαι· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὰ παιδία τὰ ποιμνικὰ λισσῶ τῷ καλῷ συμφέρονι, ὥστε ὑπὸ τινος δρῶν ἢ λυπῶν, τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶντων καθήμενοι· οὗτος δὲ καθὰ μουσικὸς τις ἄριστος χρυσῆν ἀρμυσάμενος κιθάραν, τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῶν προσημάτων ἐλόκλησεν ἀνίστησι Δίατρον.

¶ Socrat. lib. vi. c. v. (314.) Ὁ οὖν ἐπίσκοπος, τῷ Εὐτροπίῳ ὑπὸ τὸ Συναστῆριον κείμενου, καὶ ἐκπληγῆτος ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, καθίσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁμῶντος, ὅτεν εἰσὶν καὶ πρῶτιον ἐμὲ μὲν χάριν τοῦ ἱεροκρίτου, λόγον ἐλιγχιτὸν ἐξέτιμι κατ' αὐτοῦ. — Cassiodor. Hist. Tripartit. lib. x. c. iv. Post paucos dies, quum ipse Eutropius offendisset imperatorem, inter refugos erat apud ecclesiam: episcopus vero Chrysostomus, Eutropio sub altari jacente, nimioque percusso timore, residens super ambonem, ubi solebat prius facere consuete sermonem, homiliam increpatoriam fecit adversus eum. — Niceph. Eccles. Hist. lib. xiii. c. iv. Τῶν βασιλείων εἰσὶν ἀποδράς, ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσίδει· τότε δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸ ἄσπερον διελίχων, ὥστε ἐκχιμῆσαι Εὐτροπίου, λαμψρόν τινα κατ' αὐτῷ λόγον δέξαι ἐν ἁμῶντος καθίσθεις, ὥστε ἦν εἰσὶν καὶ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ποιεῖν, ὅς ἄσπερος ἡ φωνὴ ἐκτελέσει.

historians inform us. Gregory Nyssen speaks also of himself as sitting when he preached, and rising up to prayer in the conclusion.^a Which is also noted by Justin Martyr,^a and Origen,^b and Athanasius,^c and Chrysostom,^d whom Ferrarius cites; and remarks upon them, "That their rising up in the close of the sermon to prayer, implies that they preached sitting before," which is, certainly, a very just observation. Yet, after all, he pretends to assert, that standing to preach was the more common posture, and that they never used sitting but only in case of infirmity or old age; which shews us only how far prejudice will carry a man, against the clearest evidence, in favour of a modern custom. The observation, made by the author of the Comments upon St. Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose,^e has much more truth and solidity in it: "That the Christian bishops used to preach sitting, and that this custom was taken from the tradition of the synagogue;" where Ferrarius himself owns, and proves it to have been the more usual custom for the scribes and doctors of the law to expound the Scriptures sitting, though there may be some instances to the contrary. Matt. xxiii. 2, it is said, "That the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's chair." Luke, ii. 46, "Our Saviour was found sitting and disputing among the doctors

^a Nyssen. Hom. v. de Orat. Domin. tom. i. p. 761, C. 'Ἄλλ' ἵστωμεν καὶ ἡμῖς ἀναστάντες τῷ Θεῷ, "Οτι μὴ ἐισενύγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

^a Justin. Apol. p. 98. 'Ο προεστὸς διὰ λόγου τὴν νομισίαν καὶ πρέκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μνήσεως σοιῖται ἵπυστα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πύμπομεν. (Paris. 1742, p. 83, D.)

^b Origen. Hom. in Numer. Et ideo 'surgentes oremus,' ut inveniamus paratum semper istum gladium spiritus, per quem exterminetur et semina ipsa et conceptacula peccatorum. — Id. Hom. iii. in Esai. Revera abstulit opprobrium Jesus: idcirco 'surgentes' oremus Deum, &c. — Hom. xxxvi. in Luc. Quæ omnia cognoscentes, et quam multa sint genera regnorum, 'surgamus' prece-murque Deum, &c.

^c Athan. Hom. de Semente, (tom. ii. p. 72, edit. Paris. 1698.) Αὐτάρεως δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡμῶν προχωρησάντων, ἀναστάντες καὶ ἡμῖς ἐκτινόμεν τὰς χεῖρας.

^d Chrysostom. Hom. cont. Hæretic. ap. Ferrarium, lib. ii. c. ix. (c. xvii. p. 212, edit. Paris. 1664, 8vo.) Itaque, quia ostendimus regiam Dignitatem et Divinitatem Spiritus, nos cathedra exsurgentes, uno ore et uno corde glorificemus Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum.

^e Ambros. Comment. in 1 Cor. xiv. 29. Hæc traditio synagogæ est, quam nos vult sectari . . . ut sedentes disputent seniores dignitate in cathedris, &c.

in the temple." Again, chap. iv. 20, "After he had stood up to read the Prophet Esaias, he sat down to teach the people." And chap. v. 3, "He sat down and taught the people out of the ship." John, viii. 2, "He sat down and taught the people in the temple." Matt. v. 1, "He sat and taught his disciples on the mountain." And Matt. xxvi. 55, "I sat daily with you, teaching in the temple." This was according to the custom of the Jewish synagogue, which was generally followed by the Christian Church; and the instances which Ferrarius brings out of St. Chrysostom's^f and St. Austin's^g homilies, to the contrary, are rather exceptions to a general rule, than proper evidences for his own assertion. The matter is not, indeed, great in itself, it being a very indifferent thing, whether a preacher delivers his sermon standing or sitting; but when men are representing ancient practices, they ought not to make every thing conform to the customs and model of the present age, but represent things nakedly as they find them.

SECT. XXV.—*And heard by the Auditors, standing, in some Churches, but not in all.*

We have hitherto considered what relates to the preachers, and a few things must be added concerning the hearers; of whom it has been already observed, in the last paragraph out of Optatus and St. Austin, that in the African Churches the people had no license to sit down, but were generally obliged to stand to hear the sermon. Fer-

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xvi. ad Popul. Antioch. 202, D. (tom. i. opp. p. 180, edit. Francof.) Εἰ μὴ πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὑπίστην ἀνάγκην, οὐδ' ἂν ἀνίστην, οὐδ' ἂν διαλείθην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθυρίας σκοταθείς τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ μικροψυχίᾳ τῇ ὑμεινίστῃ. — Hom. xxxiii. in Matth. (p. 386, edit. cit.) Διὰ σε ἵστηκιν ὁ διάκονος ποτῶν καὶ σπλαιπνοῦμενος· τίνα οὖν ἔχεις ἀπολογίαν, μὴδὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροάσεως αὐτῶν παρίχνη; (P. 318, B.)

^g Aug. Serm. cxii. de Diversis. Quamquam propter commoditatem depromendæ vocis altiore loco stare videamur, tamen in ipso altiore loco vos judicatis, et nos judicamur. — Id. Conc. II. in Psalm. xxxii. (iv. 154, F.) adhuc quidem spectatores in amphitheatro forte insaniunt, et in sole sedent: et nos si stamus, tamen in umbraculo sumus, et utiliora et pulchriora sunt, quæ spectamus. — Id. Tract. xix. in Joannis Evangelium. Nostis, fratres, quia ad panem ventris cum labore pervenitur, quanto magis ad panem mentis? Cum labore statis, et auditis; sed nos cum majore stamus, et loquimur. (iii. 324, D.)

rarius^b has collected a multitude of testimonies more out of St. Austin to the same purpose, which it is needless to relate here; but we may observe, that the same custom prevailed also in many other Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of it as the usage of the Gallican Church in those lines to Faustus, bishop of Riez, where he speaks of his preaching from the steps of the altar, the people standing about him :ⁱ

Seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aræ
Concionaturum plebs sedula circumstistit.

Which is further confirmed by a homily, that used to go under the name of St. Austin,^j but is now more certainly determined, by Mabillon and the Benedictines, in their new edition of St. Austin's works, to belong to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, where he grants an indulgence to such as were diseased or infirm in their feet, that they should have liberty to sit, when the Passions of the Martyrs, or long lessons, were read, or the sermon was preached. But to all others, women

^b Ferrar. lib. ii. c. xv. (c. xxi. edit. cit. Paris. 8vo.) ex Aug. Tract. xix. in Joann. Vid. sub anteced. litt. (g). — Et Tract. c. xii. Quomodo autem inter se omnes (evangelistæ) convenient, ne veritati, quæ per alium promitur, ab alio repugnetur, quisquis nosse desiderat, non in his sermonibus, sed in aliis laboriosis litteris quærat: nec stando, aut audiendo, sed potius sedendo et legendo, vel legenti aurem mentemque intentissimam præbendo, illa condiscat. — Hom. xxviii. ex l. Audi ergo psalmum: te admonuit, te, quicumque es, qui forte heic hodie stas, et nocte aliquid fecisti, te admonuit, &c. — Sermon. xlix. de Diversis, cit. sub litt. (t), p. 587. — Id. Sermon. cxxii. Vid. sub litt. (f), p. 589. — Sermon. ii. in Psalm. xxxii. cit. sub litt. (f). — Et in Psalm. cxlvii. Gaudeo, tantam esse voluntatem et voluptatem in veritate verbi Dei, ut studium vestrum bonum in bono et de bono vincat studium insanorum currentium in amphitheatrum; numquid illi, si tam diu starent, adhuc spectarent? — Sermon. xx. de Verbis Domini. Nam et modo inde aliquid agimus remoti a negotiis, sepositis familiaribus curis, convenistis, statis, auditis.

ⁱ Sidon. Carm. xvi. ad Faustum Reiensem.

^j Aug. Sermon. xxvi. qui est coc. novæ edit. (tom. x. p. 476, edit. Basil. 1569.) Ante aliquot dies propter eos, qui aut pedes dolent, aut aliqua corporis inæqualitate laborant, paterna pietate sollicitus consilium dedi, et quodammodo supplicavi, ut quando aut Passiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant, quæ leguntur. Nunc vero aliquæ de filiabus nostris putant, quod hoc aut omnes, aut certe plures, quæ sanæ sunt corpore, frequenter debeant facere. Nam ubi verbum Dei cœperit recitari, quasi in lectulis suis ita jacere volunt. . . . Unde rogo vos, venerabiles filiæ, et sollicitudine paterna commoneo, ut quando aut lectiones leguntur, aut verbum Dei prædicatur, nulla se in terram projiciat: nisi forte quam nimium gravis infirmitas cogit. (Antwerp. v. app. p. 357.)

as well as men, this privilege is utterly denied ; which implies, that standing was then the usual posture of the hearers in the French Churches. And that it was usual also in some of the Greek Churches, may be inferred from that famous story which Eusebius reports of Constantine,^k “ That when he made a discourse before him in his own palace, he stood all the time, with the rest of the hearers ; and when Eusebius requested him to sit down in the throne that was prepared for him, he refused, saying, ‘ It was fit that men should stand to hear discourses of Divine things.’ ” But in the Churches of Italy the contrary custom prevailed ; for St. Austin says,^l “ In the Transmarine Churches (by which he certainly means those of Italy) it was prudently ordered, that not only the bishops sat when they preached to the people, but that the people also had seats to sit upon ; lest any weak person, through weariness, grow remiss in his attention, or be forced to leave the assembly ; ” and he thinks it more advisable that the same indulgence should be granted, where it could prudently be done, in the African Churches. That it was so in Rome, in the time of Justin Martyr, seems pretty plain from his First Apology, where he says,^m “ That as soon as the bishop’s sermon was ended, they all rose up to prayer together.” And the same thing being noted by Origenⁿ and Athanasius,^o makes it probable, that the same custom prevailed in many of the Eastern Churches. Cyril of Jerusalem says expressly,^p “ That the people heard

^k Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xxxiii. Πλήθους δ’ ἀπροσβλήτων περιστενωτός, ἰδὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλείῃς ὁρθῶς ἰστῶς, ἅμα τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπηκροῶτο· ἡμῶν δ’ ἀντιβελούτων ἐπὶ παρακλιμένη τῇ βασιλικῇ θρόνον διαναπαύεσθαι, ἐπιβίητο μὲν οὐδαμῶς . . . ἰστῶτας γὰρ ὑπακούειν τῶν θείων, ὅσιον. (644, 10.)

^l Aug. de Catech. Rudib. c. xiii. cit. sub litt. (^u), p. 587.

^m Justin. Apol. i. p. 98. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἡ ἀγρῶν μόνοντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀποκηρυκόμενα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκονται, μέχρις ἰσχυροῦ ἵστα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προϊστάς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ σφέκησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μνήσεως ποιῖται· ἵστα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. (P. 83.)

ⁿ Origen. Hom. iii. in Iesa. sub fin. Surgentes, oremus Deum, &c. — Hom. xxxvi. in Luc. Quæ omnia cognoscentes, et quam multa sint genera regnorum, surgamus precemurque Deum, ut auferat a nobis regnum inimici, &c.

^o Athanas. Hom. de Semente. Vid. sub litt. anteced. (^c), p. 588.

^p Cyril. Catech. xvi. n. xi. Λόγισαι, πόσοι καθίζουσιν οὖν πόσοι ψυχαὶ πάρεσιν

his discourses sitting. Consider," says he, "how many sit here now, how many souls are present, and yet the Spirit works conveniently in them all. He is in the midst of us, and sees our behaviour, and discerns our hearts and consciences, and what we speak, and what we think." And the author of the Constitutions,¹ who chiefly relates the customs of the Eastern Churches, represents the people as sitting also to hear the sermon. And so Cassian^r and St. Jerom^s say, "It was in all the monasteries of Egypt, where they sat not only at sermon but at the reading of the Psalms, and other lessons out of Scripture." So that this must be reckoned among those indifferent rites and customs, about which there was no general rule of the universal Church; but every one followed the custom of the placé where he lived, and every Church appointed what she judged most proper for the edification of the people.

SECT. XXVI.—*A peculiar Custom of the African Church to quicken the Attention of the Hearers.*

It was a peculiar custom in the African Church, when the preacher chanced to cite some remarkable text of Scripture in the middle of his sermon, for the people to join with him in repeating the close of it. St. Austin takes notice of this in one of his sermons,^t where, having begun those words of St. Paul, "The end of the commandment is —," before he would proceed any further he called to the people to

ἐκείνην προσφώνουσι συνεγὼν καὶ μίσην παρὸν βλίσπει ἐκείνου τὸν τρόπον βλίσπει καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν, καὶ τί λαλοῦμεν, καὶ τί νοοῦμεν. (Paris. 1609, p. 418.)

¹ Constitut. lib. ii. c. lviii. Εἰ ἐν τῷ καθίζησθαι ἑταίρος τις ἐπίλθῃ ἐνσχέμων καὶ ἰνδαξος ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἢ ζήνος, ἢ ἐγκώριος . . . οἱ ἀδελφοὶ διὰ τῶν διακόνων παραδιχίσθωσαν αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ τέπτος οὐκ ἴσται, ὁ διάκονος τὸν μᾶλλον νωώτερον ἐγγίρας, μετὰ λόγου, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐκείνον καθιστάτω. (i. 297, C. 6.)

^r Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. c. xii. Hunc sane canonicum, quem prædiximus, duodenarium psalmodiarum numerum tali corporis quiete relevant, ut has easdem congregationum solemnitates ex more celebrantes, absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. (1733, p. 24.)

^s Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. Completis orationibus, cunctis residentibus, medius quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c.

^t Aug. xxxvi. ex editis a Sirmondo, tom. x. p. 837. Finis præcepti est, jam vos dicite mecum, (a populo acclamatum est) Caritas de corde puro. Omnes dixistis, quod non infructuose semper audistis. (v. p. 974, C. 7.)

repeat the remainder of the verse with him; upon which they all cried out immediately, "Charity out of a pure heart;" "By which," he says, "they shewed that they had not been unprofitable hearers." And this, no doubt, was done to encourage the people to hear, and read, and remember the Scriptures, that they might be able, upon occasion, to repeat such useful portions of them, having then liberty not only to hear, but to read and repeat them in their mother-tongue. Whether this was a custom in any other place I cannot say, having met with it only in St. Austin; for which reason I have spoken of it only as a particular custom of the African Church, designed to quicken the attention of the hearers, and shew that they read and remembered the Holy Scriptures.

SECT. XXVII.—*How the People were used to give public Applauses and Acclamations to the Preacher in the Church.*

It was a much more general custom for the people to testify their esteem for the preacher, and express their admiration of his eloquence, or approbation of his doctrine, by public applauses and acclamations in the Church. This was done sometimes in express words, and sometimes by other signs and indications of their consent and approbation. The Greeks commonly call it *κρότος*, which denotes both kinds of approbation, as well 'by clapping of hands,' as 'by vocal and verbal acclamations.' The first use of it, as Suicerus^a observes out of Casaubon,^x was only in the theatres; from thence it came into the senate; and, in process of time, into the acts of the councils, and the ordinary assemblies of the Church. We are not concerned, at present, to inquire after synodical acclamations, but only such as were used toward the preachers in the church. This was sometimes done in words of commendation, as we find in one of the homilies of Paulus Emisenus,^y spoken in the presence of Cyril, at Alex-

^a Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce *κρότος*, vol. ii. p. 173, seqq.

^x Casaubon. Not. in Vulcatium Gallican. Vit. Avidii Cassii, p. 89. Vid. ap. Suicerum, loc. cit.

^y Paul. Emisen. Hom. de Incarnat. Conc. tom. iii. p. 1096, in Actis Concilii

andria, where, when Paul had used this expression, agreeing with Cyril's doctrine, that had been preached before, "Mary, the mother of God, brought forth Emanuel," the people immediately cried out, "O orthodox Cyril! the gift of God — the faith is the same — this is what we desired to hear. If any man speak otherwise, let him be *anathema*." Sometimes they added other indications of their applause, as clapping of their hands, &c. Thus St. Jerom tells Vigilantius,^a "The time was, when he himself had applauded him with his hands and feet, leaping by his side, and crying out 'Orthodox,' for his sermon upon the resurrection." And so George of Alexandria tells us,^a "The people applauded the sermons of St. Chrysostom, some by tossing their thin garments, others moving their plumes, others laying their hands upon their swords, and others waving their handkerchiefs, and crying out, 'Thou art worthy of the priesthood! thou art the thirteenth apostle! Christ hath sent thee to save our souls!'" &c. In like manner, Gregory represents, in his *Dream*,^b how the people were used to applaud him when he preached, some by their praises, and others, by their silent admiration; some in their words, and some in their minds; and others moving their bodies as the waves of the sea, raised by the wind." St. Jerom refers to this when he tells us,^c how Gregory Nazianzen, his master, once

Ephesin. part. iii. c. xxxi. 'Ἐξήνεον ὁ λαός· ἡ πίστις Ἰδοὺ αὐτὴ ἵστα· Θεοῦ δόξαν, Κύριλλε θεόδοξε· τοῦτο ἀπαῦσαι ἱζητοῦμεν· ὁ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων, ἀνάδικμα ἴστω.

^a Hieron. Ep. lxxv. cont. Vigilant. Recordare, quæso, illius diu, quando, me de resurrectione et veritate corporis prædicante, ex latere subsultabas, et plaudebas manu, et applodebas pede, et 'Orthodoxum' conclamabas.

^a Georg. Alexand. Vit. Chrysost. ap. Ferrar. de Ritu Concionum, lib. ii. c. xx. (c. xxvi. edit. Paris. 1664.) Omnes mirabantur eum ob sapientiam, ipsi a Deo datam, et quomodo ipsis dissolvebat, quæ in Divinis Scripturis interpretatu atque intellectu difficilia sunt: nec non ipsi plaudebant, alii quidem chlamydes suas attollentes; alii fimbrias cutzulon; alii vero manualia; alii denique fasciolas seu oraria; et clamantes, 'Revera dignus es hoc sacerdotio, o apostolorum tertie decime; Christus te ad nos misit, ut salvas faceres animas nostras, et potares de fontibus salutis; quod ipse tibi dedit,' &c.

^b Nazianz. Somn. de Templo Anastasiæ, tom. ii. p. 78.

Καὶ ᾤ οἱ μὴ πᾶλλοντο, καὶ ἦνιον, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ

θάμβιον οἱ δὲ λόγῳ τρέξοντο, οἱ δὲ νόμῳ

θησαυροῦσιν ἄδινος ἀναυδίας· οἱ δὲ μάχυντο,

οἷα καθισταμένῳ κύματος ἰξάνων.

^c Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepotianum. Præceptor quondam meus, Gregorius

answered a difficult question which he put to him concerning the *Sabbatum*, Δευτερόπρωτον, 'the second Sunday after the first,' mentioned Luke, vi. "I will inform you," says he, "of this matter in the church, where, when all the people are applauding me, you shall be forced to confess you understand what you do not; or, if you alone be silent, you shall be condemned of folly by all the rest." The same custom is often hinted by Sidonius Apollinaris,^d and Isidore of Pelusium,^e and, in abundance of places of St. Austin^f and St. Chrysostom, cited at length by Ferrarius;^g which, after

Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Luca (cap. vi.) sabbatum Δευτερόπρωτον, eleganter luit; docebo te, inquit, super hac re in ecclesia: in qua mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus scire quod nescis; aut certe, si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis. (i. 263.)

^d Sidon. lib. ix. ep. iii. Licet enim prædicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, quum ratio poposcisset, elucubratas, rancus plausor audierim, &c. (563.)

^e Isidor. lib. iii. ep. cccxliii. Οὐ μικρὸν συντός ἀκροατής, ἡ μὴ μόνον θαύματι διακρίσσει τοῦ λόγου τὸν δρόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυρῶς τὰ δυσδιάνεστα, καὶ τι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰσφέρειν δυνάμενος.—Ep. ccclxxxii. Εἰ καὶ, ὡς γέγραπται, ὁ λόγος τὸν πρῶτον ἐγέννησεν· ἀλλ' ὄντως καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τὸν λόγον ἐπέβησεν, ἔκτισμα τῇ τεκνόντι φωνῇ.

^f Aug. Serm. v. de Verbis Domini (v. 249.) Audistis, laudastis: Deo gratias. Semen accepistis, verba reddidistis. Laudes istæ vestræ gravant nos potius, et in periculum mittunt: toleramus illas, et tremimus inter illas: tamen, fratres mei, istæ laudes vestræ folia sunt arborum: fructus quæritur. — In Serm. xix. de Verb. Apostol. (v. 592.) Ecce Christianus es, ecclesiam frequentas, verbum Dei audis, de lectione verbi Dei lætissime commoveris. Tu laudas tractantem, ego quæro facientem. — In Serm. xxviii. (p. 602, C.) Quasi vero parvus sit fructus sudoris hujus mei, si omnes qui mihi acclamaverunt, clament et contra se, ne falsum jurent adversum se. — In Hom. xxv. ex l. Vid. sub litt. (q) seq. — In Serm. xlv. de Tempore. Unde omnes acclamastis, nisi quia omnes agnovistis? — Tractat. lvii. in Joan. (iii. 479, F. 9.) Hæc vobis hodie satis sint, dilectissimi: si quid secus, quam oportet, dicentes fortassis offendimus, vel laudibus vestris immoderatus, quam oportuit, elevati sumus, impetrate mundationem pedibus nostris. — In Expositione Psalmi cxlvii. Quid de vobis clamavit? dilectio pacis. Quid ostendit oculis vestris? Unde clamatis, si non amatis? . . . neque enim acclamaretur, nisi amaretur. — In lib. de Catechiz. Rud. c. xiii. (vi. 201.) Sæpe etiam fit, ut qui primo libenter audiebat, vel audiendo vel stando fatigatus, non jam laudans, sed oscitans labia diducat, et se abire velle etiam invitus ostendat. — In Serm. xxvii. de Divers. (v. 596.) Quando enim sic laudaretis, si non amaretis? quando amaretis, si nihil videretis? Me itaque non ostendente formam corporis, lineamenta, colorem, pulchros motus, me non ostendente, vos tamen videtis, amatis, laudatis. — In lib. iv. de Doctrin. Christ. c. xxvi. Quando nonnulla, non jactantcula, sed quasi necessaria, atque, ut ita dicam, ipsi rebus extorta numerositas clausularum; tantas acclamationes excitat, ut vix intelligatur esse submissa. (P. 67, E.)

^g Chrysost. Hom. i. in Genes. p. 2, C. (tom. ii. p. 1, edit. Francof.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς καὶ εἰκὴ ἰσταῦθα συνῆμιν, ἵνα ὁ μὲν εἴπῃ, ὁ δὲ προσθήῃ ἀπλῶς τὰ λεγόμενα.

what has been said, I think it needless to recite in this place. The curious reader may either consult Ferrarius, or the passages referred to in their authors. To which he may add many other passages of Chrysostom,^b and Socrates,ⁱ and Prosper,^k not mentioned by that diligent writer, though he spends four whole chapters upon this subject.

SECT. XXVIII. — *But more Christian-like express their Ap-
probation by Tears, and Groans, and Compunction, and
Obedience.*

I think it more material to observe out of the chief of those passages, that though the ancients did not utterly refuse or disallow those sorts of applauses, but received them with

— Hom. iv. *ibid.* 29, A. (p. 25, edit. cit.) 'Η τῶν κρότων συνέχισμα μείγιστον ἀποδείξει ἰγίνιστο, τοῦ μὴ ἡδονῆς ὑμᾶς διχισθαι τὰ λεγόμενα.—Hom. liv. 723, C. (p. 588, edit. cit.) Μὴ γὰρ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐκῇ λίγην βουλόμεθα, ὥστε τὸν σαε' ὑμῶν ἵπαινοι καρπύσασθαι, καὶ ἵνα κροτήσαντες ὑμῖς ἀναχωρήσῃτε; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο [μὴ γίνιστο] ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὀφίλιον τὴν ὑμετέραν.—Hom. ii. ad Popul. Antioch. (p. 28, edit. cit.) Τί μοι τῶν κρότων ὄφιλος τούτων; τί δὲ τῶν ἱπαίνων καὶ τῶν θορύβων; ἵπαινοι ἰμὸς τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ὑμᾶς ἐπιδείξει τὰ λεγόμενα ἅπαντα.—Hom. v. ad eumd. Popul. Antioch. (p. 80.) Νῦν μὲν ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥησὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἱπαινίστι· ἰὰν δὲ κατορθώσῃτε, διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἱπαινίσσιν.—Hom. ii. de Lazaro, 49, D. (tom. v. p. 45, edit. cit.) Σιγᾷσι, ταῦτα ἀκούοντες· πολλὴν ὑμῖν ἔχω χάριν τῆς εὐχῆς ταύτης μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κρότων· οἱ ἵπαινοι λαμπρότερον ἰμὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἢ εὐχὴ δὲ αὕτη σωφρονιστικούς ὑμᾶς ἐργάζεσθαι.—Hom. iii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, (p. 324, edit. cit.) 'Επληρίσασθαι τὰ εἰρημίνα· μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου καὶ κρότου τὴν παραίνεσιν εἰδέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείξῃτε τοὺς ἱπαινούς.—Hom. v. *ibid.* p. 348. Ταῦτα λίγω, οὐχ ἵνα ἱπαινήτε μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.—Hom. xxx. in Act. Apostol. cit. sub seq. litt. (u).

^b Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Esa. tom. iii. p. 910, 840, A. (p. 728, edit. cit.) Οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως, ἀλλὰ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀπαξίας, τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονικίας, τὰς ἐκῇ καὶ μάστιν ἱπαιρομένας χεῖρας ἐν τῇ αἰεὶ, τοὺς ἱππαζομένους πῶδας, κ. τ. λ.—Hom. vi. in Genes. p. 918, (p. 44, cit. edit.) Μὴ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο λίγω σπουδάζομαι, ὥστε ἀπλῶς τίεσθαι ὑμῶν τὴν ἀκρότην, ἢ ὡς τοῦ σαε' ὑμῶν ἱπαινὸν ἱφιμένοι.—Hom. xxvii. *ibid.* p. 358, C. (p. 300, cit. edit.) Χαίρω καὶ εὐφραίνομαι ὑμᾶς ἰδὼν μὴ ἡδονῆς ἀκούοντας τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ κρότου διμυκνύσας, ὅτι ἵπαινοι γινίσκωνται σπουδάζοντες, καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγὺν τὴν διανοητικὴν σάουτην παραίνεσιν.—Conf. Hom. xvi. in illud, Si esurit inimicus, tom. v. p. 920, cit. infra, sub litt. (t), et hom. lvi. Quod non sit desperandum, tom. v. p. 742, cit. sub litt. (e).

ⁱ Socrat. lib. vii. c. xiii. 'Ην δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τις ἀνὴρ, ὀνόματι 'Ιεραξ, ὃς γραμμάτων μὲν τῶν περὶν διδάσκαλος ἦν· διάπυρος δὲ ἀκρατὴς τοῦ ἱπισκόπου Κυρίλλου καθίστας, καὶ περὶ τὸ κρότους ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ ἱγίρειν ἢ σπουδαίεσθαι. (358, 10.)

^k Prosper. de Vita Contemplativa, lib. i. c. xxiii. Vid. sub litt. (a).

humility and thankfulness to God, as good indications of a towardly disposition in their hearers; yet, forasmuch as they were often but fallacious signs, they neither much commended those that gave them, nor those preachers that barely by their eloquence obtained them; much less those that out of a worldly spirit, and a popular and vain ambition, laboured at nothing else but to court and affect them: but what they chiefly desired to effect by their grand eloquence was, to warm their hearts, and melt them into tears; to work them into groans, and sorrow, and compunction for sin; to bring them to resolutions of obedience and compliance with the holy rules they preached to them, to work in them a contempt of earthly things; and raise their souls, by all the arts of moving the affections, to a longing desire and aspiration after the things of another world. This was their grand aim in all their elaborate, and all their free and fluent discourses; and this they valued far above all the popular applauses that could be given them. This they reckoned their 'grand eloquence;' and rejoiced in nothing more, than when they could triumph in the conviction and conversion of their hearers. To this purpose St. Jerom, in his directions to Nepotian, lays it down as a rule,¹ "That in preaching he should labour to excite the groans of the people rather than their applauses; and let the tears of the hearers be the commendation of the preacher." And so he observes^m it was, in fact, among the fathers of Egypt: when they discoursed of the kingdom of Christ and the glories of the world to come, then one might behold every one, with a gentle sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, say within himself, "Oh, that I had wings like a dove; for then I would flee away, and be at rest!" In like manner, Prosperⁿ bids

¹ Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepotian. Docente te in ecclesia, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur: lacrimæ auditorum, laudes tuæ sint. (i. 263, B.)

^m Ibid. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. Completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare: quo loquente, tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat excreare. Dicentis laus in fletu est audientium. Tacite voluntur per ora lacrimæ, et ne in singultus quidem erumpit dolor. Quum vero de regno Christi, et de futura beatitudine, et de gloria cœperit adnuntiare ventura, videas cunctos moderato suspirio, et oculis ad cœlum levatis, intra se dicere, 'Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbæ, et volabo, et requiescam?' (i. 119, D.)

ⁿ Prosper. de Vita Contemplativa, lib. i. c. xxiii. Non in verborum splendore,

the preacher not place his confidence in the splendour of his words, but in the power of their operation; nor be delighted with the acclamations of the people, but their tears; nor study to obtain their applauses, but their groans. St. Austin did not refuse these acclamations of the people; yet he always takes care to remind them rather to repay him with the fruit of their lives and actions. "You praise the preacher of the word," says he,^o "but I desire the doer of it." "Those praises are but the leaves of the tree: I desire the fruit of it."^p "I would not be praised by ill livers,^q I abhor it, I detest it; it is a grief to me, and not a pleasure. But if I say, I would not be praised by good livers, I should tell a lie; if I should say, I desire it, I am afraid of seeming desirous more of vanity than solidity: therefore, what shall I say? I neither perfectly desire it, nor perfectly refuse it. I do not desire it absolutely, for fear I should be ensnared by human praise: I do not utterly refuse it, for fear I should be ungrateful to those to whom I preach." In his Book of Christian Doctrine, where he speaks of that sort of ecclesiastical rhetoric, which is called 'grand eloquence,' he says,^r "A man should not think he

sed in operum virtute, totam prædicandi fiduciam ponat; non vocibus delectetur populi acclamantis sibi, sed fletibus; nec plausum a populo studeat expectare, sed gemitum. (vol. ii. p. 18.)

^o Aug. Serm. xix. de Verbis Apostoli. Tu laudas tractantem: ego quæro facientem.

^p Ibid. Serm. v. de Verbis Domini. Laudes istæ folia sunt arborum: fructus quæritur.

^q Ibid. Hom. xxv. ex l. Ille novit, sub cujus oculis loquor, immo sub cujus oculia cogito, non me tantum delectari laudibus popularibus, quam stimulari et angī, quomodo vivant qui me laudant. Laudari autem a male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, detestor: dolori mihi est, non voluptati. Laudari autem a bene viventibus si dicam nolo, mentior: si dicam volo, timeo ne sim inanitatis appetentior quam soliditatis. Ergo quid dicam? Nec plene volo, nec plene nolo. Non plene volo, ne in laude humana periclitetur: non plene nolo, ne ingrati sint quibus prædico. (v. 912, E.)

^r Ibid. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xxiv. Non sane, si dicenti crebrius et vehementius acclametur, ideo granditer putandus est dicere:—grande autem genus plerumque pondere suo voces premit, sed lacrimas exprimit. . . . Quum apud Cæsaream Mauritaniz, populo dissuaderem pugnam civilem, vel potius plusquam civilem, quam 'catervam' vocabant: neque enim cives tantummodo, verum etiam propinqui, fratres, postremo parentes ac filii, lapidibus inter se in duas partes divisi, per aliquot dies continuos, et certo tempore anni solemniter dimicabant, et quisque ut quemque poterat, occidebat: egi quidem granditer, quantum valui, ut

had attained to it because he frequently received the loud acclamations of the people: for those were often gained by the acumens and ornaments of the 'submiss and moderate style;' and the 'grand eloquence' did often suppress those acclamations by its weight, and extort tears in their room." He gives there a remarkable instance of his own preaching once an occasional sermon with such effect to the people of Cæsarea, in Mauritania. It seems, in that place, a very barbarous and unnatural custom had for a long time prevailed, that at a certain season of the year, for some whole days together, the whole city, dividing themselves into two parties, were used to maintain a bloody fight by throwing stones at one another; and this without any regard to kindred or relation: for sometimes a man slew his brother, or a father his son, or a son his father. "Now," says St. Austin, "I set myself with all the force of 'grand eloquence' to root out and expel this cruel and inveterate evil out of their hearts and practice: yet I did not take myself to have made any impression to purpose upon them, whilst I heard their acclamations, but when I saw their tears: for they shewed, indeed, by their acclamations, that they were instructed and pleased, but by their tears that they were sensibly affected, and really converted: which when I perceived, I then began to think I had got the victory over that barbarous custom which had so long, by tradition from their ancestors, possessed their souls, before I saw any more visible proof in their actions. Whereupon, as soon as sermon was ended, I turned both their mouths and hearts to give God thanks for it: and so, by the help of Christ, there are now almost eight years passed, since any thing of this kind was ever attempted among them." He adds, "That he had made many other experiments of the like nature, by which he had learned that men ordinarily

tam crudele atque inveteratum malum de cordibus et moribus eorum avellerem pelleremque dicendo: non tamen egisse aliquid me putavi, quum eos audirem acclamantes, sed quum flentes viderem. Acclamationibus quippe se doceri et delectari, flecti autem lacrimis indicabant. Quas ubi adspexi, immanem illam consuetudinem a patribus et avis, longeque a majoribus traditam, quæ pectora eorum hostiliter obsidebat, vel potius possidebat, devictam, antequam reipsa id ostenderent, credidi. Moxque sermone finito ad agendas Deo gratias corda atque ora converti. Et ecce jam ferme octo vel amplius anni sunt, propitio Christo, ex quo illic nihil tale tentatum est. (P. 66.)

In another place, he says,^t “What do your praises advantage me, when I see not your progress in virtue? or what harm shall I receive from the silence of my auditors, when I behold the increase of their piety? The praise of the speaker is not the κρότος, ‘the acclamations of his hearers,’ but their zeal for piety and religion; not their making a great stir in time of hearing, but shewing diligence at all other times. Applause, as soon as it is out of the mouth, is dispersed into the air, and vanishes: but when the hearers grow better, this brings an incorruptible and immortal reward both to the speaker and the hearers. The praise of your acclamations may render the orator more illustrious here; but the piety of your souls will give him great confidence before the tribunal of Christ. Therefore, if any one love the preacher (or if any preacher love his people) let him not be enamoured with applause, but with the benefit, of the hearers.” It were easy to transcribe many other such passages from Chrysostom, where he shews a great contempt of such popular applauses in comparison of their obedience. I will only relate one passage more, where he gives a severe rebuke to all preachers who made this the only aim of their discourses. “Many,” says he,^u “appear in

^t Chrysostom. Hom. xvi. Si esur. inim. p. 220, C. 5, (p. 200, edit. Francof.)

Τί γάρ μοι τῶν ἱπταίων ὄφιλος, ὅταν ὑμᾶς μὴ θιάσσωμαι προκόπτοντας κατ' ἀρετήν; τί δέ μοι βλάβος ἐκ τῆς σιγῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων, ὅταν αὐξομένην ὑμῶν ἴδω τὴν εὐλάβειαν; ἱπταῖος γὰρ τοῦ λίγοντος οὐχ ὁ κρότος, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ τὴν εὐσίβειαν ζῆλος τῶν ἀκουόντων· οὐχ ὁ θόρυβος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ σπουδὴ ἢ διαπαντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁ κρότος ἐξηλθεν ὁμοῦ τι τοῦ στόματος, καὶ εἰς αἶρα διαχυθεὶς ἀπώλιτο· τὸ δὲ βελτίονας γινίσθαι τοὺς ἀκουόντας, ἀγῆρω καὶ ἀθάνατον φέροι· τὸν μισθόν, καὶ τῷ λίγοντι, καὶ τοῖς πιθεμένοις· ὁ τῆς βοῆς ὑμῶν ἱπταῖος ἰνταῦθα τὸν λίγοντα παύει λαμπρόν, ἢ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν εὐλάβεια πολλὴν ἐπὶ ταῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ δίδωσι παρρησίαν τῷ διδάξαντι· ὥστε εἴ τις τῶν λιγόντων ἰεῖα, μὴ τῶν κρότων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀφιλίας τῶν ἀκουόντων ἰεῖται.

^u Ibid. Hom. xxx. in Acta, (p. 276, edit. cit.) Πολλὰ πολλοὶ πρέττουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰς μίσην στάντες μακρὸν ἀποτείνειν λόγον· καὶ μὴν κρότων τυχῶσι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, γίνονται αὐτοῖς τοῦτο βασιλείας ἔσθ'· ἂν δὲ μετὰ σιγῆς τὸν λόγον καταπαύσασιν, γίνονται δὴ πού μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χαλεπωτέρα κατίσθη τῆς σιγῆς ἢ αἰδοῦν. τοῦτο τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀνίτρεψεν, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ ζητεῖτε λόγον ἀκοῦσαι κατασκευτικόν, ἀλλὰ τίρεσθαι δυνάμενον· καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ, καὶ τῇ συνθείᾳ τῶν ῥημάτων, καθάπερ μιλιῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν ἀκούοντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς ψυχρῶς καὶ τολαιπῶρως ποιοῦντες, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπιθυμίαις ἐκόμεθα, διὸν ἐκκόπτειν ταύτας.— A little after: Τοῦτο πάσχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, κάλλη λίξιον περιεργαζόμενοι, καὶ συνθήκας καὶ ἀρμονίας, ὅπως ἥσωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως ἀφιλήσωμεν· ὅπως θαυμασθῶμεν, οὐχ ὅπως διδάξωμεν· ὅπως τίρεσθωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως κατανύξωμεν· ὅπως κροτηθῶμεν, καὶ ἱπταῖου

public, and labour hard, and make long sermons to gain the applause of the people, in which they rejoice as much as if they had gained a kingdom: but if their sermon ends in silence, they are more tormented about that silence than about the pains of hell. This is the ruin of the Church, that ye seek to hear such sermons as are apt not to move compunction, but pleasure; hearing them as you would hear a musician or a singer, with a tinkling sound, and composition of words. And we act miserably and coldly, whilst we indulge our own affections, which we ought to discard. We curiously seek after flowers of rhetoric, and composition, and harmony, that we may sing to men, and not profit them; that we may be had in admiration by them, and not teach them; that we may raise delight, and not godly sorrow: that we may go off with applause and praise, and noways edify them in their morals. Believe me, for I would not otherwise say it, when I raise applause in preaching, I am then subject to human infirmity (for why should not a man confess the truth?), I am then ravished and highly pleased: but when I go home, and consider that my applauders are gone away without fruit, though they might have done otherwise, I weep, and wail, and lament that they perish in their acclamations and praises, and that I have preached all in vain; and I reason thus with myself: What profit is there in all my labours, if my hearers reap no fruit from my words? I have often thought of making it a law to forbid such acclamations, and to persuade you to hear in silence." By this it appears, that St. Chrysostom could rather have wished to have had this custom wholly banished out of the Church, because it was so frequently abused by vain and ambitious spirits, who regarded nothing else but to gain the applause

τυχόντες ἀπείλωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ ἥθη βυθίσωμεν· πιστεύσατί μοι, οὐκ ἄλλως λίγων·
 ἐπιιδὼν λίγων προσῶμαι, παρ' αὐτὸν μὲν καιρὸν ἀνθρώπινόν τι πάσχω· (τί γὰρ οὐκ
 ἂν τις εἴποι τὸ ἀληθές;) καὶ γάννυμαι, καὶ διαχίρομαι· ἐπιιδὼν δὲ ἀπελθὼν οἴκαδε
 ἐνοήσω τοὺς προσηνέτας οὐδὲν ὠφεληθέντας, ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ ὠφεληθῆναι ἴδῃ, ὑπὸ
 τοῦ κρότου καὶ τῶν ἱπαινῶν ἀπολωλικότας, ὀδυνῶμαι, καὶ στίνω, καὶ θαρσύνω, καὶ
 ὡς ἐκπῆ πάντα ἐρηκώς, οὕτω διάκειμαι, καὶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν λίγω, τί μοι τὸ ὀφίλος
 τῶν ἰδρώτων, τῶν ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἰθιλόντων καρποῦσθαι τι παρὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν παρ'
 ἡμῶν; καὶ πολλὰ πῃς ἐννόησα θῆναι νόμον τὸν κωλύοντα τοὺς κρότους, καὶ πείθοντα
 μὲν εἰργῆς ὑμᾶς ἀκροῦσθαι, καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐνταξίας. (P. 662, B. 5.)

of their hearers; to which purpose they sometimes suborned men to applaud them in the church, as is complained of Paulus Samosatensis by the Council of Antioch :^x and sometimes affected to preach in such a manner upon abstruse subjects, as neither the people nor themselves understood, only to be admired by the ignorant multitude; who, as St. Jerom^y complains in this very case, are commonly most prone to admire what they do not understand: for which reason, it was the care of all pious preachers to shew a tender regard to the understandings of men; and, whether it gained applause or not, to speak usefully, as far as might be, to the capacities and apprehensions of their hearers; and by all the powers of Divine eloquence, and proper arts of edification and persuasion, incline them to obedience and a heavenly temper; without which they imagined the success and event of their preaching, however eloquent and pleasing to the ear, was no better received than that of the prophet, complained of Ezek. xxxiii. 32; “Thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a very pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument; for they hear thy words, but they will not do them.”

SECT. XXIX.—*Sermons anciently penned by the Hearers.*

There is one thing more must be taken notice of with relation to the hearers, because it expressed a great deal of zeal and diligence in their attention; which is, that many of them learned the art of notaries (the Greeks call them *δευγράφοι* and *ταχυγράφοι*, ‘ready writers’), that they might be able to take down in writing the sermons of famous preachers, word for word, as they delivered them. By this means

^x Apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. Τοῖς μὴ ἰσχυνοῦσι, μηδὲ ᾄσπερ ἐν τοῖς διατέροις κατασείσουσι ταῖς ἰδέαις, μηδ’ ἐκβοῶσι τι καὶ ἀναπηδῶσι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν στασιώταις ἀνδράσι τι καὶ γυναῖκας, ἀπόσμως οὕτως ἀπροσμένους τοῖς δ’ οὐν ὡς ἐν οἴκῳ Θεοῦ σιμνοπρεπῶς καὶ ὑπάκτως ἀκούουσιν, ἱστιμῶν καὶ ἰνυερίζων. . . οἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ψάλλοντες καὶ ἑγκωμιάζοντες ἐν τῇ λαῷ, ἄγγελον τὸν ἀσιεῖν διδάσκαλον ἑαυτῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθῆναι λίγους καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πολὺν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιγούμινους πάριστιν ὁ ὑπερέφανος. (361, 22.)

^y Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepotian. Verba volvere, et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est. Attrita frons interpretatur sæpe quod nescit: et quum aliis persuaserit, sibi quoque usurpat scientiam. (i. 263, B.)

some of their extempore discourses were handed down to posterity, which otherwise must have died with the speaking: as has been observed before out of Eusebius^a concerning some of Origen's, which he preached in his latter years. St. Austin makes the same observation concerning his own sermon upon the Psalms,^b "That it pleased the brethren not only to receive them with their ears and heart, but with their pens likewise; so that he was to have regard not only to his auditors, but his readers also." Socrates says the same of Chrysostom's sermons,^c "That some of them were published by himself, and others by notaries, who took them from his mouth as he spake them." But they did not thus honour all preachers, but only those that were most celebrated and renowned. For Sozomen observes of the sermons of Atticus,^d "That they were so mean after he gave himself to preach extempore when he was bishop of Constantinople, that the notaries did not think fit to write them." These notaries were some of them allowed by the preacher himself, and were therefore a sort of public notaries appointed for this purpose; but others did it privately according to their inclination and discretion. This difference is hinted by Eusebius, when he says, "Origen allowed no notaries to take his sermons till he was sixty years old;" and by Gregory Nazianzen in his farewell sermon, where he thus takes his leave of his Church; * "Farewell, ye lovers of my sermons, and ye pens, both public and private;" in which he plainly alludes to the two sorts of notaries that wrote his sermons in the church. The public notaries were generally allowed by the author's consent to publish what they wrote; in which case it was

^a Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxxvi. et Pamphil. Apol. pro Origen. cit. sect. xi. sub litt. (r) (*).

^b Aug. in Psalm. li. p. 201, (p. 496, edit. Basil. 1569.) Placuit fratribus, non tantum aure et corde, sed et stilo excipienda, quæ dicimus: ut non auditorem tantum sed et lectorem cogitare debeamus.

^c Socrat. lib. vi. c. iv. 'Οσίοις δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τι ἐκδοθέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι, καὶ οἱ λίγοντες αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκτελεσάντων ἐκληθέντες, ὥπως τι λαμπροί, καὶ τὸ ἐκπαγωγὸν ἔχοντες, τί δὲ νῦν λέγουν; (313, 36.)

^d Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxvii. Μίτριος πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ' ἐκκλησίας λόγους, ὡς μήτι γραφῆς ἀξίους νομίζεσθαι τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, μήτι παιδείας παντιπλῶς ἀμείρους.

^e Nazianz. Orat. xxxii. p. 528, A. Χαίρειτε τῶν ἱμῶν λόγων ἡρασταί, καὶ δρόμοι καὶ συνδρομαί, καὶ γραφίδες φανερὰ καὶ λανθάνουσαι.

usual for the preacher to review his own dictates, and correct such mistakes, and supply such deficiencies as might be occasioned by the haste of the scribe, or some things not so accurately spoken by themselves in sudden and extempore discourses. This is evident from what Gregory the Great says in his Preface to his Homilies upon Ezekiel,^f "That those homilies were first taken from his mouth as he spake them to his people; and after eight years he collected them from the papers of the notaries, and reviewed, and corrected, and amended them." So again, in his Preface upon Job, he says, "Some of his homilies were composed by himself, and others taken by the notaries; and those which were taken by the notaries, when he had time, he reviewed, adding some things,^g and rejecting others, and leaving many things as he found them; and with such emendations he composed them into books and published them." But many times the notaries published what they had written, without the author's knowledge or consent; in which case, we sometimes find they remonstrated against this as a clandestine practice.^h Thus Gaudentius says, "He did not own those homilies which were first taken by the notaries latently and by stealth, and then published by others imperfectly, and only by halves, with great chasms and interruptions in them: he would not acknowledge them for his discourses which the notaries had

^f Gregor. Præfat. in Ezech. Homilias, quæ in Beatum Ezechielem prophetam, ita ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ sunt, multis curis irruentibus in abolitione reliqueram. Sed post annos octo, petentibus fratribus, notariorum schedas requirere studui, easque favente Domino transcurrens, in quantum ab angustiis tribulationum licuit, emendavi. (i. 1173.)

^g Ibid. Præfat. in Job. Quamvis eorum, quibus exponere compellebar, longe me vita transcenderet; injuriosum tamen esse non credidi, si fluente usibus hominum plumbi fistula ministraret. Unde mox eisdem coram positis fratribus, priora libri sub oculis dixi: et quia tempus paullo vacantius reperi, posteriora tractando dictavi. Quumque mihi spatia largiora suppeterent, multa augens, pauca subtrahens, atque ita ut inventa sunt nonnulla derelinquens, ea, quæ me loquente excepta sub oculis fuerant, per libros emendando composui: quia et quum postrema dictarem, quo stylo prima dixeram, sollicitè attendi. (i. 3, E.)

^h Gaudent. Præfat. ad Benevolum, Bibl. Patr. tom. ii. p. 3. De illis tractatibus quos notariis, ut comperi, latenter adpositis, procul dubio interruptos et semiplenos otiosa quorundam studia colligere præsumserunt, nihil ad me attinet. Mea jam non sunt, quæ constat præcipiti excipientium festinatione esse conscripta.

written in extreme haste, and published, without giving him any opportunity to supervise and correct them." And, probably, there may be reason for the same complaint in other writers. However, it shews a great diligence and attention in the hearers of those days, and a great respect and honour paid to their teachers, that they would be at so much pains to treasure up and preserve their pious instructions.

SECT. XXX.—*Two Reflections made by the Ancients upon some of their corrupt Auditors. 1. The negligent and profane Hearers.*

These things may be justly spoken to their honour ; and it is no reflection on them, or diminution of their good character, that there were some others in those times (as there will be in all times) who deserved a contrary character, either for their deficiency and want of zeal in this matter, or for their indiscreet and intemperate zeal, in placing all religion in a sermon, and speaking contemptuously of prayer, or other parts of Divine service without it. The two errors in the contrary extremes, the one in excess, the other in defect, the ancients had sometimes occasion to rebuke ; and they did it with becoming sharpness. Though St. Chrysostom was so much admired, that the people generally said, when he was sent into banishment,ⁱ " That it was better the sun should withdraw its rays, than his mouth be shut up in silence ;" yet he was often forced, with grief, to complain of some for their abstaining from religious assemblies,^k where

ⁱ Chrysostom. Epist. cxv. ad Cyriacum, (tom. iv. opp. p. 764, edit. Francof.) Καὶ ἱκλαῖον θιωροῦντες ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἑξορίᾳ ἀπερχομένους· καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, συνίθμεν, ἵνα ὁ ἥλιος συνίσταται εἰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἵνα τὸ στόμα Ἰωάννου ῥιπῶσιν. (871, B.)

^k Ibid. Hom. xlv. in Lucian. Martyr. tom. i. p. 597, (p. 528, edit. cit.) "Ὅπρι χρεῖς ἰδιδούκιν ἐξέβη, καὶ τίλος ἱλαβὲ ἵν, καὶ τῆς ἱερῆς ἀπειθείσης, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῖν συναπαίδήμεσι, καὶ ἰλάττων ἡμῖν ὁ σύλλογος γίγνησι· καὶ ἦδυν μὲν τοῦτο συμβεβηκόμην πάντας· οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο τῆς παραινίστως ἀπίστην· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἐπίσθην οἱ χρεῖς ἀπούσαντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντες ἠπίσθην.—Id. Hom. xlviii. in Inscript. Altaris, tom. v. p. 644, C. (hom. li. p. 576, edit. cit.) Τί τοῦτο; ὅσον προΐασιν ἡμῖν αἱ ἱερταὶ, τοσοῦτον καὶ αἱ συνάξεις ἰλάττους γίνονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ βραδυμῶμιν ἡμῶς οἱ παρόντες· ἰλάττους μὲν γίνονται τῷ πλήθει, οὐκ ἰλάττους διὰ τῇ προθυμίᾳ· ἰλάττους τῷ ἀριθμῷ, οὐκ ἰλάττους διὰ τῇ πίστει· ἰλάττους γίνονται, ἵνα οἱ δόκμοι φανεροὶ γίνονται ἐν ὑμῖν· καὶ μάθωμιν, τίς μὲν συνήθει, τίς δὲ

they were scarce seen once a-year ; of others, that they spent their time there in nothing but idle discourse, or laughing and jesting, or transacting worldly business ;¹ laying themselves open to the assaults of the wicked spirit, who found their house fit for his reception, empty, swept, and garnished ; of others, that they turned the church into a theatre,^m and sought for nothing there but to please their ears without any other advantage ; and, finally, of others who extolled his discourses by great applause in words, but disgraced them by the disobedience of their lives and actions ; of whom we have heard so much before. In one place, he more particularly reproaches them that absented from church with the example of the Jews, who could abstain from work for ten, twenty, or thirty days together without contradiction,ⁿ at the command of their priests ; and neither open their doors, nor light

ἐκθυμία θείων λόγων παραγίνονται δι' ἱναυσίου ἱερῆς, τίνες ἐκθυμία ἀκροάσεις πνευματικῆς, κ. τ. λ.

¹ Chrysostom. Hom. iv. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 374, D. 6, (p. 332, edit. Francof.) Οὐ δίδοικας, μὴ ποτί σου διαλεγόμενου, βῆθμοῦντος, διηγωρῶντος, δαίμων τις ἐκὺθεν ἐκπηδήσας σχολάζουσας καὶ σισαρωμένην εὐρὺν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐπισείλοιο μὲτὰ ἀδείας, πολλῆς ἀθύρωτο τὴν οἰκίαν εὐρών.

^m Ibid. Hom. ii. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. i. p. 31, B. (p. 28, edit. cit.) Οὐκ ἴσται θιάτρων ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἵνα πρὸς τίρεψιν ἀκούωμιν ὠφελήντας ἐντιῶθιν ἀπῖναι χρεῖ, καρδάνωντάς τι πλῖον καὶ μέγα, οὕτως ἀναχωρεῖν διῦ. . . τί μοι τῶν πρῶτων ἀφελος, κ. τ. λ.—Vid. sect. xxvii. sub litt. (ε), p. 595.

ⁿ Ibid. Hom. xviii. de Inscription. Altaris, tom. v. p. 648, B. (hom. li. p. 580, edit. cit.) Οὐχ ἔρᾳτι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, τοὺς θιομάχους, τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, τοὺς σκληροτραχήλους ; τούτων οἱ μὴ παραγινόμενοι πάντων χεῖρους εἰσίν. ἐκίνοιο ἰὰν ἴψωσι οἱ ἱερεῖς ἱπτά ἡμέρας ἀργῆσαι, καὶ δίκαι, καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ τριάκοντα, οὐκ ἀντιλίσουσι. καὶ τοι τί τῆς ἀργίας ἐκίνοιο χαλιπώτερον ; τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείουσι, καὶ οὕτω πῦρ καίουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ φέρουσι, οὐκ ἄλλα τι πρὸς τὴν χεῖραν τὴν τοιαύτην μεταχειρίζειν ἐφίεντας ἄλλ' ἴσται ἄλλοις αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀργία, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀντιλίσουσι ἰγὰρ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον λίγω, ὅτι ἱπτά ἡμέρας ἀργήσου, οὐδὲ δίκαι ἡμέρας ἄλλα δύο μοι δάνωσι ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτὸς ἔχει καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ μοι τὸ μέτρον εἰσφέρει ; μάλλον δὲ μὴ ἱμοὶ δανίσῃς τὰς δύο ὥρας, ἀλλ' ἱαυτῷ ἵνα παρῆκλῃσιν τινα εὐχῆς δέξῃ Πατρίων, ἵνα εὐλογίῳν παπληρωμένους ἀναχωρήσῃς, ἵνα παυταχόθιν ἀσφαλῆς ἀπὶλθῃς, ἵνα τὰ ὅπλα λαβὼν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἀκαταγώνιστος γίνῃ καὶ ἀχείρωτος τῷ διαβόλῳ. τί ἡδύτερον, εἰπέ μοι, τῆς ἰσταῦθα διαγωγῆς ; εἰ γὰρ διημεριεύει ἰσταῦθα ἰχρῆν, τί σμενότερον ; τί ἀσφαλίστερον, ὅπου ἀδελφοὶ τσοῦται, ὅπου τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅπου Ἰησοῦς μέσος, καὶ ὁ τούτου Πατὴρ ; ποῖαν ἰτίραν ζητῆς συναγωγῇν τοιαύτην ; ποῖον ἴτερον βουλεύτηριον ; ποῖαν σὺνδοκον ; τσοῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἐν τῇ τραπίῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει, ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς συναύσεις καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἰτίρας βλίπεις διατριβὰς, καὶ ποῖαν ἔχεις συγγνώμην ;

a fire, nor carry in water for any necessary use, which yet they submitted to, though it was an intolerable corporal slavery:—whereas Christians were only required to set apart one day in seven, and only two hours of the day, for religious assemblies, to obtain the greatest spiritual advantages to the soul; and yet they neglected such opportunities, and choose any meetings than the church. St. Ambrose, in like manner, upbraids those who spent their time in talking in the church, from the example of the heathen,^o who revered their idols by their silence, whilst Christians even drowned the voice of the Divine oracles, and the declaration of them, by their confused noise and confabulations in the church. This, Cæsarius^p tells them, “was in effect to offer men poison or a sword. For such an one neither heard the word of God himself, nor suffered others to hear it: and such must expect not only to give account of their own, but other men’s destruction, at the day of judgment.” Origen^q and some others tell these men, their own practice, in another case, would rise up in judgment against them; for they themselves shewed a great reverence to the body of Christ in the eucharist; and

^o Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. c. iii. An quidquam est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepere, ne audiantur, ne credantur: circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus? &c. Gentiles idolis suis reverentiam tacendo deferunt.

^p Cæsar. Arelat. Hom. xxxiv. (Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. viii. p. 853, h. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Qui in ecclesia ineptis et incongruis fabulis occupatur, quasi venenum et gladium reliquis hominibus ingerere vel præbere cognoscitur, dum verbum Dei nec ipse audit, nec alios audire permittit. Qui enim talis est, et pro sua et pro aliorum destructione in die iudicii redditurus est rationem.

^q Origen. Hom. xiii. in Exod. tom. i. p. 102, (p. 63, b. edit. Paris. 1604.) Nostis, qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuestis, quomodo, quum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decadat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur. Reos enim vos creditis, et recte creditis, si quid inde per negligentiam decadat. Quod si circa corpus ejus conservandum tanta utimini cautela, et merito utimini; quomodo putatis minoris esse piaculi, verbum Dei neglexisse, quam corpus ejus?—Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex l. Interrogo vos, fratres vel sorores, dicite mihi, quid vobis plus esse videtur, verbum Dei an corpus Christi? Si verum vultis respondere, hoc utique dicere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei quum corpus Christi. Et ideo quanta sollicitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat; tanta sollicitudine observemus, ne verbum Dei, quod nobis erogatur, dum aliquid aut cogitamus, aut loquimur, de corde nostro pereat. Quia non minus reus erit, qui verbum Dei negliger audierit, quam ille, qui corpus Christi in terram cadere negligentia sua permisit.

yet it was no less a piacular crime to shew contempt to the word of God than to his body; and they would be held guilty for a disrespect in the one case as well as the other. Thus they shewed men what reverence was due to the preaching of the word of God, by setting before them the sin and danger of those abuses some were apt to run into, by an error in defect and want of a just reverence to it.

SECT. XXXI.—*And, secondly, the intemperate Zealots, who placed all Religion in a Sermon.*

On the other hand, they were no less careful to guard men against superstition in the other extreme; for there was an error in excess, as well as in defect, of reverence for preaching. Some were so overrun with an indiscreet bigotry and intemperate zeal for preaching, as to reckon all other parts of Divine service useless and insignificant, if they were not accompanied with a sermon. These men had their arguments to plead in their own behalf, which are thus proposed and answered by St. Chrysostom:^r “Why should I go to

^r Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in 2 Thess. p. 1502, (p. 381, edit. Francof.) Τί εἰσέρχομαι, φησιν, εἰ οὐκ ἀκούω τινὲς ὁμιλοῦντος; τοῦτο πάντα ἀπὸ βλαβῆς καὶ διόφθειας· τί γὰρ χρεία ὁμιλητοῦ; Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμιστίας βραθυμίας αὐτῇ ἡ χρεία γίγνεται· διὰ τί γὰρ ὁμιλίας χρεία; πάντα σαφῶς καὶ εὐθία τὰ περὶ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς· πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δὴλα· ἀλλ’ ἐπιθεὶς σίγῃς ἵσθι ἀκροαταί, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῦτα ζητοῦσι· εἰπὲ γὰρ μοι, ποίῳ κόμῳ λόγου Παῦλος ἔλγειν; ἀλλ’ ἔμεν σὴν εὐκομίην ἐπιστρέψι· ποίῳ δὲ Πίτρος ὁ ἀγράμματος; Ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶδας, φησὶ, τὰ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κείμενα· διὰ τί οὐκ οἶδας; μὴ γὰρ Ἑβραϊστὶ; μὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊστὶ; μὴ γὰρ ἰτιρογλώσσως εἰρηται; οὐχὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ λίγεται; ἀλλ’ ἀσαφῶς, φησὶ· ποῖον ἀσαφὲς, εἰπὲ μοι· οὐχὶ ἱστορίαι εἰσὶ; τὰ γὰρ σαφῶς οἶδας, ἵνα περὶ τῶν ἀσαφῶν ἐρωτήσης· μυρία ἱστορίαι εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς· εἰπὲ μοι μίαν ἐξ ἐκείνων· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐρεῖς· πρὸς φασὶ ταῦτα καὶ λόγοι· καθ’ ἡμέραν, φησὶ, τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσθιν ἀκούων· τί δὲ, εἰπὲ μοι, ἐν τοῖς θείοις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀκούεις; ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔρξῃ; τὰ δὲ πρᾶγματα πάντα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσθιν; ὁ δὲ ἥλιος οὐχὶ αὐτὸς αἰὶ ἀνατίλλει· τροφαῖς δὲ οὐ ταῖς αὐταῖς χρῶμεθα; ἐβουλόμην σου πυθῆσθαι, ἐπιθεὶς τὰ αὐτὰ λίγεις ἀκούων καθ’ ἡμέραν· εἰπὲ μοι, ποῖον προφῆτου ἴσθι τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀναγνωσθῆναι, καὶ ποῖον ἀποστόλου, ἢ ποῖας ἐπιστολῆς; ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ἔχῃς ἱστυῖν, ἀλλὰ δοκῶς ξένων ἀκούων. ὅταν μὲν οὖν βραθυμῇσαι θίλῃς, τὰ αὐτὰ λίγεις ἵνα· ὅταν δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς, ὡς οὐδὲ ποτε ἀκούσας διάκουσαι· εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσθιν, ἔχρῃ αὐτὰ εἰδέναι· σὺ δὲ ἀγνοεῖς. Θρήνων ἄξια τὰ περόντα, θρήνων καὶ ἰδυρμῶν, ὅτι εἰς κινδὸν ἀργυροκόπος ἀργυροσκοπῶ· ταύτην μάλιστα ἔχρῃν προσέχων, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσθιν, ὅτι οὐδὲνα παρῆχοναι ἡμῖν πόνον, οὐδὲ ξίνα τινα καὶ ἰνῆλλαγμαίνα λίγομεν. Τί οὖν; ἐπιθεὶς ἱκίνα τὰ αὐτὰ λίγεις ἵνα, τὰ δὲ ἡμίστερα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσθιν, αἰὶ ξίνα λίγομεν, τοῦτους προσέχοντες· οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ’ ἂν μὲν ἴσθωμεν, διὰ τί οὐδὲ ταῦτα κατέχισι; ἀπαξ, φησὶ, ἀκούομεν,

church, said they, if I cannot hear a preacher? This one thing," says St. Chrysostom, "has ruined and destroyed all religion; for what necessity is there of a preacher? That necessity arises only from our sloth and negligence; for why, otherwise, should there be any need of a homily? All things are clear and open in the Holy Scriptures: all things necessary are plainly revealed. But because ye are hearers that study only to delight your ears and fancy, therefore ye desire these things. Tell me, I pray, with what pomp of words did St. Paul preach? and yet he converted the world. What pomp did the illiterate Peter use? But, say they, 'We cannot understand the things that are written in Scripture.' Why so? Are they spoken in Hebrew, or Latin, or any other strange tongue? Are they not spoken in Greek, to you that understand the Greek tongue? 'Yea, but they are spoken darkly.' How darkly? What difficulties do the histories contain? You understand the plain places, that you may take pains, and inquire about the rest. There are a thousand histories in the Bible: tell me one of them. But you cannot tell one of these; therefore all this is mere pretence and words. 'Oh but,' say they, 'we have the same things read to us every day out of Scripture.' And do you not hear the same things every day in the theatre? Have you not the same sight at the horse-race? Are not all things the same? Does not the same sun rise every morning? Do you not eat the same meat every day? I would ask you, seeing you say you hear the same things every day, What portion of the prophets, what apostle, what epistle, was read? But you cannot tell: they are perfectly new and strange to you. When, therefore, you are disposed to be idle, you pretend the same things are read; but when you are asked concerning them, you are as men that never heard them. If they are the same, you should have known them, but you know nothing of them. This is a thing to be lamented, that the workman labours in vain: for this reason you ought to attend, because they are the same, because we bring nothing strange or new to your ears. What, then,

καὶ πῶς ἐν κατασχῆν; Ἄν εἴπωμιν, ἐκείνους διὰ τί οὐ προσίχισι; φασι, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ λίγισται καὶ πάντοθεν ῥηθυμίας καὶ σιγήσειας τὰ ῥήματα.

because ye say the Scriptures are always the same, but what we preach are not so, but always contain something new, do ye attend to them? In nowise. And, if we ask you, 'Why do you not remember them?' Ye answer, 'How should we, seeing we hear them but once?' If we say, 'Why do you not remember the Scriptures?' Ye answer, 'They are always the same.' These are nothing but pretences for idleness, and mere indications of a sceptical temper." Thus that holy father rebukes that intemperate zeal, which set up preaching in opposition to reading of the Scriptures, under various pretences of their being obscure, or tedious repetitions of the same things; when, in truth, a fanatical affectation of novelty, and a fantastical scepticism, and a vicious desire of being freed from all the burden of attending upon religious assemblies, was, really, at the bottom of all their objections.

SECT. XXXII. — *How Men were treated, who thought their Sermons too long.*

There is but one thing more to be observed upon this head, which is, that as there were some who complained that their sermons were not frequent enough, or too short; so there were others that complained they were too long, and were disposed to leave the assembly before sermon was ended. Some canons are pretty severe upon such auditors. The fourth Council of Carthage orders them to be proceeded against with excommunication;³ but others used a more gentle way, contenting themselves to admonish their auditors of their duty; and sometimes using ingenious stratagems, and feigned apologies, to detain them; and sometimes ordering the doors of the church to be kept shut till all was ended: which is particularly remarked of Cæsarius Arelatensis, by the author of his Life.⁴ St. Chrysostom considers the matter with some distinction: he makes some

³ Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxiv. Sacerdote verbum faciente in ecclesia, qui egressus de auditorio fuerit, excommunicetur.

⁴ Cyprian. Vit. Cæsar. c. xii. Sæpissime ostia, lectis evangelis, ocludi jussit; donec propitio Deo ipsi gratularentur, ea coercitione se profecisse, qui solebant esse fugitivi.—Vid. Cæsar. Hom. xii. tot.

allowance for the weakness of such as were unable to hold out the whole time at a long sermon; and forasmuch as many were more desirous of long sermons than short ones, he thinks the matter was so to be ordered as to accommodate both. "Seeing there are some," says he, "in so great a multitude, who cannot bear a long discourse, my advice to such is, that when they have heard as much as they can contain, and as much as suffices them, they should depart (for no one hinders them, or compels them to stay longer than their strength is able to bear), that they may not impose a necessity on us of making an end before the proper time. For thou art satisfied, but thy brother is yet a hungry; thou hast drunk thy fill of what is spoken, but thy brother is yet athirst; therefore neither let him burden thy weakness, by compelling thee to receive more than thy strength will bear; neither be thou injurious to his desire of hearing, by hindering him from taking as much as he is able to receive. For so it is at a common table, some are filled sooner, some later; and neither do these accuse those, nor they condemn the other. But there is a commendation to depart quickly; but here, to depart quickly, is not commendable, but only pardonable. To stay long at a carnal feast is a matter worthy of reproof, because it proceeds from an intemperate appetite; but to stay long at a spiritual feast, deserves the highest praise and commendation, because

^u Chrysostom. Hom. lx. *Dæmones non Gubernare Mundum*, tom. v. p. 784, (hom. lxiii. p. 701, edit. Francof.) Ἐπιθεὶς συμβαίνει εἶναι τινὰς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἐν δήμῳ τοσούτῳ, ἀδυνατοῦντας παρακολουθεῖν τῇ μήνῃ τοῦ λόγου, οἱ αὐτοὶς παρακινεῖται βούλομαι· ἀκούσαντας ὅσα δύνανται δέξασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἀρκεῖντα λαβόντας ἀναχωρεῖν [οὐδὲς ὁ κολύων, οὐδὲ βιαζόμενος σίερα τῆς οἰκίας μῖνιν δυνάμει] πὸν μὴν τοι λόγον μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ὥρας συστήλλεσθαι· ἐκκλησίας γὰρ σὺ· ἀλλ' ἀδελφός σου ἔστι πτωχὸς· καὶ εὐ μυθίοις τῇ πλήθει τῶν ἐρημίων· ἀλλ' ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔστι διψῶν, μήτι οἱ αὐτοὶ συστρίβω τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἀναγκάζων πλείω τῆς οἰκίας δέξασθαι δυνάμει· μήτι σὺ ἰσχυρίζῃ τῇ ἐκείνου ἐπιθυμίᾳ, κολύων ἅπαν, ὅσον δύναται δέξασθαι, λαβεῖν. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐστὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν γίνονται τραπέζῳ· οἱ μὲν ὤντων, οἱ δὲ βραδύτερον ἐμπίστανται· καὶ οὗτοι οὗτοι ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἐκείνοις, οὗτοι οὗτοι τούτων καταγινώσκουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐκὼ μὲν τὸ ταχύτερον ἀποστῆναι, ἐγκώμιον ἵστασθαι δὲ τὸ ταχύτερον ἀποστῆναι, οὐχὶ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἄξιον· ἐκὼ τὸ βραδύτερον παύσασθαι, κατηγορία καὶ μίμνῃς· ἵστασθαι τὸ βραδύτερον ἀποστῆναι, ἱκανὸς καὶ εὐφροσύνη μάλιστα· τί δῆσται; ὅτι ἐκὼ μὲν ἐξ ἀθηφαγίας ἢ βραδύτης γίνονται ἵστασθαι δὲ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας πνευματικῆς καὶ θείας ἐρείξεως ἢ παραμονῆς καὶ ἡ κατεργασία συνίσταται.

it proceeds from a spiritual desire and holy appetite, and argues patience and constancy in giving attention." Thus that holy father decides the controversy about long and short sermons, and prudently divides the matter between strong and weak hearers; commending the one, without condemning the other; and making some apology for the length of his sermons, without offence to either party. I shall make the same apology to my readers for the length of this chapter. If there be any whose curiosity leads them to know all that relates to the preaching of the ancients, they may read the whole, and, perhaps, they will not think it too long; but they whose appetite is not so sharp, may shorten it as they please, and accommodate it to their own use, by selecting such parts as are most agreeable to their own taste, and proper for their own instruction. And so I end the discourse about preaching in the ancient Church.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PRAYERS FOR THE CATECHUMENS, ENERGUMENS, COMPETENTES, OR 'CANDIDATES OF BAPTISM,' AND THE PENITENTS.

SECT. I.—*That Prayers in the Ancient Church were not before, but after the Sermon.*

As soon as the sermon was ended, the public prayers of the Church began, and not before. For, anciently, the order of Divine service was a little different in its method from what it is usually now in the Church. For, anciently, the greatest part of the public prayers came after sermon. This is expressly said by Justin Martyr, in his Apology, where he is giving an account of the Christian worship on the Lord's day. He says,* "They first read the Scriptures; then the president or bishop made a discourse or exhortation; after which they rose up altogether and made their common

* Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98, cit. lib. xiii. c. ix. sect. i.

prayers: and then when these were ended, the bishop prayed again, and gave thanks for the consecration of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, the people answering, ‘Amen.’” And so Chrysostom affirms also, saying in one place,^b “The exhortation comes first, and then immediately prayer.” And in another place,^c “You need both advice and prayer; therefore, we advise you first” (meaning in the sermon), “and then we make prayers for you: they that are initiated know what I say.” So that when Chrysostom or any others say, “prayer went before sermon,” they are to be understood either of that short salutation, which the minister used at the entrance upon every office, “The Lord be with you,” the people answering, “And with thy spirit:” or of some short prayer of the preacher, or of the private prayers of people intermingled with the psalmody, and not of common prayers of the Church. For many orders of men might be present at the sermon, and to hear the Scriptures read, who might not join in prayers with the faithful; and for that reason the sermon and reading of the Scriptures went before, that such persons might have the benefit of them who were to be dismissed when the prayers begun, because they had as yet no title to communicate in them.

SECT. II.—*Who might, or might not, be present at these Prayers. Infidels and mere Hearers obliged to withdraw.*

These prayers were of two sorts: prayers peculiar to the faithful or communicants only; at which neither catechumens, nor penitents, nor energumens, nor any persons yet unbaptized, might be present: and prayers made particularly for these several orders, at which, therefore, they were allowed to be present, and both hear the prayers, and pray for themselves. But even from these prayers some were obliged to withdraw, who were allowed to be present at sermons for their instruction. Such were all Jews and infidels,

^b Chrysostom. Hom. xiviii. quæ est tertia de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 365. Μετὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν, εὐθὺς εὐχή.

^c Ibid. Hom. xi. in 1 Thess. p. 1480, (p. 353, edit. Francof.) Μετὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν καὶ εὐχὴν ἰσάγῃ, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰν τοῖς ἡράμματα δι’ ἡμῶν καὶ συμβουλῆς, καὶ εὐχῆς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῶν πρόστιζον συμβουλευούσας, τότε τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ποιούμεναι καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μιμηταί.

and such of the catechumens and penitents as were known by the distinct name of ἀκροώμενοι among the Greeks, and *audientes* among the Latins, that is, ‘hearers’ only: therefore, as soon as sermon was ended, before any of these prayers began in the service of the catechumens, a deacon was used to make proclamation from some eminency in the church, *Ne quis audientium, ne quis infidelium*; ‘Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, be present,’ as it is worded in the Constitutions.^d

SECT. III.—*Of the Prayers for the Catechumens: the genuine Forms of them out of St. Chrysostom and the Constitutions.*

This said, and silence being made, the deacon cried again, “Pray, ye catechumens;” and, “Let all the faithful with attention pray for them, saying, Lord, have mercy upon them.” Then the deacon began a prayer for them, which, in the Constitutions, is called προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, ‘a bidding prayer for the catechumens,’ because it was both an exhortation and direction how they were to pray for them. We have two ancient forms of this prayer still remaining; one in St. Chrysostom, and another in the Constitutions: that in the Constitutions is in these words: “Let us all beseech God for the catechumens; that he who is gracious, and a

^d Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. v. Πληρώσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον, ἀναστάντες ἀπάντων, ὁ διάκονος, ἰφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀνιθῶν, κηρυττάτω, Μὴ τις τῶν ἀπίστων.

^e Ibid. c. vi. Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων πάντες τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλίσωμεν, ἵνα ὁ ἀγαθὸς, φιλόφρων, εὐμενὴς ἰσακούσῃ τῶν δήσιων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρακλήσεων, καὶ προσδεχάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἰκσίαν ἀντιλάβηται αὐτῶν, καὶ δῶ αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, φωτίσῃ αὐτοὺς, καὶ συντίσῃ· παιδεύσῃ αὐτοὺς τὴν θιογνωσίαν, διδάξῃ αὐτοὺς τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα· ἱκαναφυτίσῃ ἰν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄγνον αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτήριον φῶς, διανοίξῃ τὰ ἄτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἰν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· βιβαίωσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἰν τῇ εὐσεβίᾳ, ἐνώσῃ καὶ ἱκανακαρτίωσῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι· καταξιώσας αὐτοὺς τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τοῦ ἰνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς· ῥύσῃται δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσεβείας, καὶ μὴ δῶ τίπον τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ κατ’ αὐτῶν καθάρσῃ δι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος· ἰνοικήσῃ τε ἰν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱμπεριπατήσῃ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἐλογίσῃ τὰς ἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἰξόδους, καὶ κατινθύνῃ αὐτοῖς τὰ προκείμενα ἰς τὸ συμφέρον· ἰτι ἰκτινῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἰκτινῶσμεν, ἵνα ἀφίσιως τυχόντες τῶν πλημμελημάτων διὰ τῆς μυσίως, ἀξιωθῶσι τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων διαμονῆς.

lover of mankind, would mercifully hearken to their supplications and prayers; and accepting their petitions would help them, and grant them the requests of their souls according to what is expedient for them; that he would reveal the Gospel of Christ to them; that he would enlighten and instruct them, and teach them the knowledge of God and Divine things; that he would instruct them in his precepts and judgments; that he would open the ears of their hearts to be occupied in his law day and night; that he would confirm them in religion; that he would unite them to, and number them with, his holy flock, vouchsafing them the laver of regeneration, with the garment of incorruption and true life; that he would deliver them from all impiety, and give no place to the adversary to get advantage against them; but that he would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them, by his Christ; that he would bless their going out and their coming in, and direct all their designs and purposes to their advantage. Further yet: let us earnestly pray for them, that they may have remission of sins by the initiation of baptism, and be thought worthy of the holy mysteries, and remain among his saints."

Then the deacon, addressing himself to the catechumens themselves, said,^f "Catechumens, arise: Pray for the peace of God, that this day, and all the time of your life, may pass in quietness and without sin; that you may make a Christian end, and find God propitious and merciful, and obtain remission of your sins. Commend yourselves to the only unbegotten God by his Christ."

To every petition of this bidding prayer, the people, and especially children,^g are appointed to subjoin Κύριε, ἐλέησον, 'Lord, have mercy upon them.'

After this the deacon bids them bow down and receive

^f Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. vi. 'Εγείρεσθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖσθε, εἰρηνικὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀταμάρτητον καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν, Χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη, ἴλιον καὶ εὐμηνίαν τὸν Θεόν, ἔσθωσι πλημμελημάτων, ἑαυτοὺς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγνίστῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παρατίθεσθε.

^g Ibid. 'Εφ' ἐκύστω δὲ τούτων, ὃν ὁ διάκονος προέφηνε, λιγίτω ὁ λαὸς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὰ παιδία.

the bishop's benediction ; which is in the following form of direct invocation :^h

“ O almighty God, who art without original and inaccessible, the only true God ; thou God and Father of Christ thy only begotten Son, God of the Comforter, and Lord of all things ; who by Christ didst make learners become teachers for the propagation of Christian knowledge ; look down now

^h Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. vi. Κλινόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογίᾳ αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογίαν τοιαύτην : Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀγίννητος καὶ ἀπερίβουτος, ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Παρακλήτου* καὶ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος· ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ διδασκάλους τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς ἐκείνης, αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν ἱπτοὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου, τοὺς κατηχομένους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ δις αὐτοῖς καρδίαν καινὴν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐνθὺς ἐγκαινίσον ἐν ταῖς ἐγκάτοις αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὸ εἰδῖναι καὶ ποιῆν τὸ θέλημά σου, ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀγίας μυστήτων, καὶ ἵνα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ μετόχους ποίησιν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, διὰ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος· δι' οὗ σοι δοῶ καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐν ἀγίᾳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος λυγίστω, Προίλθιτε, κατηχούμεναι.

* This phrase, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Παρακλήτου, and a like phrase, which occurs in the prayer of this author, in the daily evening-service, (lib. viii. c. xxxvii.) where the Father is styled, ὁ τοῦ Πνεύματος Κύριος, ‘the Lord of the Spirit,’ are harsh expressions, and not very usual in Catholic writers ; which makes some suspect this author, as if he were tainted with the Macedonian heresy, which denies the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and makes him a mere creature. But this seems not to have been the intent of our author, who nowhere denies the true divinity of the Son or Holy Ghost, but only gives such titles of pre-eminence to the Father, as Justin Martyr did before him, in regard to the Father’s being the fountain of the Deity, and the origin of existence in the Son and Holy Spirit, not as creatures, but as his eternal Son and eternal Holy Spirit, equal to him in all essential perfections, but only deriving those Divine perfections from him, as the Author and Fountain of their being, as God of God, and Light of Light, by eternal generation and procession. In this sense, Bishop Bull has observed, that Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Tryphon, p. 358, uses the very same expression, in speaking of the Son, as our author does of the Spirit : for he says, the Father is Κύριος Κύριος, ὡς Πατὴρ καὶ Θεὸς, αἰτίας τε αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ δυνατῶ, καὶ Κυρίῳ, καὶ Θεῶ, ‘The Lord of the Lord, as Father and God, and cause of his being, of and from whom he has even this, that he is omnipotent, and Lord, and God.’ Where Bishop Bull rightly observes, That God the Father is said to be God and Lord of his Son, not as he is Lord of the creatures, but *quatenus est fons Divinitatis et causa Filio, ut sit*, ‘as he is the fountain of the Deity, and cause of his Son’s existence :’ which does not make the Son a creature, but the true, consubstantial, and eternal Son of God ; or, as our author expresses himself accurately elsewhere, he is hereby Θεὸς μονογενῆς, ‘God the only-begotten ;’ that is, the true Son of the Father, who is styled Lord of the Son, not as a Creator, but as a Father.

upon these thy servants, who are learning the instructions of the Gospel of thy Christ; and give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit within them, that they may know and do thy will with a perfect heart and a willing mind. Vouchsafe them thy holy baptism, and unite them to thy holy Church, and make them partakers of thy holy mysteries, through Christ our Hope, who died for them, by whom be glory and worship unto thee, world without end. Amen." After this, let the deacon say, "Catechumens, depart in peace."

St. Chrysostom, in one of his homilies, gives us a like form of the deacon's bidding prayer for the catechumens. "The law of the Church," says he,ⁱ "moves the faithful to pray for those who are yet unbaptized. For when the deacon says, 'Let us pray fervently for the catechumens,' he does nothing else but excite the whole multitude of the faithful to pray for them; for the catechumens are as yet aliens:

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 740, (p. 516, edit. Francof.) Τοὺς πιστοὺς ὁ νόμος διυγίρει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐκκλησίαν ὅταν γὰρ ὁ διάκονος λίγῃ, Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων ἱκτινῶς διηθῶμιν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα τῶν πιστῶν διατίσῃσιν εἰς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων εὐχάς· καίτοι γὰρ ἄλλότριοι τίως εἰσιν οἱ κατηχούμενοι· οὐδὲνα γὰρ τοῦ σώματος εἰσὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω μυστηρίων ἐκκοινωνήσαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι διηρημένοι συγχάουσι τῆς ἀγίλης τῆς πνευματικῆς. . . διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἱκτινῶς, φησι, διηθῶμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἄλλοτριους ἀποποιήσῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ξένους ἀγνοήσῃ· οὐδέπω γὰρ εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νομισμένην καὶ εἰσινεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω παρρησίαν κίετηνται, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν δίομαι τῶν μυσταγωγηθέντων· ἔξω γὰρ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱστῆσαι αὐλῶν, πύρρον τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σὶ παρακαλεῖ, δεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μίλη γίνονται σὰ, ἵνα μὴ ἔτι ὦσι ξένοι καὶ ἡλλοτριωμένοι· τὸ γὰρ, Διηθῶμιν, οὐ τοῖς ἱερῶσι λίγεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν λαὸν συντιλοῦσιν ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ, "Σωῦμεν καλῶς, διηθῶμιν," πάντας εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν παρακαλεῖ. εἴτα ἀρχόμενος τῆς εὐχῆς φησὶν, "ἵνα ὁ πανιλήμων καὶ οἰκτιρῶν Θεὸς ἱσακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν· ἵνα διανοῖξῃ τὰ ὅσα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ ἴδιδε, καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβῃ· καὶ κατηχήσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας· ἵνα κατασπείρῃ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ βελαιώσῃ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν· ἵνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἵνα αὐτοῖς δοῖν ἡνὶ ἐνθόν, σώφρονα λογισμὸν, καὶ ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν· διαπαντός τὰ αὐτοῦ νοεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ μιλιτᾶν· ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ νόμῃ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι· ἔτι ἱκτινίστουν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλῶμεν, ἵνα ἐξέλθῃ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάντων ποτηρῶ καὶ ἀτόπου πειράγματος, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος διαβολικοῦ, καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· ἵνα καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ ὑπόθεσι τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ καλλιγυνεῖας, τῆς ἀφίσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ ἰνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· ἵνα ἐυλογήσῃ τὰς ἱερούς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτῶν, τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας· τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἵνα αὐξήσας ἐυλογήσῃ, καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγαγὼν σοφίσῃ· ἵνα κατιυθύνῃ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

they are not yet engrafted into the body of Christ, nor made partakers of the holy mysteries, but remain divided from the spiritual flock. And for that reason he says, 'Let us pray fervently,' that you may not reject them as aliens, that you may not disown them as strangers; for they are not yet allowed to use the prayer that was introduced and established by the law of Christ [he means the Lord's Prayer]: they have not yet liberty or confidence enough to pray for themselves, but need the help of those that are already initiated; for they stand without the royal gates, and at a distance from the holy rails; and for that reason are sent away when the Tremendous Prayers are offered at the altar. Upon this account, the deacon exhorts you to pray for them, that they may be made members, and be no longer foreigners and aliens. For that word, 'Let us pray,' is not spoken to the priests only, but also to the people: for when he says, *Στᾶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν*, 'Let us stand decently, Let us pray,' he exhorts all to pray: and then he begins the prayer in these words:

"That the merciful and gracious God would vouchsafe to hear their prayers; that he would open the ears of their hearts, that they may hear what 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man;' that he would instil into them the word of his truth; that he would sow the word of his truth in their hearts, and confirm his faith in their minds; that he would reveal unto them the Gospel of righteousness; that he would give them a Divine and heavenly mind, pure and holy thoughts, and a virtuous conversation; always to mind, always to regard and meditate upon the things that belong to him, and to be occupied in his law day and night. Let us pray yet more ardently for them, that he would deliver them from all evil and absurd employments, from all diabolical sin, and all the circumventions of the adversary; that he would vouchsafe to bring them in due time to the laver of regeneration, and grant them remission of sins, and the clothing of incorruption; that he would, during their whole lives, bless their going out and their coming in, their houses and families; that he would increase and bless their children, and bring them to the measure of perfect

age with the instruction of wisdom ; and that he would direct all their purposes to their advantage."

After this the deacon bids them rise up and pray for themselves, dictating what they were to pray for :^j " Pray, ye catechumens for the angel of peace, that all your purposes may be peaceably directed : pray that this present day, and all the days of your lives, may be spent in peace, and that you may make a Christian end. Commend yourselves to the living God and to his Christ."

" This being done," says Chrysostom,^k " we bid them bow their heads and receive the benediction of God, as a sign that their prayers are heard ; for it is not man that blesses them, but by his hands and tongue we present their heads as they stand there to the heavenly King : and then all the congregation with a loud voice cry out, ' Amen.' "

Here is a plain account of the second prayer that was made for the catechumens by the bishop, which is styled here, as it is also in the Constitutions, ' the bishop's commendation,' or ' benediction.'

Learned men think this homily was preached by Chrysostom, when he was bishop of Constantinople. And, if so, we must conclude that these prayers were the forms that were used then in the Liturgy of Constantinople.

SECT. IV.—*What meant by their praying for the Angel of Peace, in this Form of Prayer.*

And I the rather incline to this opinion, because there is some little difference between this form of Chrysostom's, and that in the Constitutions. For in this of Chrysostom's, the catechumens are bid to pray for the angel of peace, which is not mentioned in the form of the Constitutions ; though it be

^j Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 740, (p. 521, edit. Francof.) Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσασι, οἱ κατηχούμενοι· εἰρηνικὰ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκείμενα· εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν αἰτήσασθε· Χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη· ταυτοὺς ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραβέσθαι.

^k Ibid. sub fin. Εἶτα κλίνει τὰς κεφαλὰς κλιύμενοι, τιμῆριον τοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀκουσθῆναι, ποιούμενοι τὸ τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ εὐλογῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἱκεῖνου χειρὸς, καὶ γλώττης, αὐτῷ προσάγομεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν περιστάτων, καὶ ἱπικῶσιν ἅπαντες τὸ, Ἀμήν.

in another place,¹ where directions are given for the ordinary morning and evening-service. St. Chrysostom often mentions this same petition for the angel of peace, in his other homilies. As in his third homily upon the Colossians, where he says,^m “Every man has angels attending him, and also the devil very busy about him. Therefore we pray, and make our supplications for the angel of peace.” And so in his sermon upon the Ascension:ⁿ speaking of the air being filled with good and bad angels, the one always raising war and discord in the world, and the other inclining men to peace, he tells his auditory, “They might know there were angels of peace, by hearing the deacons always, in the prayers, bidding men pray for the angel of peace.” This undoubtedly refers to the forementioned form of prayer, wherein the catechumens are directed to ask of God the protection of the angel of peace. In like manner, in another place,^o “When the deacon bids men pray with others, he enjoins them this among the rest of their petitions, to pray for the angel of peace; and that all their purposes may be peaceably directed.” Which are the very words of the catechumens’ prayer above said.

The design of all which was, not to teach their catechumens to pray to their guardian angels (according to the modern way of instructing in the Romish Church;^p though

¹ Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxvi. Ἀναστάντες αἰτησώμεθα τὰ ἐλπίς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, κ. τ. λ. — Cap. xxxvii. Αἰτησώμεθα παρὰ Κυρίου τὰ ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιροῦντες, τὸν ὄρθρον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς παραστάσεως ἡμῶν, τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη, ἴλιον καὶ ὑμνῶν τὸν Θεόν.

^m Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. p. 1338, (p. 176, edit. Francof.) Διὰ ταῦτα ὑψώμεθα καὶ λέγομεν αἰτοῦντες τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης.

ⁿ Ibid. Hom. xxxv. in Ascension. Domini, tom. v. p. 535, (hom. xxxviii. p. 477, edit. cit.) Καὶ ἴσα μάθης, ὅτι ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἔκαστος ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αἱ λιγόντων τῶν διακόνων, τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσας.

^o Ibid. Hom. lii. in eos, qui Pascha jejunant, tom. v. p. 713, (hom. lv. p. 637, edit. cit.) Ὁ διάκονος κελεύει ὑψίσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτελεῖται κατὰ τὴν ὕψην, αἰτῶν τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά.

^p Vid. Drexel. de Cultu Cœlitum, lib. ii. c. iii. n. iii. p. 184, edit. Colon. 1634. Guilielmus Baldesanus, scriptor insigniter eruditus et pius, hoc ipsum disertè docet, ante cœlestes alios omnes, beatissimam matrem Virginem, et secundum hanc, purissimos illos genios, nobilissimos cœli ephebos, angelos, vene-

this had been a very proper season to have admonished the catechumens of it, had there been any such practice in the ancient Church); but it was to teach them to pray to the God of angels: that he who makes his angels to encamp about his servants, would, by their ministry, defend them from the incursions of wicked spirits, those fomenters of war, and division, and enmity among men, and so keep them and all their purposes, in a course of perpetual and uninterrupted peace, that they might finally make a Christian and a peaceable end.

SECT. V.— *Children, in some Churches, appointed to say this Prayer with the rest of the People.*

Another thing wherein the form in the Constitutions, differs from that in St. Chrysostom, is, that it appoints the children of the Church, particularly and more especially, to join in this common prayer for the catechumens; whereas the form used in St. Chrysostom's church, mentions no such thing: and Chrysostom himself, in another place, says plainly,^a “That children were not called upon to join in the prayers for the energumens and penitents” (which were of the same sort with these for the catechumens) “but only in the prayers for the communicants at the altar.” As these differences prove the two forms not to belong to the liturgy of one and the same Church, so they make it probable, that St. Chrysostom gives us the form used in the Church of Constantinople, and the author of the Constitutions, the form that was used at Antioch, or some other eminent Church, whose rituals he transcribed and put together.

SECT. VI.— *What Notice we have of this Prayer in other ancient Writings.*

Now, by having fixed this prayer in its proper place, we may interpret all other passages in the ancient writers, which speak of praying over the catechumens, or praying with

ratione singulari adficiendos. Multum debemus angelis, multum supra omnem modum, et præsertim suo quisque tutelari angelo, &c.

^a Chrysost. Hom. lxxi. in Matth. p. 624, (p. 768, edit. Francof.) Vid. cit. lib. xiii. c. vi. sect. vii.

them. As that of the Council of Nice, which orders,^r “That if any of those, who were catechumens properly so called, that is, of that rank who had these prayers said over them, became lapsers, then they should, for three years, be thrust down to the rank of hearers only, and, after that, be admitted to pray with the catechumens again.” And that Canon of the Council of Neocæsarea, which orders,^s “That if any such catechumens, as were called, γόνυ κλίνοντες, that is, *prostrators*, or ‘kneelers,’ who bowed down to have these prayers said over them, should fall into any scandalous sin, then they should be excluded from the prayers, and be ranked among the hearers only: and if they fell again when they were hearers, they should be excluded from the very entrance of the church.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Prayers for the Energumens, or Persons possessed by Evil Spirits. The Forms of these Prayers.*

The next sort of persons for whom prayers were now made, were the energumens, that is, such persons as were seized or possessed by an evil spirit. For though these were under the peculiar care of the exorcists, an order set apart particularly to attend them, and pray over them in private, as has been shewed more fully in a former Book,^t yet their case being pitiable and deplorable, it was thought an act of becoming mercy and charity to let them have the public prayers of the Church, and grant them liberty to be present at such prayers as immediately respected their condition. Therefore, as soon as the deacon had dismissed the catechumens, with the usual form, “Catechumens, depart in peace:” He said again, “Pray ye energumens, who are vexed with unclean spirits.” And exhorting the congregation also, he

^r Conc. Nicen. c. xiv. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 36.) Περὶ τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ παραπισπόντων, ἰδοὺ τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὅστις τριῶν ἰσῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπερωμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχίσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχομένων.

^s Conc. Neocæsar. c. v. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1481.) Κατηχούμενοις ἰὰν εἰσερχόμενοις εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχομένων τάξει στήκῃ, οὗτος δὲ ἁμαρτάνων· ἰὰν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων, ἀπερᾶσθαι μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνων· ἰὰν δὲ καὶ ἀπερώμενος ἦτι ἁμαρτάνῃ, ἐξωθεῖσθαι.

^t Book iii. c. iv. sect. vi. and vii.

said," "Let us ardently pray for them," (as the form of this bidding-prayer runs in the Constitutions), "that the merciful God, through Christ, would rebuke the unclean and evil spirits, and deliver his supplicants from the oppression and tyranny of the adversary; that he who rebuked the legion of devils, and the prince of devils, the fountain of evil, would now rebuke these apostates from piety, and deliver the works of his own hands from the molestations and agitations of Satan, and cleanse them which he hath created in great wisdom. Let us, further, most earnestly pray for them. Save them, and raise them up, O God, by thy power."

Then he bids them bow down their heads, and receive the bishop's benediction, which is in the following form of words, immediately addressed to Christ:—

"O thou only-begotten God, the Son of the great Father; thou that bindest the strong one, and spoilest his goods; that givest power unto us to tread on serpents, scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; that hast delivered up the murdering serpent unto us a prisoner, as a sparrow unto children; thou, before whom all things shake and

▪ Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος λιγίτω· Προίλθιτε οἱ κατηχούμενοι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξιλθῶν αὐτοῦς, λιγίτω· Εὐχασθε οἱ ἐκτελούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων· ἵκτινῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διηθῶμιν· ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς, διὰ Χριστοῦ ἱκετιμῆσιν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ πονηροῖς πνεύμασι· καὶ ῥύσῃται τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἱκίτας ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἁλλοτρίου καταδυναστείας· ὁ ἱκετιμῆσας τῇ λιγιῶν τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ τῇ ἀρχιεράκῃ διαβόλῃ, ἱκετιμῆσας αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀποσταταῖς τῆς ἐκείνης· καὶ ῥύσῃται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνιργίας αὐτοῦ· καὶ καθαρίσῃ αὐτὰ, ἃ μετὰ πολλῆς σοφίας ἰποίησιν· ὅτι ἱκτινῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διηθῶμιν· εἰσὼσι καὶ ἀνάστησι αὐτοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου.

▪ Ibid. c. vii. Ὁ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δῆσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνη αὐτοῦ διακράσας· ὁ δὸς ἡμῶν ἔξουσίαν ἰσάνῃ ὄφειν καὶ σκορπίῳ πατιῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἰχθῆος· ὁ τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον ὄφιν δισμῶτην παρεδούς ἡμῖν, ὡς στρουθίον παιδίον· ἐν πάντα φρίττει καὶ τρέμει, ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου· ὁ ῥήξας αὐτὸν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰς γῆν, οὐ τοπικῶς ῥήγματι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τιμῆς εἰς ἀτιμίαν, δι' ἡκούσιον αὐτοῦ κακίαν· οὗ τὸ βλίμμα ξηραίνει ἀδύσσωτος, καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τέλει ὄρη, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐν αἰνί τὰ νήσια, καὶ ὑπολογί· τὰ θηλάζοντα· ἐν ὕμνῳσι καὶ προσκυνώσιν ἄγγελοι· ὁ ἐπιβλίπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ παύει αὐτὴν τρέμειν· ὁ ἀπτόμιμος τῶν ὄρων, καὶ καπιζέοντας ὁ ἀπειλῶν θαλάσσην, καὶ ξηραίνει αὐτήν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ποταμούς αὐτοὺς ἐξηρμῶν· οὗ κροῖλαι κοιναὶ τῶν ποδῶν· ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ὡς ἐπ' ἰθάφους· μονογιγὴς Θεὸς, μεγάλου Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ, ἱκετιμῆσας τοῖς πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥύσαι τὰ ἔργα τῶν χυρῶν σου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁλλοτρίου πνεύματος ἐνιργίας· ὅτι σοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ εἰς, καὶ διὰ σου τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

tremble, at the presence of thy power ; that makest Satan to fall from heaven to the earth as lightning, not by a local fall, but by a fall from honour to disgrace, because of his voluntary malice ; thou whose looks dry up the deep, and threatenings make the mountains melt, whose truth endures for ever ; whom infants praise, and sucklings bless, and angels celebrate and adore ; that lookest upon the earth, and makest it tremble ; that touchest the mountains, and they smoke ; that rebukest the sea, and driest it up, and turnest the rivers into a wilderness ; that makest the clouds to be the dust of thy feet, and walkest upon the sea as upon a pavement ; rebuke the evil spirits, and deliver the works of thy hands from the vexation of the adverse spirit : for to thee belongs glory, honour, and adoration, and, by thee, to thy Father in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen."

SECT. VIII. — *An Account of these Prayers, out of St. Chrysostom and others.*

St. Chrysostom has not this whole form, but he often refers to it as one of the public prayers of the Church. "Common prayers," says he,^w "are made by the priests and people together for the energumens, and for the penitents ; we all say one and the same prayers, the prayer that is so full of mercy." And, again,^x "For this reason, the deacon, at this time, brings those that are vexed with evil spirits, and commands them to bow down their heads only, and, in that posture of body, make their supplications. For they may not pray with the whole congregation of the brethren. And, for this reason, he presents them before you, that you, having mercy on them, both in regard of their vexation, and their disability to speak for themselves, may, by your freedom

^w Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p. 873, (p. 673, edit. Francof.) 'Τὰς τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαί, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλπίου γήμουσαν.

^x Ibid. Hom. iii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 365, (p. 323, b. c. edit. cit.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκείνους ἴσθησιν τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κλιῖναι κλίνει τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῇ σχήματι ποιῆσθαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐκστηρίας· εὐχίσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ συλλόγου τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ θίμης διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἴσθησιν, ἵνα κατελιθίσας αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀφωνίας, τῇ οἰκίᾳ παῖρησιν πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποχρῆσθαι προεστασίαν.

of access, give them patronage and assistance.” In another place,⁷ he more fully explains the reason why this prayer for the demoniacs came before the oblation of the eucharist, and why, at that time, the deacon commanded them to be brought forth and bow their heads. “Their being possessed of the devil,” says he, “is a cruel and grievous chain, a chain harder than any iron. As, therefore, when a judge is about to come forth, and sit upon the judgment-seat, the keepers of the prison bring forth all the prisoners, and place them before the rails and curtains of the tribunal, in all their filth and nastiness, with their hair undressed, and clothed in rags: so our forefathers appointed, that when Christ was, in a little time, about to sit, as it were, upon his high throne, and shortly to appear in the holy mysteries, then the demoniacs should be brought forth as so many prisoners in chains, not to be condemned or suffer punishment for their sins, as other prisoners; but that when the people and whole city are present together in the church, common prayer might be made for them, whilst they all with one consent besought the common Lord for them; and, with loud voices, entreated him to shew mercy on them.” Here, though he does not specify the whole form, yet he plainly intimates both the time, and subject-matter of the prayer, and also the manner of the address; that it was a prayer sent up by the common voice of the people, some time before the appearance of Christ in the eucharist, and that as an address to God to implore his mercy on those pitiable objects that lay in that forlorn condition before him. In which respect, he elsewhere

⁷ Chrysostom. Hom. iv. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 374, A. 7, (p. 332, edit. Francof.) “*Ἀλυσίς πονηρὰ καὶ χαλίστῃ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνέργεια, ἅλυσίς πάντες ἐν δὴρου δυνατωτέρῃ καθάπερ οὖν δικαστοῦ πρὸς ὅδον ἔχοντες, καὶ ἰφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ βήματος καθίζησθαι μέλλοντες, οἱ δισμοφύλακες τοὺς τὸ δισμυστήριον οἰκοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐξαγωγόντες τοῦ οἰκήματος, πρὸ τῶν κυγκλίδων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δικαστηρίου παρασπιντασμάτων καθίζουσιν αὐχμῶντας, ῥυπῶντας, κομῶντας, ῥάκια περιβέβηκένους· οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἰνομοθέτησαν, τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέλλοντος ὥσπερ ἰφ’ ὑψηλοῦ προκαθίζεσθαι βήματος, καὶ ἐκ’ αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τῶν μυστηρίων, τοὺς δαιμονῶντας καθάπερ δισμῶτας τινὰς εἰσάγειν, οὐχ ἵνα εὐθύνας, ὑπόσχωσι τῶν πιστημελημένων, καθάπερ ἐκίνοι οἱ διδεδμένοι, οὐδ’ ἵνα κόλασιν ὑπομείνωσι καὶ τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἕνδον παρουσίας κοιναὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστηρίαι γίνωνται, πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν κοινὸν δισπότην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔξαιτουμένην, καὶ ἰλιθῆας παρακαλούντων μετὰ σφοδρῆς τῆς βοῆς.*”

styles it 'the first prayer,' saying,* "The first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens. The second, also, wherein we pray for the penitents, sues equally for mercy. And the third, when we pray for ourselves, presents the children of the people before God, crying out to him for mercy." Where, by the first prayer, he does not absolutely mean the first prayer that was made in this part of Divine service; for it is plain, the prayer for the catechumens came before it: but because the energumens were in a more miserable condition than the catechumens, and greater objects of pity than they were; he therefore styles the prayer for them 'the first prayer of mercy,' as he does the prayer for the penitents, 'the second prayer for mercy,' though it was in order the fourth; and the prayer for the faithful, 'the third prayer for mercy,' though it belonged to another part of the service, of which we shall speak more particularly in the first chapter of the next Book.

SECT. IX. — *Of the third sort of Prayers for the Competentes, or 'Candidates of Baptism.'*

The third prayer that came in the ordinary course of this part of the service, was the prayer for the *competentes*, or 'candidates of baptism,' that is, such as had now given in their names, and expressed their desire of receiving baptism at the next approaching festival. This, I conceive, was but an occasional prayer, appropriated to certain seasons, as the time between Mid-Lent and Easter-day, or other solemn times of baptism, when men were more than ordinarily intent in preparing themselves for the reception of that sacred mystery. The forms of these kind of prayers we have also in the Constitutions,^a where, as soon as the deacon has

* Chrysostom. Hom. lxxi. al. lxxii. in Matth. p. 624, A. 8, (p. 768, c. edit. Francof.) Ἡ πρώτη δέσους ἰλίους γίμει, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων παρακαλῶμεν καὶ ἡ δεύτερα πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἱερίων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, πολὺ τὸ ἔλεος ἐπιζητοῦσα· καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὕτη τὰ παῖδια τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα.

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. vii. Εὐχασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι· ἐκτινῶς οἱ πιστοὶ πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλίσμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς μνησίντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον συναναστήναι αὐτῶν, καὶ μισόχους γινώσκει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ κοινωνοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ, ἰνὼση καὶ συγκαταλίξῃ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν

dismissed the energumens, he is appointed to cry out, *Εὐξαθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι*, 'Pray ye candidates of baptism:' "And we that are already believers, let us ardently pray for them; that the Lord would make them worthy to be baptized into the death of Christ, and to rise again with him, and to be made members of his kingdom, and partakers of his mysteries; that he would unite them to his holy Church, and number them with those that shall be saved therein. Save them, and raise them up by thy grace."

Then they are ordered to bow down their heads, and receive the bishop's benediction, which is expressed in the following words:^b

"O God, who didst, by the prediction of thy holy prophets, say to them that are to be initiated, 'Wash ye, make you clean;' and, by Christ, didst appoint a spiritual regeneration; look down now upon these persons, who are to be baptized; bless and sanctify them; fit and prepare them, that they may be worthy of thy spiritual gift, and the true adoption of sons, and thy spiritual mysteries, and be deservedly numbered among those that are saved, by Christ our Saviour, through whom be all glory, honour, and adoration unto thee, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

I have nothing further to remark concerning these prayers, because neither Chrysostom, nor any other ancient writer, as far as I know, have said any thing particularly about them. Only this author, in another place,^c makes

σωζομένων ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σῇ χάριτι. (i. 465, E.)

^b Constitut. lib. viii. c. viii. 'Ὁ πρεσβυτέρων διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου προφητῶν τοῖς μουρμυρίζουσιν· λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· καὶ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νομοθετήσας τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγέννησιν· αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν ἴπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς βαπτιζομένους, καὶ ὑπόλγησον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἁγιάσον, καὶ παρασκευάσον ἄξιους γινέσθαι τῆς πνευματικῆς σου δωρεᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς υἰοθεσίας, τῶν πνευματικῶν σου μυστηρίων, τῆς μετὰ τῶν σωζομένων ἐπισυναγωγῆς, διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα, ἐν ἁγίᾳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν.

^c Ibid. Μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσῃ ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχομένων, καὶ χυμαζομένων, καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.—Cap. xxxvii. 'Παύτως ἔσθρου ὁ διάκονος, μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἑρβηρὸν, καὶ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς κατηχομένους, καὶ χυμαζομένους, καὶ βαπτιζομένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μετανοίᾳ, καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην ποιήσασθαι προσφώνησιν, κ. τ. λ.

them part of the daily morning and evening-service, as has been noted before in speaking of that, under a former head. It is probable, in many Churches, they were included in the forms for the catechumens in general. For the Council of Laodicea,^d which settles the order of the Divine service in the Church, and appoints in what method it should proceed, speaks of the prayers of the catechumens, as immediately following the sermon, and then the prayers for the penitents, and after those the prayers for the faithful, which began the communion-service; but makes no mention of any prayers for the candidates of baptism, as distinct from those of the catechumens. And this might be one reason, why other writers make no mention of them. In other Churches, they were but occasional prayers, for the particular times of baptism, and therefore it is a little wonder that other authors pass them over without the least notice taken of them. However, that the author of the Constitutions found them distinct in the rituals of some Churches, is not at all unlikely, because such forms for the candidates of baptism are now in use in the Greek Church, as may be seen in Goar;^e and Cardinal Bona has observed the like in a very ancient *Ordo Sacramentorum*,^f lately in the possession of the Queen of Sweden, where, in the office for the third Sunday in Lent, there is a special prayer inserted for those who were then examined and elected to receive baptism at Easter. But I proceed with the service of the ancient Church.

^d Conc. Laodic. c. xix. Περὶ τοῦ, διὲν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχομένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξαλθῆναι τοὺς κατηχομένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ τοῦτων προελθόντων ὑπὸ χιτῶνα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τριεῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^e Goar, Eucholog. p. 339. Δίεσπτα, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, προσκάλισαι τὸν δούλόν σου, τόδε, πρὸς τὸ ἅγιόν σου φῶτισμα καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν τῆς μεγάλης σου χάριτος, τοῦ ἁγίου σου βαπτίσματος· ἀπόδυσον αὐτοῦ τὴν παλαιότητα, καὶ ἀνακαίνισον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον· καὶ πληρώσον αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος δυνάμει· εἰς ἵνα ἐν σοὶ Χριστῷ σου, ἵνα μεκίτι τέκνον σώματος ᾦ, ἀλλὰ τέκνον τῆς σῆς βασιλείας· εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ μοιχογνοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ· μὴδ' αὖ ἐυλογητὸς εἶ, ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἁγανῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι· νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

^f Bon. Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. xii. n. iv. p. 348. Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, ut propitius suscipias deprecamur, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis et famulabus tuis, quos ad æternam vitam et beatam gratiæ tuæ . . . dinumerare, eligere, atque vocare dignatus es.

SECT. X. — *Of the last Sort of Prayers for the Penitents.*

The last sort of prayers, in this part of the service, were those which were made for the penitents, who were under the discipline and censures of the Church. Some of these, called 'hearers' only, were sent away with that order of catechumens, which were distinguished by the same denomination of 'hearers;' but others of them, called 'kneelers' or *prostrators*, were permitted to stay longer, to receive the prayers of the Church and the bishop's benediction: therefore, as soon as the candidates of baptism were dismissed, the deacon cried out, *Orate, penitentes*, 'Ye that are under penance, make your prayers:'s "And let us ardently pray for our brethren that are doing penance, that the God of mercy would shew them the way of repentance; that he would admit their recantation and confession; that he would shortly bruise Satan under their feet, and deliver them from the snare of the devil, and the incursion of evil spirits, and preserve them from all evil words, all absurd practices, and all impure thoughts; that he would grant them pardon of all their sins, voluntary and involuntary, and blot out the hand-writing that is against them, and write them in the Book of Life; that he would cleanse them from all pollution

8 Constitut. lib. viii. c. viii. Εἰσαὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ ἱκτινῶς· πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν παρακαλίσμεν ὅπως ὁ φιλοκτίμενος Θεὸς ὑποδείξῃ αὐτοῖς ὁδὸν μετανοίας· προσδέξεται αὐτῶν τὴν παλινοδίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερομολόγησιν καὶ συντρέψῃ τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει, καὶ λυτρώσεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἱσχυρίας τῶν δαιμόνων· καὶ ἐξέλθῃ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀθιμίου λόγου, καὶ πάσης ἀτόπου πράξεως, καὶ ποτηρῆς ἰννοίας· συγχωρήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, τάς ἐκούσιαι καὶ τὰ ἀκούσιαι· καὶ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν χυρόγραφον, καὶ ἰγγράψῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν βίβλῃ ζωῆς· καθαρῇ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνύματος· καὶ ἰνώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσας εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ πόλιν· ὅτι αὐτοὶς γινώσκῃ τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν· ὅτι τίς καυχῆσεται ἀγνὴν ἔχειν καρδίαν ἢ τίς παρρησιάζεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας; πάντες γὰρ ἴσμεν ἐν ἱσχυρίαις· ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἱκτινέσμεν διηβῶμεν· ὅτι χαρὰ γίνεσθαι ἐν εὐρεσίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἁμαρτολογίᾳ μετανοοῦντι, ὅπως ἀποστραφέντες πᾶν ἔργον ἀθίμου, προσκοιμηθῶσι πάσῃ πρᾶξιν ἀγαθῇ, ἵνα ὁ φιλόθεος Θεὸς ἢ τῆς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐξάμους αὐτῶν τὰς λιτὰς, ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου καὶ πνευματικῇ ἡγιμονικῇ στερείῃ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηδέτι σαλιθῶσι κοινοὶ γινώσκῃ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν, καὶ μέτεται τῶν θείων μυστηρίων· ἵνα ἔξῃ ἀποφανθέντες τῆς υἱοθεσίας, τύχῃσι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς· ὅτι ἱκτινῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἵσταμεν, Κόρυ, ἰλίσησον· σώσον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἀνάστησον τῇ ἐλπίδι σου.

of flesh and spirit, and unite and restore them to his holy flock ; for he knows our frame : for who can glory that he has a clean heart ? or who can say that he is pure from sin ? for we are all liable to punishment. Let us still pray more ardently for them, ‘ because there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth,’ that they may turn from every evil work, and accustom themselves to all that is good ; that the merciful God, receiving them kindly, may restore to them the joy of his salvation, and confirm them with his principal spirit, that they may never fall, or be shaken again ; that they may communicate in his holy solemnities, and be partakers of his sacred mysteries ; that being made worthy of the adoption of sons, they may obtain eternal life. Let us all further say for them, ‘ Lord, have mercy upon them : save them, O God, and raise them up by thy mercy.’ ”

This said, the deacon bids them rise up, and bow their heads to receive the bishop’s benediction, which is styled also ‘ imposition of hands’ and ‘ prayer for the penitents,’ and is conceived in the following words :^b—

“ O almighty and eternal God, the Lord of the whole world, the Maker and Governor of all things, who hast made man to be an ornament of the world, through Christ, and hast given him both a natural and a written law, that he might live by the rules thereof, as a rational creature ; that hast also, when he hath sinned, given him a motive and encouragement to repent, even thy own goodness ; look down now upon those men, who bow the necks of their souls

^b Constitut. lib. viii. c. ix. Παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς αἰῶνι, δίσποστα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστα καὶ πρύτανη τῶν πάντων· ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κόσμον κόσμον ἀναδείξας διὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ νόμον δὸς αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον καὶ γραπτὸν, πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἠθικῶς, ὡς λογικόν· καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντι ὑποθήκην δὸς πρὸς μετανοίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα· Ἰσίδι ἐν τοῖς ἐκκληκίταις σοὶ αὐχίνα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ὅτι οὐ βούλι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετανοίαν, ὥστε ἀποστρέψαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, καὶ ζῆν· ὁ Νινυϊτῶν προσδιδάσκων τὴν μετανοίαν· ὁ Δίλων πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐθηναι, καὶ εἰς ἱερίγωνιν ἀληθείας ἰλθῆν· ὁ τὸν Τιδὸν προσδιδάσκων, τὸν καταφαγόντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἁσώτως, πατρικαῖς σπλάγχχνος, διὰ τὴν μετανοίαν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν προσδίδει τῶν ἱκιστῶν σου τὴν μεταγνώσιν· ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν δε οὐχ ἁμαρτησῆταί σοι· ἵαν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, Κύριε, Κύριε, τίς ὑποστήσεται· ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ ὁ ἰλασμός· ἴσσι· καὶ ἀποκατάσθῃσι αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν τῇ προσέξῃς ἀξία καὶ τιμῇ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ζωῆτος ἡμῶν, δι’ οὗ σοὶ δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

and bodies unto thee; for thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he should turn from his evil way, and live. Thou, that acceptest the repentance of the Ninevites; that wouldest have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth; that receivest again the prodigal son, who had spent his substance in riotous living, with the compassionate bowels of a father, because of his repentance; accept now the repentance of these thy supplicants, for there is no man that sinneth not against thee. If thou, Lord, wilt mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? for there is mercy and propitiation with thee. Restore them to thy holy Church, in their former dignity and honour, through Christ our God and Saviour; by whom be glory and adoration unto thee, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

SECT. XI.—*What Notice we have of these Prayers in Chrysostom, and other Writers.*

St. Chrysostom does nowhere give us these prayers entire, but he frequently refers to them as then used in the Church in this part of Divine service. We have heard him say before,ⁱ that "common prayers were made by the priest and the people jointly together, as well for the penitents as the energumens; and that they all said one and the same prayer, the prayer full of mercy." In another place,^j "The first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens; the second prayer, likewise, wherein we pray for the penitents, makes intercession for mercy." I have given the reason already why both these prayers were styled 'prayers for mercy' by Chrysostom; and I need here only observe, that they were used before the prayers for the faithful, or communicants, as Chrysostom says expressly in the same place; and that they were by a certain form, because they were offered by the common voice both of minister and people. The Council of Laodicea^k also mentions this prayer for the penitents, as coming after the sermon, next to the prayers

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. cit. supra, sect. viii. litt. (v), p. 625.

^j Ibid. Hom. lxxi. al. lxxii. in Matt. ibid. sub litt. (z), p. 627.

^k Conc. Laodic. c. xix. cit. supra, sect. ix. sub litt. (d), p. 629.

for the faithful. And in all ancient canons,¹ wherever we meet with the names of *γόνυ κλίνοντες*, *ὑποκλίπτοντες*, and *prostrati*, ‘kneelers’ or *prostrators*, we are to understand this order of penitents, who, in this part of the service, bowed down to receive the Church’s prayers and the bishop’s benediction.

SECT. XII.—*In what Part of the Church these Prayers were made.*

As to the Greek Church, then, it is demonstrated, beyond all contradiction, that there was a particular service of prayers for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, distinct from the communion-service, in which they were again prayed for, though absent, among all other states and conditions of men. But there remain two questions, which have a little more difficulty in them. 1. In what part of the church these prayers were made? 2. Whether there were any such prayers at all in use in the Latin Church? As to the first question, some learned persons are of opinion,^m that not only the oblations were made at the altar, and the communion received there, but that all the prayers of the Church were made at the altar likewise; which is, certainly, true of all the prayers in the communion-service, but not so certain of these prayers in the service of the catechumens. For, first, the several orders for whom these prayers were made, and over whom they were made with imposition of hands also, had their station in a different part of the church; and we do not read that they were ever called up to the altar to

¹ Conc. Nicæn. c. xi. “Ὅσοι γνησίως μεταμίλονται, τρία ἴτη ἐν ἀκροαμίνοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοί, καὶ ἑκτὰ ἴτη ὑποκλινοῦνται.— Conc. Ancyran. c. iv. Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν δυσάντων . . . Ἰδοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἀκροῦσθαι, ὑποκλιθεὶς δὲ τρία ἴτη.— Can. v. Εἰ ἐπὶ λήρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποστάσεως τρισητὴ χρόνον.— Vid. *ibid.* cc. vi.—ix. et xxv.

^m Stillingfleet’s *Unreason. of Separation*, part iii. sect. ix. p. 250. That there were altars in all their churches, appears from hence, that not only the oblations were made there, and the communion received, but all the prayers of the Church were made at them: as not only appears from the African Code and St. Augustin, (which I have mentioned elsewhere), but from Optatus, who, upbraiding the Donatists for breaking down the altars of churches, he tells them, that hereby they did what they could to hinder the Church’s prayer, for, saith he, ‘*Illuc ad aures Dei adscendere solebat populi oratio.*’

receive their benediction ; but, in some canons,^a are expressly ordered to receive imposition of hands, even in absolution, before the *apsis*, or 'reading-desk,' in case of scandalous offences, though absolution was usually given, in ordinary cases, at the altar. Now, if the prayer of absolution, which was their reconciliation to the altar, was sometimes made before the reading-desk, there is little question but that the other prayers, which were but the introduction to their reconciliation, were made there also. 2. This service of the catechumens and penitents was altogether a distinct service from that of the *fideles*, or 'communicants,' and a final dismissal of them was always made before the latter service began. 3. There is an express order in the third Council of Carthage,^o that all prayers made at the altar should be directed to the Father only, and not to the Son ; and yet it is evident, that the prayer for the energumens was directed to the Son, as we have seen before, in the form cited out of the Constitutions.^p So that either the discipline of the Eastern Churches differed very much from those of the West ; or else we must necessarily conclude that these prayers, some of which are directed to the Son, were not made at the altar.

SECT. XIII. — *Whether there were any such distinct Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents in the Latin Church.*

But, it may be said, the prayers in the Latin Church were never directed to the Son ; or, perhaps, they had no such prayers for the catechumens and penitents in particular, as they had in the Oriental liturgies, distinct from those which were made for all orders of men, both before and after consecration, in the communion-service. The matter, indeed, is not so clear, I confess, in the Latin

^a Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxii. Cujuscumque pœnitentia publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universam ecclesiam commoverit, ante apsidem manus ei imponatur.

^o Ibid. c. xxiii. Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet : et quum ad altare adsistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.

^p See before, sect. vii.

Church, as I have shewed it to be in the Eastern; and that which increases the difficulty is, that some authors seem to intimate, that, as soon as the sermon was ended, the catechumens were dismissed, and then the communicants betook themselves to prayers at the altar. "Behold," says St. Austin,^q "after the sermon the catechumens have their dismissal; but the faithful abide still, and come to the place of prayer;" meaning the altar, where the Lord's Prayer was, according to custom, to be repeated by the communicants only. And St. Ambrose, speaking of the same matter, says,^r "When the sermon was done, he dismissed the catechumens, and rehearsed the Creed to some candidates of baptism in the baptistery of the Church." But these do not amount to a proof, that the communion-service succeeded immediately after the sermon, and that no other prayers or business came between them; for this very place of St. Ambrose shews, that, at least, sometimes the repetition of the Creed to the candidates of baptism was in the interval. And one of the forecited canons of the Council of Carthage makes it evident, that at other times the prayer for the absolution and reconciliation of a scandalous offender was made in the *apsis*, or 'reading-desk,' before the communion-service, likewise. And the other canon as plainly intimates, that some prayers were directed to the Son as well as the Father, by the prohibition that is made of not changing the name of the Son for the Father, or the Father for the Son; which prohibition had been needless, had there been no prayers directed to the Son. Now, admitting there were some prayers directed to the Son, these must be made before the communion-service, since at that time, by the same canon, all prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father only. For these reasons I conclude, that the practice of the Greek and Latin Churches was the same, and that

^q Aug. Hom. cccxxvii. de Tempore, tom. x. p. 385. Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis. Manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis. Scitis quo accessuri sumus, quid prius Deo dicturi sumus? Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.

^r Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcellinam Sororem. Post lectiones et tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam ecclesiæ.

there were prayers in both for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, in their presence, distinct from those which were afterwards made for them in their absence at the altar. And so I have done with the first part of Divine worship, which the ancient Church called her *missa catechumenorum*, or ‘ante-communion-service.’

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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